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TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

BY

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOL. III.

NEW - YORK :

PUBLISHED BY CHARLES HENRY,

No. 124 Fulton Street.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present Volume will be found to persevere in the change of plan adopted in the latter part of the Second,* the substitution of Tracts of considerable extent of subject for the short and incomplete papers with which the publication commenced. The reason of this change is to be found in the altered circumstances under which they now make their appearance. When the series began, the prospects of Catholic Truth were especially gloomy, from the circumstance that irreligious principles and false doctrines, which had hitherto been avowed only in the closet or on paper, had just been admitted into public measures on a large scale, with a probability of that admission becoming a precedent for future. A great proportion of the Irish Sees had been suppressed by the State against the Church's wish, all parties who were concerned to resist the measure, acquiescing either in utter apathy or in despair. Scarcely a protesting voice was heard, and the attempt to remonstrate was treated on all hands with coldness and disapprobation. A sense of the dreariness of such a state of things naturally led to those anxious appeals and abrupt sketches of doctrine with which the Tracts opened. They were written with the hope of rousing members of our Church to comprehend her alarming position, of helping them to realize the fact of the gradual growth, allowance, and establishment of unsound principles in the management of her internal concerns; and, having this object, they spontaneously used the language of alarm and complaint. They were written, as a man might give notice of a fire or inundation, to startle all who heard him, with only so much of doctrine and argument as might be necessary to account for their publication, or might answer more obvious objections to the views therein advocated.

This peculiarity in their composition has occasioned them to be

* [The second volume of the American edition *begins* with larger Tracts above mentioned.—AMERICAN EDITOR.]

censured as intemperate and violent. If this be true in such sense that they discover any personal feeling, bitterness, wrath, want of candour, unkindness, or reviling, of course nothing can be said in their defence. Or if they contain an extravagant doctrine, crudely imagined, confusedly or hastily expressed, and unsanctioned by our standard Divines, then, too, they are entitled to very little respect. But if the charge of intemperance simply means that they contain strong expressions upon high and delicate matters, suddenly introduced, unexplained, and therefore obscure and harsh, though not intrinsically erroneous, then by intemperance is meant nothing else than want of judgment. Want of judgment, however, is commonly imputed to proceedings which tend to defeat their object, though allowable in themselves, and based upon true principles; and if so, the style of the Tracts in question is *not* injudicious, for their object has *not* been defeated. Naked statements, which offend the accurate and cautious, are necessary upon occasions to infuse seriousness into the indifferent.

These are the reasons, whether satisfactory or not in the judgment of others, for the style and manner of the earlier Tracts. When, however, from the circumstances of the times or from other causes, more interest seemed to be excited among Churchmen concerning those doctrines which it was their object to enforce, discussion became more seasonable than the simple statements of doctrine with which the series began; and their character accordingly changed.

It would be unbecoming to go into this detail in this place, were not a prejudice entertained against these Tracts by many who know them only by a few detached sentences, complete indeed in themselves, and on the whole not unfairly selected, but which, so detached, will not be understood in their true sense and bearings by readers unacquainted with the language of our old divinity. Dr. Pusey's valuable Pamphlet in answer to one objector, is, with the kind consent of the Author, appended to this Advertisement.*

OXFORD,

The Feast of All Saints, 1836.

* [In this (American) edition, the pamphlet above named is placed in its proper order as Tract No. 77.—AMERICAN EDITOR.]

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TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

No. 71.

(*Ad Clerum.*)

ON THE CONTROVERSY WITH THE ROMANISTS.

(*Against Romanism.—No. 1.*)

THE controversy with the Romanists has overtaken us “like a summer’s cloud.” We find ourselves in various parts of the country preparing for it, yet, when we look back, we cannot trace the steps by which we arrived at our present position. We do not recollect what our feelings were this time last year on the subject,—what was the state of our apprehensions and anticipations. All we know is, that here we are, from long security ignorant why we are not Roman Catholics, and they on the other hand are said to be spreading and strengthening on all sides of us, vaunting of their success, real or apparent, and taunting us with our inability to argue with them.

The Gospel of Christ is not a matter of mere argument ; it does not follow that we are wrong, and they are right, because we cannot defend ourselves. But we cannot claim to direct the faith of others, we cannot check the progress of what we account error, we cannot be secure (humanly speaking) against the weakness of our own hearts some future day, unless we have learned to analyse and to state formally our own reasons for believing what we do believe, and thus have fixed our creed in our memories and our judgments. This is the especial duty of Christian Ministers, who, as St. Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, must be ready to dispute, whether with Jews or Greeks. That we are at present very ill practised in this branch of our duty, (a point it is scarcely necessary to prove) is owing in a very great measure to the protection and favour which have long been extended to the English clergy by the State. Statesmen have felt that it was their interest to maintain a Church, which, absorbing into itself a great portion of the religious feeling of the country, sobers and chastens what it has so attracted, and suppresses by its weight the intractable elements which it cannot persuade ; and, while preventing the political mischiefs resulting whether from fanaticism or selfwill, is altogether free from those formidable qualities which distinguish the ecclesiastical genius of Rome. Thus the

clergy have been in that peaceful condition in which the civil magistrate supersedes the necessity of struggling for life and ascendancy; and amid their privileges it is not wonderful that they should have grown secure, and have neglected to inform themselves on subjects on which they were not called to dispute. It must be added, too, that a feeling of the untenable nature of the Roman doctrines, a contempt for their arguments, and a notion that they could never prevail in an educated country, have not a little contributed to expose us to our present surprise.

In saying all this, it is not forgotten that there is still scattered about the Church much learning upon the subject of Romanism, and much intelligent opposition to it; nor, on the other hand, does the present series of Tracts pretend to be more than an attempt towards a suitable consideration of it on the part of persons who feel in themselves, and see in others, a deficiency of information.

It will be the object, then, of these Tracts, should it be allowed the editor to fulfil his present intention, to consider variously, the *one* question, with which we are likely to be attacked, why, in matter of fact, we remain separate from Rome. Some general remarks on the line of argument hence resulting, will be the subject of this paper.

Our position is this. We are seated at our own posts, engaged in our own work, secular or religious, interfering with no one, and anticipating no harm, when we hear of the encroachments of Romanism around us. We can but honour all good Romanists for such aggression; it marks their earnestness, their confidence in their own cause, and their charity towards those whom they consider in error. We need not be bitter against them; moderation, and candour, are virtues under all circumstances. Yet for all that, we may resist them manfully, when they assail us. This then, I say, is our position, a defensive one; we are assailed, and we defend ourselves and our flocks. There is no plea for calling on us in England to do more than this,—to defend ourselves. We are under no constraint to go out of our way spontaneously to prove charges against the Romanists; but when asked about our faith, we give a reason why we are this way of thinking, and not that. This makes our task in the controversy incomparably easier, than if we were forced to exhibit an offensive front, or volunteer articles of impeachment against the rival communion. "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called," is St. Paul's direction. We find ourselves under the Anglican regimen; let every one of us, cleric and layman, remain in it, till our opponents have shown cause why we should change, till we have reason to suspect we are wrong. The *onus probandi* plainly lies with them. This, I say, simplifies our argument, as

allowing us to content ourselves with less of controversy than otherwise would be incumbent on us. We have the strength of possession and prescription. We are not *obliged* to prove them incurably corrupt and heretical; no, nor our own system unexceptionable. It is in our power, if we will, to take very low ground; it is quite enough to ascertain that reasons cannot be brought why we should go over from our side to theirs.

But besides this, there are the Apostle's injunctions against disorder. Did we go over to the Roman Catholics, we should be fomenting divisions among ourselves, which would be a *primâ facie* case against us. Of course there are cases where division is justifiable. Did we believe, for instance, the English Church to be absolutely heretical, and Romanism to be pure and Catholic, it would be a duty, as the lesser evil, to take part in a division which truth demanded. Else it would be a sin. Those dissenters who consider union with the state to be apostacy, or the doctrine of baptismal regeneration a heresy, are wrong, not in that they separate from us, but in that they so think.

And further, a debt of gratitude to that particular branch of the Church Catholic through which God made us Christians, through which we were new born, instructed, and (if so be) ordained to the ministerial office; a debt of reverence and affection towards the saints of that Church; the tie of that invisible communion with the dead as well as the living, into which the Sacraments introduce us; the memory of our great teachers, champions and confessors, now in Paradise, especially of those of the seventeenth century,—Hammond's name alone, were there no other, or Hooker's, or Ken's,—bind us to the English Church, by cords of love, except something very serious can be proved against it. But this surely is impossible. The only conceivable causes for leaving its communion are, I suppose, the two following: first, that it is involved in some damnable heresy, or secondly, that it is not in possession of the sacraments: and so far we join issue with the Romanist, for these are among the chief points which he attempts to prove against us.

However plain and satisfactory as is this account of our position, it is not sufficient, for various reasons, to meet the need of the multitude of men. The really pious and sober among our flocks will be contented with it. They will naturally express their suspicion and dislike of any doctrine new to them, and it will require some considerable body of proof to convince them that they ought even to open their ears to it. But it must be recollected, that there is a mass of persons, easily caught by novelty, who will be too impetuous to be restrained by such advice as has been suggested. Curiosity and feverishness of mind do not wait to decide on which side of a dispute the *onus probandi* lies. The same feelings which carry men now to dissent, will

carry them to Romanism, novelty being an essential stimulant of popular devotion, and the Roman system, to say nothing of the intrinsic majesty and truth which remain in it amid its corruptions, abounding in this and other stimulants of a most potent and effective character. And further, there will ever be a number of refined and affectionate minds, who, disappointed in finding full matter for their devotional feelings in the English system, as at present conducted, betake themselves, through human frailty, to Rome. Besides, *ex parte* statements may easily suggest scruples even to the more sensible and sober portion of the community; and though they will not at all be moved ultimately from the principle above laid down, *viz.* not to change unless clear reason for change is assigned, yet they may fairly demand of their teachers and guides what they have to say in answer to these statements, which do seem to justify a change, not indeed at once, but in the event of their not being refuted.

Thus then we stand as regards Romanism. Strictly speaking, and in the eyes of soberly religious men, it ought not to be embraced, even could it be made appear in some points superior to (what is now practically) the Anglican system; St. Paul even advising a slave to remain a slave, though he had the option of liberty. If all men were rational, little indeed would be necessary in the way of argument, only so much as would be enough to set right the misconceptions which might arise on the subject in dispute. But the state of things being otherwise, we must consult for men as they are; and in order to meet their necessities, we are obliged to take a more energetic and striking line in the controversy than can in strict logic be required of us, to defend ourselves by an offensive warfare, and to expose our opponents' argument with a view of recommending our own.

This being the state of the case, the arguments to be urged against Romanism ought to be taken from such parts of the general controversy as bear most upon *practice*, and at the same time kept clear of what is more especially sacred, and painful to dispute about. Its adherents' assault on us will turn (it is to be presumed) on strictly practical considerations. They will admit that the English Church approaches in many points very near to themselves, and for that very reason was wrong in separating from them:—that it is in danger far more as being schismatical than as heretical:—that our Lord commanded and predicted that his Church should be one; therefore, that the Roman and the Anglican communions cannot both be His Church, but that one must be external to it:—that the question to be considered by us is, what our *chance* is of being the true Church; and, in consequence, of possessing the sacraments:—that we confess Rome to be a branch of Christ's Church, and admit her orders, but that Rome does not acknowledge us; hence that it is safer

for us to unite to Rome:—that we are, in matter of fact, cut off from the great body of the Church Catholic, and stand by ourselves:—that we suffer all manner of schism and heresy to exist, and to propagate itself among us, which it is inconceivable that the true Church, guided by the Holy Spirit, should ever do:—that this circumstance, if there were no other, being an inconsistency, involves a *primâ facie* case against us, for the consideration of those who are not competent to decide in the matter of doctrine:—that if our creed were *true*, God would prosper us in *maintaining* it, according to the promise:—moreover, were there no other reason, that our forms of administering the sacraments are not such as to make us sure that we receive God's grace in them. These and the like arguments, we may suppose, will be urged upon the attention of our members, being not of a technical and scholastic, but of a powerfully practical character; and such must be ours to oppose them. Much might be said on this part of the subject. There are a number of arguments which are scarcely more than ingenious exhibitions, such as would be admired in any game where skill is every thing, but which as arguments tell only with those on our own side, while an adversary thinks them unfair. Their use is not here denied in matter of fact, *viz.* in confirming those in an opinion, who already hold it, and wish reasons for it. When a man is (rightly or wrongly) of one particular way of thinking, he needs, and (it may be added) allowably needs, very little argument to support him in it to himself. Still it is right that that argument should be substantially sound; substantially, because for many reasons, certain accidental peculiarities in the form of it may be necessary for the peculiarities of his mind, which has been accustomed to move in some one line and not in another. If the argument is radically unreal, or (what may be called) rhetorical or sophistical, it may serve the purpose of encouraging those who are already convinced, though scarcely without doing mischief to them; but certainly it will offend and alienate the more acute and sensible; while those who are in doubt, and who desire some real and substantial ground for their faith, will not bear to be put off with such shadows. Thus, for instance, to meet the Romanists' charge against us of scepticism, because we do not believe this or that portion of their doctrine, an argument has been sustained by Protestants, in proof of the scepticism of the Roman system. Who does not see that Romanism erring on the whole in superstition, not in scepticism; this is an unreal argument, which will but offend doubting and distressed minds, as if they were played with, however plausibly and successfully it might be sustained in a trial of strength, and whatever justice there really may be in it? Nor is it becoming, over and above its inexpediency, to dispute for victory, not for truth, and to

be careless of the manner in which we urge conclusions, however sound and important. Again, when it is said that the saints cannot hear our prayers, unless God reveal them to them ; so that Almighty God, upon the Roman theory, conveys from us to them those requests which they are to ask back again of Him for us, we are certainly using an unreal, because unscriptural argument, Moses on the Mount having the sin of his people first revealed to him by God, that he in turn might intercede with God for them. Indeed, it is through Him "in whom we live, and move, and have our being," that we are able in *this* life to hear the requests of each other, and to present them to Him in prayer. Such an argument then, while shocking and profane to the feelings of a Romanist, is shallow even in the judgment of a philosopher. Here may be mentioned the unwarrantable application of texts, such as that of John v. 39. "Search the Scriptures," in disproof of the Roman doctrine that the Apostles have handed down some necessary truths by Catholic Tradition ; or again, Eccles. xi. 3. "If the tree fall towards the south, or towards the north, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be," as a palmary objection to Purgatory.

The arguments, then, which we use, must be such as are likely to convince serious and earnest minds, which are really seeking for the truth, not amusing themselves with intellectual combats, or desiring to support an existing opinion anyhow. However popular these latter methods may be, of however long standing, however easy both to find and to use, they are a scandal ; and, while they lower our religious standard from the first, they are sure of hurting our cause in the end. But again, our arguments must not only be true and practical ; they must not be abstract arguments and on abstract points. For instance, it will do us little good with the common run of men, in the question of the Pope's power, to draw the distinction, true though it is, between his primacy in honour and authority, and his sovereignty or his universal jurisdiction. The force of the distinction is not here questioned, but it will be unintelligible to minds unpractised in ecclesiastical history. Either the Bishop of Rome has really a claim upon our deference, or he has not ; so it will be urged ; and our safe argument at the present day will lie in waiving the question altogether, and saying that, even if he has, according to the primitive rule, ever so much authority, (and that he has some, e. g. the precedence of other bishops, need not be denied,) that it is in matter of fact altogether suspended, and under abeyance, while he upholds a corrupt system against which it is our duty to protest. At present all will see he ought to have no "jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, within this realm." It will be time enough to settle his legitimate claims, and make distinctions, when he removes all existing impediments to our acknowledging

him; it will be time enough to argue on this subject, after first deciding the other points of the controversy. Again, the question of the Rule of Faith is an abstract one to men in general, till the progress of the controversy opens its bearings upon them. True, the intelligible argument of ultra-Protestantism may be taken, and we may say, "the Bible, and nothing but the Bible," but this is an unthankful rejection of another great gift, equally from God, such as no true Anglican can tolerate. If, on the other hand, we proceed to take the sounder view, that the Bible is the *record* of necessary truth, or of matters of faith, and the Church Catholic's tradition is the *interpreter* of it, then we are in danger of refined and intricate questions, which are uninteresting and uninfluential with the many. It is not till they are made to see that certain notable tenets of Romanism depend solely on the Apocrypha, or on Tradition, not on Scripture, that they will understand why the question of the Rule of Faith is an important one.

It has been already said that our arguments must also keep clear, as much as possible, of the subjects more especially sacred. This is our privilege in these latter days, if we understand it, that with all that is painful in our controversies, we are spared that distressing necessity which lay upon the early Church, of discussing questions relative to the divine nature. The doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, form a most distressing subject of discussion, for two reasons; first, as involving the direct contemplation of heavenly things, when one should wish to bow the head and be silent; next, as leading to arguments about things possible and impossible with God, that is (practically) to a rationalistic line of thought. How He is Three and yet One, how He could become man, what were the peculiarities of that union, how He could be every where as God, yet locally present as man, in what sense God could be said to suffer, die, and rise again,—all these questions were endured as a burden by the early Christians for our sake, who come after; and with the benefit of their victories over error, as if we had borne the burden and heat of the day, it were perverse indeed in us, to plunge into needless discussions of the same character. This consideration will lead us to put into the back ground the controversy about the Holy Eucharist, which is almost certain to lead to profane and rationalistic thoughts in the minds of the many, and cannot well be discussed in words at all, without the sacrifice of "godly fear," while it is well nigh anticipated by the ancient statements, and the determinations of the Church concerning the Incarnation.* It is true that learned men, such as Stillingfleet, have drawn lines of distinction between the doctrine of transubstantiation, and that high mystery; but the

* *c. g.* Chrysost. ep. ad Cæsar. vid. Hooker's remarks on the subject, Eccl. Pol. v.

question is, whether they are so level to the intelligence of the many, as to secure the Anglican disputant from fostering irreverence, whether in himself or his hearers, if he ventures on such an argument. If transubstantiation must be opposed, it is in another way; by showing, as may well be done, and as Stillingfleet himself has done, that, in matter of fact, it was not the doctrine of the early Church, but an innovation at such or such a time; a line of discussion which requires learning both to receive and to appreciate.

In order to illustrate the above view, the following are selected by way of specimen of those *practical grievances*, to which Christians are subjected in the Roman Communion, and which should be put into the foreground in the controversy.

1. The denial of the cup to the laity. Considering the great importance of the Holy Eucharist to our salvation, this seems a very serious consideration for those who seek to be saved. Our Lord says, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." If it be recriminated, as it sometimes is, that we think it no risk to sprinkle instead of immersing in baptism, it is obvious to answer that we not only do not forbid, we enjoin immersion; we only do not forbid sprinkling in the case of infants, and that the laity are defrauded, if defrauded, by their own fault, or the fault of the age, not the fault of the Church.

2. The necessity of the priest's intention to the validity of the Sacraments. The Church of Rome has determined, that a Sacrament does not confer grace unless the priest means it to do so; so that if he be an unbeliever, nay, if he, from malice or other cause, withholds his intention, it is not a means of salvation. Now, considering what the Romanists themselves will admit, the great practical corruption of the Church at various times,—considering that infidels and profligates have been in the Papal Chair, and in other high stations,—who can answer, on the Church of Rome's own ground, that there is still preserved to it the Apostolical succession as conveyed in its sacrament of Orders? what individual can answer that he himself really receives in the consecrated wafer, even that moiety of the great Christian blessing which alone remains to him in the Roman Communion? We indeed believe, (and with comfort) that the administration of the Sacrament is effectual in those Churches, in spite of their undermining their own claim to the gift. Still let it be recollected, no one can become a Romanist without professing that the Church he has joined has no truer certainty of possessing it than that Communion has which, probably on the very account of its uncertainty in this matter, he has deemed it right to abandon.

3. The necessity of Confession. By the council of Trent, every member of the Church must confess himself to a priest once

a year at least. This confession extends to all mortal sins, that is, to all sins which either are done willingly or are of any magnitude. Without this confession, which must be accompanied by hearty sorrow for the things confessed, no one can be partaker of the Holy Communion. Here is a third obstacle in the way of our receiving the grace of the Sacraments in the Roman Church, which surely requires our diligent examination, before it be passed over. That there is no such impediment sanctioned in Scripture, is plain, yet to believe in it is a point of faith with the Romanist. The practice is grievous enough; but it is not enough to submit to it: you must believe that it is part of the gospel doctrine, or you are committing one of those mortal sins which are to be confessed; and you must believe, moreover, that every one who does not believe it, is excluded from the hope of salvation. But, not to dwell on the belief in the necessity of confession itself, consider the number of points of faith which the Church of Rome has set up. You must believe every one of them; if you have allowed yourself to doubt any one of them, you must repent of it, and confess it to the priest. If you knowingly omit any one such doubts which you have entertained, and much more if you still cherish it, your confession is worse than useless; nay, such conduct is considered sacrilege, or the sin against the Holy Ghost. Further, if, under such circumstances, you partake of the Communion, it is a partaking of it unworthily to your condemnation.

4. The unwarranted anathemas of the Roman Church is a subject to which the last head has led us. Here let us put aside, at present, the prejudice which has been excited in the minds of Protestants, against the principle itself of anathematizing, by the variety and comparative unimportance of the subjects upon which the Roman Church has applied it in practice. Let us consider merely the state of the case in that Church. Every Romanist is, by the creed of his Church, in mortal sin, unless he believes every one else excluded from Christian salvation, who with means of knowing, yet declines any one of those points which have been ruled to be points of faith. If a man, for instance, who has had the means of instruction, doubts the Church's power of granting indulgences, he is exposed, according to the Romanists, to eternal ruin. Now this consideration, one would think, ought to weigh with those of our own Church, who may be half converts to the Roman; not that our own salvation is not our first concern, but that such cruelty as this is, such narrowing the Scripture terms of salvation, (for no one can say this doctrine is found in Scripture,) is a presumption against the purity of that Church's teaching. But a further reflection may be added to the above. Such as have not had an opportunity of knowing the truth, are, it must be observed, *not* exposed to this condemnation. This at first

sight would seem a comfort to those whose relations and friends have died in Protestantism. But observe, the Church of Rome, we know, retains the practice of praying for the dead. It will be natural for a convert from Protestantism, first of all, to turn his thoughts towards those dearest relations, say his parents, who have lived and died in involuntary ignorance of Catholicism. He is not allowed to do so, he can only pray for the souls in *Purgatory*; none have the privilege of being in *Purgatory* but such as have died in the communion of the Roman Church, and his parents died in Protestantism.

5. *Purgatory* may be mentioned as another grievous doctrine of Romanism. Here again, if Scripture, as interpreted by tradition, taught it, we should be bound to receive it; but, knowing as we do, that even St. Austin questioned the doctrine in the fifth century, we may well suspect the evidence for it. The doctrine is this: that a certain definite punishment is exacted by Almighty God for all sins committed after baptism; and that they who have not by sufferings in this life, whether trouble, penance, and the like, run through it, must complete it during the intermediate state in a place called *Purgatory*. Again, all who die in venial sin, that is, in sins of infirmity, such as are short of mortal, go to *Purgatory* also. Now what a light does this throw upon the death of beloved and revered friends! Instead of their "resting from their labours," as Scripture says, there are (ordinarily speaking) none who have not to pass a time of trial and purification, and, as Romanists are authoritatively taught, in fire, or a torment analogous to fire. There is no one who can for himself look forward to death with hope and humble thankfulness. Tell the sufferer upon a sick bed that his earthly pangs are to terminate in *Purgatory*, what comfort can he draw from religion? If it be said, that it is a comfort in the case of bad men, who have begun to repent on their death-bed—this is true, I do not deny it; still the doctrine, in accordance, be it observed, with the ultra-Protestantism of this age, evidently sacrifices the better part of the community to the less deserving. Should the foregoing reasoning seem to dwell too much on the question of comfortableness and un comfortableness, not of truth, I reply, first, that I have already stated that Scripture, as interpreted by tradition, does not teach the doctrine; next, that I am arguing against the Romanists, who are accustomed to recommend their communion on the very ground of its being safer, more satisfactory, and more comfortable.

6. The Invocation of Saints. Here again the *practice* should be considered, not the *theory*. Scripture speaks clearly and solemnly about Christ as the sole Mediator. When prayer to the Saints is recommended *at all times and places*, as ever present guardians, and their good works pleaded in God's sight, is not

this such an infringement upon the plain word of God, such a violation of our allegiance to our only Saviour, as must needs be an insult to him? His honour he will not give to another. Can we with a safe conscience do it? Should we act thus in a parallel case even with an earthly friend? Does not St. John's example warn us against falling down before angels? Does not St. Paul warn us against a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels? And are not these texts *indications* of God's will, which ought to guide our conduct? Is it not *safest* not to pay them this extraordinary honour? As an illustration of what I mean, I will quote the blessing pronounced by the Pope on the assembled people at Easter:—

“The holy Apostles Peter and Paul, from whom has been derived our power and authority, themselves intercede for us to the Lord. Amen.”

“For the prayers and righteous deeds of the blessed Mary, ever Virgin, of the blessed Michael the Archangel, of the blessed John the Baptist, of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the Saints, Almighty God have mercy upon you, and Jesus Christ absolve you from all your sins, and bring you to life everlasting. Amen.”

“The Almighty and merciful Lord, grant to you pardon, absolution, and remission of all your sins, time for true and fruitful penitence, an ever penitent heart, and amendment of life, the grace and comfort of the Holy Ghost, and final perseverance in good works. Amen.”

“And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, come down upon you, and remain with you always. Amen.”

7. The Worship of Images might here be added to these instances of grievances which Christians endure in the Communion of Rome, were it not that in England its rulers seem, at present, to have suspended the practice out of policy, though it is expressly recommended by the Council of Trent, as if an edifying usage. In consequence of this decree of the Church, no one can become a Romanist, without implying his belief that the usage is edifying and right; and this itself is a grievance, even though the usage be in this or that place dispensed with.

Such and such-like are the *subjects* which, it is conceived, should be brought into controversy, in disputing with Romanists at the present day. An equally important question remains to be discussed; *viz.* What the *sources* are, whence we are to gather our opinions of Popery. Here the Romanists complain of their opponents, that, instead of referring to the authoritative documents of their Church, Protestants avail themselves of any errors or excesses of individuals in it, as if the Church were responsible

for acts and opinions which it does not enjoin. Thus the legends of relics, superstitions about images, the cruelty of particular prelates or kings, or the accidental fury of a populace, are unfairly imputed to the Church itself. Again, the profligacy of the Popes, at various periods, is made an argument against their religious pretensions as successors to St. Peter; whereas Caiaphas himself had the gift of prophecy, and it is, as they consider, a memorable and instructive circumstance, that in matter of fact, among their worst Popes are found the instruments, in God's hand, of some of the most important and salutary acts of the Church. Accordingly they claim to be judged by their formal documents, especially by the decrees of the Council of Trent.

Now, here we shall find the truth to lie between the two contending parties. Candour will oblige us to grant that the mere acts of individuals should not be imputed to the body; certainly no member of the English Church can, in common prudence as well as propriety, do otherwise, since he is exposed to an immediate retort, in consequence of the errors and irregularities which have in Protestant times occurred among ourselves. King Henry the VIIIth, the first promoter of the Reformation, is surely no representative of our faith or feelings; nor Hoadly, in a later age, who was suffered to enjoy his episcopate for 46 years; to say nothing of the various parties and schools which have existed, and do exist, among us.

So much then must be granted to the Romanists; yet not so much as they themselves desire. For though the acts of individuals are not the acts of the Church, yet they may be the results, and therefore illustrations of its principles. We cannot consent then to confine ourselves to a mere reference to the text of the Tridentine decrees, as Romanists would have us, apart from the teaching of their doctors, and the practice of the Church, which are surely the legitimate comment upon them. The case stands as follows. A certain system of teaching and practice has existed in the churches of the Roman communion for many centuries; this system was discriminated and fixed in all its outlines at the Council of Trent. It is therefore not unnatural, or rather it is the procedure we adopt in any historical research, to take the general opinions and conduct of the Church in elucidation of their Synodal decrees; just as we take the tradition of the Church Catholic and Apostolic as the legitimate interpreter of Scripture, or of the Apostles' Creed. On the other hand, it is as natural that these decrees, being necessarily concise and guarded, should be much less objectionable than the actual system they represent. It is not wonderful then, yet it is unreasonable, that Romanists should protest against our going beyond these decrees in adducing evidence of their Church's doctrine, on the ground that nothing more than an assent to them is requisite for communion with

her. *E. g.* the Creed of Pope Pius, which is framed upon the Tridentine decrees, and is the Roman Creed of Communion, only says, "I firmly hold there is a Purgatory, and that souls therein detained are aided by the prayers of the faithful," nothing being said of its being a place of punishment, nothing, or all but nothing, which does not admit of being explained of merely an intermediate state. Now, supposing we found ourselves in the Roman Communion, of course it would be a great relief to find that we were not bound to believe more than this vague statement, nor should we (I conceive) on account of the received interpretation about Purgatory superadded to it, be obliged to leave our Church. But it is another matter entirely, whether we, who are external to that Church, are not bound to consider it as one whole system, written and unwritten, defined indeed and adjusted by general statements, but not limited to them or coincident with them.

The conduct of the Catholics during the troubles of Arianism affords us a parallel case, and a direction in this question. The Arian Creeds were often quite unexceptionable, differing from the orthodoxy only in this, that they omitted the celebrated word *ὁμοούσιον*, and in consequence did not obviate the possibility of that perverse explanation of them, which in fact their framers adopted. Why then did the Catholics refuse to subscribe them? Why did they rather submit to banishment from one end of the Roman world to the other? Why did they become confessors and martyrs? The answer is ready. They interpreted the language of the creeds by the professed opinions of their framers. They would not allow error to be introduced into the Church by an artifice. On the other hand, when at Ariminum they were seduced into a subscription of one of these creeds, though unobjectionable in its wording, their opponents instantly triumphed, and circulated the news that the Catholic world had come over to their opinion. It may be added, that, in consequence, ever since that era, phrases have been banished from the language of theology which heretofore had been innocently used by orthodox teachers.

Apply this to the case of Romanism. We are not indeed allowed to take at random the accidental doctrine or practice of this or that age as an explanation of the decrees of the Latin Church; but when we see clearly that certain of these decrees have a natural tendency to produce certain evils; when we see those evils actually existing far and wide in that Church, in different nations and ages, existing especially where the system is allowed to act most freely, and only absent where external checks are present, sanctioned moreover by its celebrated teachers and expositors, and advocated by its controversialists with the tacit consent of the whole body, under such circumstances surely it is not unfair to consider our case parallel to that of the Catholics during the

ascendency of Arianism. Surely it is not unfair in such a case to interpret the formal document of belief by the realized form of it in the Church, and to apprehend that, did we express our assent to the creed of Pope Pius, we should find ourselves bound hand and foot, as the fathers at Ariminum, to the corruptions of those who profess it.

To take the instances of the Adoration of Images and the Invocation of Saints. The Tridentine Decree declares that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke the Saints, and that the Images of Christ, and the Blessed Virgin, and the other Saints, should "receive due honour and veneration;" words which, themselves, go to the very verge of what could be received by the cautious Christian, though possibly admitting of a honest interpretation. Now we know in matter of fact that in various parts of the Roman Church, a worship approaching to idolatrous is actually paid to Saints and Images, in countries very different from each other, as, for instance, Italy and the Netherlands, and has been countenanced by eminent men and doctors, and that, without any serious or successful protest from any quarter: further, that, though there may be countries where no scandal of the kind exists, yet these are such as have, in their neighbourhood to Protestantism, a practical restraint upon the natural tendency of their system.

Moreover, the silence which has been observed, age after age, by the Roman Church, as regards these excesses, is a point deserving of serious attention;—for two reasons: first, because of the very solemn warnings pronounced by our Lord and his Apostle, against those who introduce scandals into the Church, warnings which seem almost prophetic of such as exist in the Latin branches of it. Next it must be considered that the Roman Church has had the power to denounce and extirpate them. Not to mention its use of its Apostolical powers in other matters, it has had the civil power at its command, as it has shown in the case of errors which less called for its interference; all of which shows it has not felt sensitively on the subject of this particular evil.

This may be suitably illustrated by an example. Wake, in his controversy on the subject of Bossuet's Exposition, observes that a Jesuit named Crasset had published an account of the worship due to the Virgin Mary, quite opposed to that which Bossuet had expounded as the doctrine of the Roman Church. Bossuet replies, "I have not read the book, but neither did I ever hear it mentioned there was any thing in it contrary to mine, and that Father would be much troubled I should think there was." Wake, in answer, expresses his great surprise that Bossuet should not have heard any mention of a fact so notorious.

Bossuet replies, "I still continue to say that I have never read

Father Crasset's book which they bring against me." "I will only add here," he continues, "that Father Crasset himself, troubled and offended that any one should report his doctrine to be different from mine, has made complaints to me; and in a preface to the second edition of his book, has declared, that he varied in nothing from me, unless perhaps in the manner of expression; which, whether it be so or no, I leave them to examine, who will please to give themselves the trouble." Bossuet is known as the special champion of a more moderate exposition of the doctrines of Romanism than that which has generally been put upon them. Now he either did agree with the Jesuit or he did not. If he did, not a word more need be said against the Roman doctrine, as will appear when I proceed to quote his words; if he did not, let the reader judge of the peculiar sensitiveness of a faith, (as illustrated in a prelate, who for his high qualities is a very fair representative of his church,) which can anathematize a denial of Purgatory, or a disapproval of the Invocation of Saints, yet can pass *sub silentio* a class of blasphemies, of which the following extracts are an instance.

It must be first observed that Father Crasset's book is an answer to a Cologne tract entitled, "Salutary Advertisements of the Blessed Virgin to her indiscreet Adorers;" which is said, by Wake, truly or not, (for this is nothing to the purpose,) to agree with Bossuet in his exposition of doctrine. This tract was sent into the world with the approbation of the Suffragan Bishop of Cologne, of the Vicar-general, the Censure of Ghent, the Canons and Divines of Mechlin, the University of Louvain, and the Bishop of Tournay. Father Crasset's answer was printed at Paris, licensed by the Provincial, approved by three fathers of the Jesuits' body appointed to examine it, and authorized by the King. I mention these circumstances to show that this controversy was not conducted in a corner; to which I may add that, according to Crasset, learned men of various nations had also written against the Tract, that the Holy See had condemned the author, and that Spain had prohibited him and his work from its dominions. We have nothing to do with the doctrine of this Tract, good or bad, but let us see what this Crasset's doctrine is on the other hand, thus put forth by the Jesuits in a notorious controversy, and accepted on hearsay by Bossuet, with a studious abstinence from the sight of it after the matter of it had been brought before him.

"Whether a Christian that is devout towards the blessed Virgin can be damned? *Answer.* The servants of the blessed Virgin have an assurance, morally infallible, that they shall be saved.

"Whether God ever refuses anything to the blessed Virgin. *Answer.* 1. The Prayers of a Mother so humble and respectful are esteemed a command by a Son so sweet and so obedient. 2. Being

truly our Saviour's mother, as well in heaven as she was on earth, she still retains a kind of natural authority over His person, over His goods, and over His omnipotence ; so that, as Albertus Magnus says, she can not only entreat Him for the salvation of her servants, but by her motherly authority can command Him ; and as another expresses it, the power of the Mother and of the Son is all one, she being by her omnipotent Son made herself omnipotent.

"Whether the blessed Virgin has ever fetched any out of hell?
Answer. 1. As to Purgatory, it is certain that the Virgin has brought several souls from thence, as well as refreshed them whilst they were there. 2. It is certain she has fetched many out of hell : *i. e.* from a state of damnation before they were dead. 3. The Virgin can, and has fetched men that were dead in mortal sin out of hell, by restoring them to life again, that they might repent.

"The practice of devotion towards her. 1. To wear her scapulary ; which whoso does shall not be damned, but this habit shall be for them a mark of salvation, a safeguard in dangers, and a sign of peace and eternal alliance. They that wear this habit, shall be moreover delivered out of Purgatory the Saturday after their death. 2. To enter her congregation. And if any man be minded to save himself, it is impossible for him to find out any more advantageous means, than to enrol himself into these companies. 3. To devote oneself more immediately to her service, &c. &c.

"Woe unto the world because of offences ! for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh ! Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off and cast them from thee : it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee : it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire."

Bossuet's name has been mentioned in evidence of the really existing connexion between the decrees of Trent and the popular opinions and practices in the Roman Church, as regards the matters they treat of. But the labours of that celebrated divine in the cause of his Church introduce us to very varied and extensive illustrations of another remark which has been incidentally made in the course of our discussion.

It was observed that the legitimate meaning of the Tridentine decrees might be fairly ascertained by comparing together those of the Latin Churches, where the system was allowed to operate freely, and those in which the presence of Protestantism acted as a check upon it. This has been remarkably exemplified in the history of the controversy during the last one hundred and fifty years, that is, since the time of Bossuet, who seems to have been nearly the first who put on the Tridentine decrees a meaning more consonant with Primitive Christianity, distinguishing be-

tween the doctrines of the Church, and of the Schools.* This new interpretation has been widely adopted by the Romanists, and, as far as our own islands are concerned, may be considered to be the received version of their creed; and one should rejoice in any appearance of amelioration in their system, were not the present state of Italy and Spain, where no check exists, an evidence what that system still is, and what, in course of time, it would, in all probability, be among ourselves, did an universal reception of it put an end to the restraint which controversy at present imposes on them.

Bossuet's Exposition, which contains the modified doctrine above spoken of, was looked at with great suspicion at Rome, on its first appearance, and was with difficulty acknowledged by the Pope. It is said to have been written originally with the purpose of satisfying Marshal Turenne, who became, in consequence, a convert to Romanism. It was circulated in manuscript several years, and was considered to be of so liberal a complexion, according to the doctrine of that day, as to scandalize persons of his own communion, and to lead Protestants to doubt whether the author dare ever own it. In the year 1671, it was, with considerable alterations, committed to the press with the formal approbation of the Archbishop of Rheims and nine other Bishops; but on objections being urged against it by the Sorbonne, the press was stopped, and not till after various alterations was it resumed, with the suppression of the copies which had already been struck off. It is affirmed by Wake, without contradiction (I believe) from his opponents, that even with these corrections it was of so novel an appearance to the Romanists of that day, that an answer from one of Bossuet's own communion was written to it before the Protestants began to move, though the publication was suppressed. The Roman See at last accorded its approbation, but not before the conversions which it effected had recommended it to its favour.†

It may be instructive to specify some instances of this change of doctrine, or of interpretation of doctrine, (if it must be so called,) which Bossuet is accused of introducing.

1. In the private impression of his Exposition, as the suppressed portion of the edition may be called, Bossuet says:

"Furthermore, there is nothing so unjust as to accuse the Church of placing all her piety in these devotions to the Saints; *since on the contrary she lays no obligation at all on particular persons to join in this*

* Verzon had preceded him in France, and an exposition on the same basis is said to have been published in England in Queen Mary's time.

† Nine years intervened between its publication and the Pope's approval of it. Clement X. refused it absolutely. Several priests were rigorously treated for preaching the doctrine contained in it; the University of Louvain formally condemned it in 1685. Vid. Mosheim, Hist. vol. v. p. 126, note.

practice By which it appears clearly that the Church condemns only those who refuse it *out of contempt, or by a spirit of dissension and revolt.*"

In the second or published edition, the words printed in italics were omitted, the first clause altogether, and the second with the substitution of "*out of disrespect or error.*"

2. Again, in the private impression he had said :

"So that it (the Mass) *may very reasonably be called a sacrifice.*"

He raised his doctrine in the second as follows :

"So that *there is nothing wanting to make it a true sacrifice.*"

In giving these instances, I am far from insinuating that there is any unfairness in such alterations. Earnestly desiring the conversion of Protestants, Bossuet did but attempt to place the doctrines of his Church in the light most acceptable to them. But they seem to show thus much : first, that he was engaged in a novel experiment, which circumstances rendered necessary, and was trying how far he might safely go ; secondly, that he did not carry with him the body of the Gallican divines. In other words, we have no security that this new form of Romanism is more stable than one of the many forms of Protestantism which rise and fall around us in our own country, which are matters of opinion, and depend upon individuals.*

3. But again, after all the care bestowed on his work, Bossuet says in his Exposition as ultimately published :

When the Church pays an honour to the Image of an Apostle or Martyr, the intention is not so much to honour the image as to honour the apostle or martyr in the presence of the image . . . Nor do we attribute to them *any other virtue* but that of *exciting in us the remembrance* of those they represent, p. 8.

To this Vindicator adds :

The use we make of images or pictures is purely as *representatives*, or memorative signs, which call the originals to our remembrance, p. 35.

Now, with these passages contrast the words of Bellarmine, who, if any one, might be supposed a trustworthy interpreter of the Roman doctrine :

"The images of Christ and of the saints are to be venerated *not only by accident and improperly, but properly and by themselves*, so that *they themselves are the end of the veneration* [ut ipsæ terminent vene-

* Mosheim observes (*supra*) that none of the attempts to reconcile Protestants to the Church, from Richelieu downwards, were avowed by the Church itself, or much more than the acts of individuals.

rationem] as considered in themselves, and *not only as they are copies.*" De Imagin. lib. ii. c. 21.

Again, in the Pontifical we are instructed that to the wood of the Cross "Jivine worship (*latría*) is due;" and that saving virtues for soul and body proceed from it; which surely agrees with the doctrine of Bellarmine as contained in the above extract, not with that of Bossuet.

4. The Vindicator of Bossuet speaks of the Mass to the following effect:

"The council tells us it was instituted *only to represent* that which was accomplished on the Cross, to perpetuate the memory of it to the end of the world, and apply to us the saving virtue of it, for those sins which we commit every day..... When we say that Christ is offered in the Mass, we do not understand the word *offer* in the strictest sense, but *as we are said to offer to God what we present before Him.* And thus the Church does not doubt to say, that she offers up our Blessed Jesus to His Father in the Eucharist, in which He vouchsafes to render Himself present before Him."

But the Tridentine Fathers say in their Canons that,

"the Mass is a true and proper sacrifice; a sacrifice *not only commemorative of that of the Cross*, but also truly and properly propitiatory for the dead and the living."

And Bellarmine says,

"A true and real sacrifice requires a true and real death or destruction of the thing sacrificed." De Missa, lib. i. c. 27.

And then he proceeds to show how this condition of the notion of a sacrifice is variously fulfilled in the Mass.

Leaving Bossuet, let us now turn to the history of the controversy in our own country, whether in former or recent times; and here I avail myself of an article of a late lamented Prelate of our Church, in a periodical work ten years since.* As to the particular instances adduced, it must be recollected that they are not dwelt on as a sufficient evidence by themselves of that difference of view between members of the Roman Church at various times and places, which is under consideration, but as mere illustrations of what is presumed to be an historical fact.

The following extract is from Dr. Doyle's Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the subject of the Roman Catholic doctrines:

"The Committee find, in a treatise called 'A Vindication of the Roman Catholics,' the following curse: 'Cursed is every goddess worshipper, that believes the Virgin Mary to be any more than a creature, that honours her, worships her, or puts his trust in her more

* British Critic, Oct. 1825.

than in God ; that honours her above her Son, or believes that she can in any way command Him.' Is that acknowledged ; *Ans.* That is acknowledged ; and every Roman Catholic in the world would say with Gother, Accursed be such person."

Such is the received Romanism of the English Papists at this day ; and accordingly Dr. Challoner has translated the famous words in the office of the blessed Virgin :

"Monstra te esse Matrem
Sumat per te preces,"

by

"Exert the *Mother's* care,
And us *thy children* own,
To Him convey our prayer," &c.

On the other hand, consider the following passage in the controversy between Jewell and Harding. Jewell accused the Roman Church with teaching that the blessed Virgin could command her Son. Harding replies as follows,

"If now any spiritual man, such as St. Bernard was, deeply considering the great honour and dignity of Christ's mother, do in excess of mind, spiritually sport with her, bidding her to remember that she is a Mother, and that *thereby she has a certain right to command* her Son, and require, in a most sweet manner, that she use her right ; is this either impiously or impudently spoken ? Is not he, rather, most impious and impudent that findeth fault therewith ?"

Again, we find in Peter Damiani, a celebrated divine of the eleventh century, the following words :

"She approaches to that golden tribunal of divine Majesty, not asking, but commanding,—not a handmaid, but a Mistress."

Albertus Magnus in like manner,

"Mary prays as a daughter, requests as a sister, commands as a mother."

Another writer says,

"The blessed Virgin, for the salvation of her supplicants, can not only supplicate her Son, as other saints do, but also by her maternal authority command her Son. Therefore the Church prays, '*Monstra te esse Matrem* ;' as if saying to the Virgin, Supplicate for us after the manner of a command, and with a mother's authority."

After these instances, the article from which I cite asks, not unreasonably, "Upon whom does the anathema of Gother fall ?"

Another instance of this unsteady, and (if it may so be called) untrustworthy, conduct of the Roman Church, occurs in respect to their doctrine of Repentance ; which is well pointed out by a recent writer in the British Magazine. His account is as follows.

"The Roman tenet most pregnant with moral mischief is, probably, that which promises salvation to mere Attrition [i. e. sorrow for sin arising from a view of its turpitude, or fear of punishment] Now it should be generally known that a Romish divine pressed in argument is very likely to pronounce salvability from Attrition only, as nothing more than a *Scholastic* doctrine, to which his Church does not stand committed. He might be reminded of the Trentine Catechism, which declares real Contrition [i. e. hearty sorrow for sin proceeding immediately from the love of God above all things, and joined with a firm purpose of amendment,] to be found in very few; and hence deduces the necessity of an *easier way* for the salvation of men in general. His answer would be, that the Catechism is *not a decree of the Council*, and, therefore, *not like one binding as an article of faith*. It is indeed true, that the Council here has spoken more vaguely and guardedly than the Catechism. Pallavicino represents the Trentine Fathers accordingly as intending merely to condemn an opinion of their adversaries, which branded the fear of punishment with baseness. However a nice scrutiny may dispose of this doctrine, it is in fact broadly asserted in the manual drawn up for instructing ordinary clergymen, under authority of the Trentine Council, though not completed till that body was dissolved. This manual too was promulged under papal sanction, expressly conferred upon the Roman see for that very purpose by the Council. The *Catechismus ad Parochos* has been accordingly ever since, what it was intended to be, a text book for the Romish clergy. Nor is it doubtful that it speaks the feeling and intention of this council upon the question of Attrition; only the Trentine Fathers here knew themselves to be upon treacherous ground, and therefore they discreetly left a vague outline which might be filled up by better, because less responsible hands."*

The following are further illustrations of the distinction observed in the Roman Church between Catholic verities and the opinions of the schools. In presenting them to the reader, I have no purpose of denying that there is a distinction really, and that it may properly be insisted on, but I deny it exists in the particular cases; in which what is professed to be but an *opinion*, is more or less the genuine practical meaning of the Tridentine decrees.

"It is *de fide* to believe that there is a purgatory; it is not *de fide* to believe that the fire of purgatory is true and proper, or of the same species as the material element,—or that it is in this or that place, or that it lasts for this or that period. It is *de fide* that the saints may well and profitably be invoked; it is not *de fide* that they hear our prayers, though it be certain and true. It is *de fide* that the relics of the saints should be venerated; it is not *de fide* that these or those relics are genuine. It is *de fide* that man is justified by

* British Mag. Feb. 1836.

inherent righteousness; it is not *de fide* that justifying righteousness is a habit or quality.”*

Enough, perhaps, has now been said on the mode in which it is expedient at the present day to carry on the controversy with Romanism,—which of its doctrines are to be selected for attack, what authorities are to be used in ascertaining them, and what arguments are to be employed against them. Some remarks shall be added before concluding, as to the best mode of conducting the defence of our own Church.

Let it be observed that, in our argument with the Romanists, we might, if needful, be very liberal in our confessions about ourselves, without at all embarrassing our position in consequence. While we are able to maintain the claim of our clergy to the ministration of the Sacraments, and our freedom from any deadly heresy, we have nothing to fear from any historical disclosures which the envy of adversaries might contrive against our Church, or from any external appearances which it may present at this day to the superficial observer. Whatever may be the past mistakes of individual members of it, or the tyranny of aliens over it, or its accidental connexion with Protestant persuasions, still these hinder not its having “the ministration of the Word and Sacraments;” and having them, it has sufficient claims on our filial devotion and love. This being understood then, the following remarks are made with a view of showing *how far*, if necessary, we may safely go in our admissions.

1. We may grant in the argument, that the English Church has committed mistakes in the practical working of its system; nay, is *incomplete* even in its formal doctrine and discipline. We require no enemy to show us the probability of this, seeing that her own Article expressly states that the primitive Churches of Antioch and Alexandria, as well as that of Rome, have erred, “not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.” Much more is a Church exposed to imperfection, which embraces but a narrow portion of the Catholic territory, has been at the distance of 1500 to 1800 years from the pure fountains of tradition, and is surrounded by political influences of a highly malignant character.

2. Again, the remark may seem paradoxical at first sight, yet surely it is just, that the English Church is for certain deficient in particulars, because it does not profess itself infallible. I mean as follows. Every thoughtful mind must at times have been beset by the following doubt: “*How is it* that the particular Christian body to which I belong *happens* to be the right one? I hear every one about me saying *his own* society is alone right,

* Vid. Annati's *Apparatus ad Theologiam*, i. 4.

and others wrong : is not every one as much justified in saying so as every one else? is not any one as much justified as I am? In other words, the truth is surely no where to be found pure, unadulterate and entire, but is shared through the world, each Christian body having a portion of it, none the whole of it." A certain liberalism is commonly the fruit of this perplexity. Men are led on to gratify the pride of human nature, by standing aloof from all systems, forming a truth for themselves, and countenancing this or that denomination of Christians according as each maintains portions of that which they have already assumed to be the truth. Now the primitive Church answered this question, by appealing to the simple fact that all the Apostolic Churches all over the world did agree together. True, there were sects in every country, but they bore their own refutation on their forehead, in that they were of recent origin; but all those societies in every country, which the Apostles had founded, did agree together in one, and no time short of the Apostles' could be assigned, with any show of argument, for the rise of their existing doctrine. This doctrine in which they agreed was accordingly called *Catholic* truth, and there was plainly no room at all for asking, "Why should my own Church be more true than another's?"—But at this day, it need not be said, such an evidence is lost, except as regards the articles of the Creeds. It is a very great mercy that the Church Catholic over the world, as descended from the Apostles, does at this day speak one and the same doctrine, about the Trinity and Incarnation, as it has always spoken it, excepting in one single point, which rather *probat regulam* than interferes with it, viz. as to the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son. With this solitary exception, we have the certainty of possessing the entire truth as regards the high theological doctrines, by an argument, which supersedes the necessity of arguing from Scripture against those who oppose them. It is quite impossible that all countries should have agreed to that which was not Apostolic. They are a number of concordant witnesses to certain definite truths, and while their testimony is one and the same from the very first moment they publicly utter it, so on the other hand, if there be bodies which speak otherwise, we can show historically that they rose later than the Apostles. This majestic evidence, however, does not extend to any but to the articles of the Creed, especially those relating to the Trinity and Incarnation.* The primitive Church was never called upon, whether in Council or by its divines, to pronounce upon other points of faith, and the later Church has differed about them;

* By a great misapprehension, the word "Incarnation" here used has been understood by some readers as if it *excluded* the Atonement; whereas, in its more Catholic sense, it includes the whole dispensation or *oikonomia* of Christ's taking flesh.

especially about those on which the contest turns between Romanism and ourselves. Here neither Rome nor England can in the same sense appeal to *Catholic* testimony; and, this being the case, a member of the one or the other Church *might* fairly have the antecedent scruple rise in his mind, why his own communion should have the *whole* truth, why on the contrary the rival communion should not have a share of it, and the truth itself lie midway between them. This is the question of a philosophical mind, and the Church of Rome meets it with a theory, perfectly satisfactory, *provided only* it be established as a fact, viz. the theory of infallibility. The actual promise made, as they contend, to St. Peter's chair as the centre of unity, would undoubtedly *account* for truth being wholly in the Roman Communion, not in the English, and solve the antecedent perplexity in question. But the English Church, taking no such high ground as this, certainly is open to the force, such as it is, of the objection, or (as it was just now expressed) on the *primâ facie* view of the case is unlikely to have embraced the *whole* counsel of God, because she does not assume infallibility; and consequently no surprise or distress should be felt by her dutiful sons, should that turn out to be the fact, which her own principles, rightly understood, would lead them to anticipate. At the same time it must carefully be remembered, that this admission involves no doubt or scepticism as regards the more sacred subjects of theology, of which the Creed is the summary; these having been witnessed from the first by the whole Church—being witnessed too at this moment, in spite of later corruptions, both by the Latin and Greek Communions.

A consideration has been suggested in the last paragraph, on which much might be said on a fitting occasion; it is (what may be called) a great Canon of the Gospel, that Purity of faith depends on the *Sacramentum Unitatis*. Unity in the whole body of the Church, as it is the divinely blessed symbol and pledge of the true faith, so also it is the obvious means (even humanly speaking) of securing it. The *Sacramentum* was first infringed during the quarrels of the Greeks and Latins; it was shattered in that great schism of the sixteenth century which issued in some parts of Europe in the Reformation, in others in the Tridentine Decrees, our own Church keeping the nearest of any to the complete truth. Since that era at least, Truth has not dwelt simply and securely in any visible Tabernacle. This view of the subject will illustrate for us the last words of Bishop Ken, as contained in his will:—"As for my religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic faith, *professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West*; more particularly I die in the communion of the Church of England, *as it stands dis-*

tinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross."

3. Another antecedent ground for anticipating wants, and imperfections in the English Church lies in the circumstances under which the reformation of its doctrine and worship was effected. It is now universally admitted as an axiom in ecclesiastical and political matters, that sudden and violent changes must be injurious; and though our own revolution of opinion and practice was happily slower and more carefully considered than those of our neighbours, yet it was too much influenced by secular interests, sudden external events, and the will of individuals, to carry with it any vouchers for the perfection and entireness of the religious system thence emerging. The proceedings for instance of 1536, remind us at once of the dangers to which the Church was exposed, and of its providential deliverance from the worst part of them: the articles then framed being, according to Burnet, "in several places corrected and tempered by the King's" (Henry's) "own hand." Again, the precise *structure* of our present Liturgy, so primitive and beautiful in its *matter*, is confessedly owing to the successive and counteracting influences exerted on it, among others, by Bucer and Queen Elizabeth. The Church did not make the circumstances under which it found itself, and therefore is free from the responsibility of imperfections to which these gave rise. These imperfections followed in two ways. First, the hurry and confusion of the times led, as has been said, to a settlement of religion incomplete and defective: secondly, the people, not duly apprehending even what was soundly propounded as being new to them, and unable to digest healthy food after long desuetude, gave a false meaning to it, went into opposite extremes, and fashioned into unseemly habits and practices those principles which in themselves conveyed a wholesome and edifying doctrine. These considerations cannot fairly be taken in disparagement of the celebrated men who were the instruments of Providence in the work, and who doubtless felt far more keenly than is here expressed the perplexities of their situation: but they will serve perhaps to reconcile our minds to our circumstances in these latter ages of the Church, and will cherish in us a sobriety of mind, salutary in itself, and calculated more than any thing else to arm us against the arguments of Rome, and turn us in affection and sympathy towards the afflicted Church, which has been the "Mother of our new-birth." They will but lead us to confess that she is in a measure in that position which we fully ascribe to her Latin sister,* *in captivity*; and

* At Rome she wears it, as of old,
Upon the accursed hill;

they will make us understand and duly use the prayers of our wisest doctors and rulers, such as Bishop Andrews, that God would please to "look down upon His holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, *in her captivity*; to visit her once more with His salvation, and to bring her out to serve Him in the beauty of holiness."*

4. A further antecedent reason for anticipating practical imperfections in the Anglican system, (and to those mainly allusion is here made,) arises from the circumstance that our Articles, so far as distinct from the ancient creeds, are scarcely more than protests against specific existing errors of the 16th century, and neither are nor profess to be a system of doctrine. It is not unnatural, however, that they should have practically superseded that previous Catholic teaching altogether, which they were but modifying in parts, and, though but corrections, should be mistaken for the system corrected.

These reasonings *prepare* us to acquiesce in much of plausible objection being admissible against our Church, even in the judgment of those who love and defend it. When, however, we proceed to examine what its defects really are, we shall find them to differ from those of Rome in this all-important respect, which indeed has already been in part hinted, that they are but *omissions*. Rome maintains positive errors, and that under the sanction of an anathema; but nothing can be pointed out in the English Church which is not true, as far as it goes, and even when it opposes Rome, with a truly Apostolical toleration, it utters no ban or condemnation against her adherents. On the other hand, the omissions, such as they are, or rather obscurities of Anglican doctrine, may be supplied for the most part by each of us for himself, and thus do not interfere with the perfect development of the Christian temper in the hearts of individuals, which is the charge fairly adducible against Romanism. Such for instance is the phraseology used in speaking of the Holy Eucharist, which though protected safe through a dangerous time by the cautious Ridley, yet in one or two places was at best in intention defaced by the interpolations of Bucer, through an anxiety in some quarters to unite all the reformed Churches under episcopal government against Rome. And such is the omission of any direct safeguard in the Articles, against disbelief of the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession.

By Monarchs clad in gems and gold,
She goes a mourner still, &c. &c.

* * * *

Speak gently of our sister's fall.
Who knows but gentle love
May win her, at our patient call,
The surer way to prove.—*Christian Year*.

* Devotions. Liturgy of Jerusalem.

And again, for specimens of the perverse reception by the nation, as above alluded to, of what was piously intended, reference may be made to the popular sense put upon the eleventh article, which, though clearly and soundly explained in the Homily on Justification or Salvation, has been erroneously taken to countenance the wildest Antinomian doctrine, and is now so associated in the minds of many with this wrong interpretation, as to render almost hopeless the recovery of the true meaning.

And such again is the mischievous error, in which the Church in her formal documents certainly has no share, that we are but one among many *Protestant* bodies, and that the differences between Protestants are of little consequence; whereas the English Church, as such, is *not* Protestant, only politically, that is, externally, or so far as it has been made an establishment, and subjected to national and foreign influences. It claims to be merely *Reformed*, not Protestant, and it repudiates any fellowship with the mixed multitude which crowd together, whether at home or abroad, under a mere political banner. That this is no novel doctrine, is plain from the emphatic omission of the word Protestant in all our Services, even in that for the fifth of November, as remodelled in the reign of King William; and again, from the protest of the Lower House of Convocation at that date, on this very subject, which would have had no force, except as proceeding upon recognized usages. The circumstance here alluded to was as follows. In 1689 the Upper House of Convocation agreed on an address to King William, to thank him "for the grace and goodness expressed in his message, and the zeal shown in it for the *Protestant Religion in general*, and the Church of England in particular." To this phrase the Lower House objected, as importing, as Birch in his *Life of Tillotson* says, "*their owning common union with the foreign Protestants.*" A conference between the two Houses ensued, when the Bishops supported their wording of the address, on the ground that the Protestant Religion was the known denomination of the *common doctrine* of such parts of the West as had separated from Rome. The Lower House proposed, with other alterations of the passage, the words "Protestant Churches," for "Protestant Religion," being unwilling to acknowledge religion as separate from the Church. The Upper House in turn amended thus,— "the interest of the Protestant Religion in *this and all other* Protestant Churches;" but the Lower House, still jealous of any diminution of the English Church by this comparison with foreign Protestants, persisted in their opposition, and gained at length that the address, after thanking the King for his zeal for the Church of England, should proceed to anticipate, that thereby "the interest of the Protestant Religion in" [not "this and" but] "all other Protestant Churches would be better secured." Birch

adds, "the King well understood why this address omitted the thanks which the Bishops had recommended, for . . . the zeal which he had shown for the Protestant Religion; and *why there was no expression of tenderness to the Dissenters, and but a cool regard to the Protestant Churches.*"

Another great *practical* error of members of our Church, has been their mode of defending its doctrines; and this has arisen, not from any direction of the Church itself, but, as it would appear, from mistaking, as already mentioned, the specific protests contained in its Articles for that Catholic system, which is the rightful inheritance of it as well as other branches of the Church. We have indeed too often fought the Romanists on wrong grounds, and given up to them the high principles maintained by the early Church. We have indirectly opposed the major premise of our opponents' argument, when we should have denied the fact expressed in the minor. For instance: they have maintained that Transubstantiation was an Apostolical doctrine, as having been ever taught every where in the Church. We, instead of denying this fact as regards Transubstantiation, have acted as if it mattered very little whether it were true or not, (whereas the principle is most true and valuable,) and have proceeded to oppose Transubstantiation on supposed grounds of *reason*. Again, we have argued for the sole Canonicity of the Bible to the exclusion of tradition, not on the ground that the Fathers so held it, (which would be an irrefragable argument,) but on some supposed internal witness of Scripture to the fact, or some abstract and antecedent reasons against the Canonicity of unwritten teaching. Once more, we have argued the *unscripturalness* of image worship as its only condemnation; a mode of argument, which one would be very far indeed from pronouncing untenable, but which opens the door to a multitude of refined distinctions and pleas; whereas the way lay clear before us to appeal to *history*, to appeal to the usage of the early Church Catholic, to review the circumstances of the introduction of image worship, the Iconoclast controversy, the Council of Frankfort, and the late reception of the corruption in the West.

So much then, on the objections which may be urged against the English Church, which relate either to mere *omissions* not positive errors, or again to faults in the *practical working* of the system, and are in these respects dissimilar from those which lie against the Church of Rome, and which relate to clear and direct perversions and corruptions of divine truth. Should it, however, be asked, *whence* our knowledge of the truth should be derived, since there is so much of meagreness and mistake in our more popular expounders of it, it may be replied, first, that the writings of the Fathers contain abundant directions how to ascertain it; next, that their directions are distinctly propounded and

supported by our Divines of the seventeenth century, though little comparatively at present is known concerning those great authors. Nor could a more acceptable or important service be done to our Church at this present moment, than the publication of some systematic introduction to theology, embodying and illustrating the great and concordant principles and doctrines set forth by Hammond, Taylor, and their brethren before and after them.

Lastly, should it be inquired whether this admission of incompleteness in our own system does not lead to projects of change and reform on the part of individuals, it must be answered plainly in the negative. Such an admission has but reference to the question of *abstract* perfection; as a practical matter, it will be our wisdom as individuals to enjoy what God's good providence has left us, lest, striving to obtain more, we lose what we still possess.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

No. 72.

ARCHBISHOP USSHER ON PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

(*Against Romanism.*—No. 2.)

ADVERTISEMENT.

ONE great unfairness practised by Roman controversialists, has been to adduce, in behalf of their own peculiarities, doctrines or customs of the Primitive Church, which, resembling them in appearance, are really of a different character. Thus, because the early Fathers spoke of the Holy Communion in such reverent and glowing terms, as became those who understood its real nature and virtue, they have tried to make it appear that they believed in their own theory of Transubstantiation. Whereas they spoke of it as a *commemorative* sacrifice, they have thence taken occasion to make it a *real* and *proper* sacrifice. The doctrine of ecclesiastical penances they have converted into the theory of *satisfactions* to Almighty God for sins committed. The existence of *Apostolical Tradition*, in the early Church, in behalf of the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation and the like, has been made a pretence for introducing *so called* Apostolical Traditions concerning various unfounded opinions in faith and practice.

But in no instance is this fallacious procedure more strikingly seen than as regards their doctrine of *Purgatory*, which they defend by notions and usages in the early Church, quite foreign to the distressing tenet which we challenge them to prove. This is shown with great learning and ability by the celebrated Archbishop Ussher in his Controversy with a Jesuit. At a time like the present, when many persons are in doubt whether they are not driven to an alternative of either giving up the primitive Fathers or embracing Popery, it may be useful to reprint the chapter on this subject from Ussher's work in a separate form.

OF PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

INTRODUCTION.

PRAYER for the dead, as it is used in the Church of Rome, doth necessarily suppose Purgatory; and therefore whatsoever hath been alleged out of the Scriptures and Fathers against the one,

doth stand in full force against the other: so that here we need not *actum agere*, and make a new work of overthrowing that which hath been sufficiently beaten down already. But on the other side, the admittal of Purgatory doth not necessarily infer Prayer for the dead: nay, if we shall suppose, with our adversaries, that Purgatory is the prison from whence none shall *come out until they have paid the utmost farthing*, their own paying, and not other men's praying, must be the thing they are to trust unto, if ever they look to be delivered out of that jail. Our Romanists indeed do commonly take it for granted, that

"Purgatory and Prayer for the dead be so closely linked together that the one doth necessarily follow the other;"

but in so doing, they reckon without their host, and greatly mistake the matter. For howsoever they may deal with their own devices as they please, and link their prayers with their Purgatory as closely as they list, yet shall they never be able to show, that the Commemoration and Prayers for the dead, used by the ancient Church, had any relation with their Purgatory; and therefore, whatsoever they were, Popish prayers we are sure they were not. I easily foresee, that the full opening of the judgment of the Fathers in this point will hardly stand with that brevity which I intended to use in treating of these questions; the particulars be so many, that necessarily do incur into the handling of this argument. But I suppose the reader will be content rather to dispense with me in that behalf, than be sent away unsatisfied in a matter wherein the adversary beareth himself confident beyond measure, that the whole stream of antiquity runneth clearly upon his side.

- § 1. OF THE PERSONS FOR WHOM AFTER DEATH PRAYERS WERE OFFERED IN THE EARLY CHURCH.
- § 2. OF THE PRIMARY INTENTION OF PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.
- § 3. OF THE PLACE AND CONDITION OF SOULS DEPARTED.
- § 4. OF THE OPINION OF THE HERETIC AERIUS TOUCHING PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.
- § 5. OF THE PROFIT OF PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD TO THE PERSONS PRAYED FOR.

- § 1. *Of the Persons for whom after death Prayers were offered in the early Church.*

THAT the truth, then, of things may the better appear, we are here prudently to distinguish the original institution of the Church from the private opinions of particular doctors, which

waded further herein than the general intendment of the Church did give them warrant ; and diligently to consider, that the memorials, oblations, and prayers made for the dead at the beginning, had reference to such as rested from their labours, and not unto any souls which were thought to be tormented in that Utopian purgatory, whereof there was no news stirring in those days. This may be gathered,

First, by the practice of the ancient Christians, laid down by the author of the Commentaries upon Job, which are wrongly ascribed unto Origen, in this manner :

“ We observe the memorials of the Saints, and devoutly keep the remembrance of our parents or friends which die in the faith ; as well rejoicing for their refreshing, as requesting also for ourselves a godly consummation in the faith. Thus therefore do we celebrate the *death*, not the day of the birth : because they which die shall live for ever. And we celebrate it, calling together religious persons with the priests, the faithful with the clergy ; inviting moreover the needy and the poor, feeding the orphans and widows, that our festivity may be for a memorial of rest to the souls departed, whose remembrance we celebrate, and to us may become a sweet savour in the sight of the eternal God.”

Secondly, by that which St. Cyprian writeth of Laurentius and Ignatius, whom he acknowledgeth to have received of the Lord palms and crowns for their famous martyrdom, and yet presently addeth :

“ We offer sacrifices always for them, when we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs with an anniversary commemoration.”

Thirdly, by that which we read in the author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, set out under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite : for where the party deceased is described by him to have departed out of this life,

“replenish with divine joy, as now not fearing any change to worse,”

being come unto the end of all his labours, and to have been both privately acknowledged by his friends, and publicly pronounced by the ministers of the Church, to be a happy man, and to be verily admitted into the

“society of the saints that have been from the beginning of the world ;”

yet doth he declare, that the Bishop made prayer for him, (upon what ground, we shall afterward hear,) that

“ God would forgive him all the sins that he had committed through human infirmity, and bring him into the light and the land of the living, into the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, into the place from whence pain and sorrow and sighing flieth.”

Fourthly, by the funeral ordinances of the Church related by St. Chrysostom, which were appointed to admonish the living that the parties deceased were in a state of joy, and not of grief;

"For tell me," saith he, "what do the bright lamps mean? do we not accompany them therewith as champions? What mean the hymns?" "Consider what thou dost sing at that time—*Return, my soul, unto thy rest, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.* And again: *I will fear no evil, because thou art with me.* Again: *Thou art my refuge from the affliction that compasseth me.* Consider what these Psalms mean."

Fifthly, by the forms of prayers that are found in the ancient Liturgies. As in that of the Churches of Assyria attributed unto St. Basil:

"Be mindful, O Lord, of them which are dead, and are departed out of this life," and of the orthodox Bishops, which from Peter and James the Apostles until this day, have clearly professed the right word of faith; and namely, of Ignatius, Dionysius, Julius, and the rest of the saints of worthy memory. "Be mindful, O Lord, of them also which have stood unto blood for religion, and by righteousness and holiness have fed thy holy flock."

And in the Liturgy fathered upon the Apostles:

"We offer unto thee, for all the saints which have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets, just men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, priests, deacons," &c.

And in the Liturgies of the Churches of Egypt, which carry the title of St. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Cyril of Alexandria:

"Be mindful, O Lord, of thy saints; vouchsafe to remember all thy saints which have pleased thee from the beginning, our holy fathers, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, preachers, evangelists, and all the souls of the just which have died in the faith; and especially the holy, glorious, the evermore Virgin Mary, the Mother of God; and St. John the forerunner, the Baptist, and Martyr; St. Stephen, the first deacon and martyr; St. Mark the apostle, evangelist and martyr," &c.

And in the Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople, ascribed to St. Chrysostom:

"We offer unto thee this reasonable service for those who are at rest in the faith, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, religious persons, and every spirit perfected in the faith, but especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed Lady, the Mother of God and aye Virgin Mary."

Which kind of oblation for the saints, sounding somewhat harshly in the ears of the Latins, Leo Thuscus, in his translation, thought best to express it to their better liking, after this manner:

"We offer unto thee this reasonable service for the faithfully de-

ceased, for our fathers, and forefathers, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all the saints interceding" for them.

As if the phrase of "offering for the martyrs," were not to be found in St. Chrysostom's own works ; and more universally

"for the just, both the fathers, and the patriarchs, the prophets, and apostles, and evangelists, and martyrs, and confessors, the bishops, and such as led a solitary life, and the whole order,"

in the suffrages of the Church rehearsed by Epiphanius. Yea, and in the Western Church itself :

"for the spirits of those that are at rest, Hilary, Athanasius, Martin, Ambrose, Augustine, Fulgentius, Leander, Isidorus," &c.

as may be seen in the Muzarabical Office, used in Spain.

Sixthly, this may be confirmed out of the funeral orations of St. Ambrose ; in one whereof, touching the Emperor Valentinian, and his brother Gratian, thus he speaketh :

"Let us believe that Valentinian is ascended from the desert, that is to say, from this dry and unmanured (inculto) place, unto those flowery delights, where being conjoined with his brother, he enjoyeth the pleasure of everlasting life. Blessed are you both, if my orisons shall prevail anything, no day shall overslip you in silence ; no oration (oratio) of mine shall pass you ever unhonoured ; no night shall run by, wherein I will not bestow upon you some portion of my prayers. With all oblations will I frequent you."

In another, he prayeth thus unto God :

"Give rest to thy perfect servant Theodosius, that rest which thou hast prepared for thy saints."

And yet he had said before of him :

"Theodosius, of honourable memory, being freed from doubtful fight, doth now enjoy everlasting light, and continual tranquillity ; and for the things which he did in this body, he rejoiceth in the fruits of God's reward ; because he loved the Lord his God, he hath obtained the society of the saints."

And afterward also,

"Theodosius remaineth in light, and glorieth in the company of the saints."

In a third, he prayeth thus, for his brother Satyrus :

"Almighty God, I now commend unto thee this harmless soul ; to thee do I make my oblation ; accept mercifully, and graciously, the office of a brother, the sacrifice of a priest ;"

although he had directly pronounced of him before, that

"he had entered into the kingdom of heaven, because he had believed the word of God,"

and excelled in many notable virtues.

Lastly, in one of his epistles, he comforteth Faustinus, for the death of his sister, after this manner :

“Do not the carcasses of so many half-ruined cities, and the funerals of so much land exposed under one view, admonish thee that the departure of one woman, although a holy and admirable one, should be borne with great consolation ? especially, seeing they are cast down and overthrown for ever ; but she being taken from us but for a time, doth pass a better life there. I, therefore, think that she is not so much to be lamented as to be followed with prayers, and am of the mind, that she is not to be made sad with thy tears, but rather that her soul should be commended with oblations unto the Lord.”

Thus far St. Ambrose, unto whom we may adjoin Gregory Nazianzen also ; who, in the funeral oration that he made upon his brother Cæsarius, having acknowledged that he had

“received those honours that did befit a new created soul, which the Spirit had reformed by water,”

(for he had been but lately baptized, before his departure out of this life,) doth, notwithstanding, pray that the Lord will be pleased to receive him.

Divers instances of like practice in the ages following, I have produced in another place ; to which I will add some few more, to the end that the reader may, from thence, observe how long the primitive institution of the Church did hold up head among the tares that grew up with it, and in the end did quite choke and extinguish it. Our English Saxons had learned of Gregory to pray for relief of those souls that were supposed to suffer pain in Purgatory ; and yet the introducing of that novelty was not able to jumble out the ancient usage of making prayers and oblations for them, which were not doubted to have been at rest in God's kingdom. And, therefore, the brethren of the Church of Hexham, in the anniversary commemoration of the obit of Oswald, King of Northumberland, used

“to keep their vigils, for the health of his soul ;”

and having spent the night in praising God with Psalms,

“to offer for him, in the morning, the sacrifice of the sacred oblation,”

as Bede writeth ; who telleth us yet withal, that he “reigned with God in heaven,” and by his prayers procured many miracles to be wrought on earth. So likewise doth the same Bede report, that when it was discovered, by two several visions, that Hilda, the Abbess of Streamsheale, or Whitby, in Yorkshire, was carried up by the Angels into heaven, they, which heard thereof, presently caused prayers to be said for her soul. And Osberne relateth the like of Dunstan ; that being at Bath, and beholding in such another vision the soul of one that had been his scholar, at Glastonbury, to be carried up into “the palace of heaven,” he

“straightway commended the same into the hands of the divine piety,”

and entreated the lords of the place, where he was, to do so likewise.

Other narrations, of the same kind, may be found among them that have written of the saints' lives; and particularly in the tome published by Mosander, p. 69, touching the disease of Bathildis, Queen of France, and p. 25, concerning the departure of Godfrey, Earl of Cappenberg, who is said there to have appeared unto a certain abbess, called Gerbergis, and to have acquainted her,

"that he was now, without all delay, and without all danger of any more severe trial, gone unto the palace of the highest King; and as the son of the immortal King, was clothed with blessed immortality."

And the monk, that writ the legend, addeth, that she presently thereupon

"caused the sacrifice of the Mass to be offered for him."

Which, how fabulous soever it may be for the matter of the vision, yet doth it strongly prove, that within these five hundred years, (for no longer since is it that this is accounted to have been done,) the use of offerings for the souls of those that were believed to be in heaven, was still retained in the Church: The letters of Charles the Great, unto Offa, King of Mercia, are yet extant; wherein he wisheth, that "intercession" should be made "for the soul of" Pope Adrian, then lately deceased:

"not having any doubt at all," saith he, "that his blessed soul is at rest: but, that we may show faithfulness and love unto our most dear friend. Even as St. Augustine also giveth directions, that intercessions ought to be made for all men of ecclesiastical piety; affirming, that to intercede for a good man, doth profit him that doeth it."

Where the two ends of this kind of intercession are to be observed; the one, to show their love to their friend; the other, to get profit to themselves thereby, rather than to the party deceased.

Lastly, Pope Innocent the Third, or the Second rather, being inquired of by the Bishop of Cremona, concerning the state of a certain priest, that died without baptism, resolveth him out of St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose, that

"because he continued in the faith of the holy mother of the Church, and the confession of the name of Christ, he was assoiled from original sin, and had attained the joy of the heavenly country."

Upon which ground, at last, he maketh this conclusion:

"Ceasing, therefore, all questions, hold the sentences of the learned Fathers; and command continual prayers, and sacrifices, to be offered unto God, in thy Church, for the foresaid priest."

§ 2. *Of the primary intention of Prayers for the Dead.*

Now, having thus declared, unto what kind of persons the Commemorations ordained by the ancient Church did extend, the next thing that cometh to consideration is, what we are to conceive of the primary intention of those prayers, that were appointed to be made therein. And here we are to understand, that first, prayers of praise and thanksgiving were presented unto God, for the blessed estate that the party deceased was now entered upon : whereunto were afterwards added, prayers of deprecation and petition, that God would be pleased to forgive him his sins, to keep him from hell, and to place him in the kingdom of heaven. Which kind of intercessions, however at first they were well meant, as we shall hear, yet, in process of time, they proved an occasion of confirming men in divers errors ; especially when they began once to be applied, and only to the good, but to evil livers also, unto whom, by the first institution, they never were intended.

The term of *εὐχαριστήριος εὐχή*, a *thanksgiving prayer*, I borrow from the writer of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy ; who, in the description of the funeral observances, used of old in the Church, informeth us, first, that the friends of the dead

“ accounted him to be, as he was, blessed, because that, according to his wish, he had obtained a victorious end,” and thereupon, “ sent forth hymns of thanksgiving to the Author of that victory ; desiring withal that they, themselves, might come unto the like end.”

And then that the Bishop likewise offered up a prayer of thanksgiving unto God, when the dead was afterward brought unto him, to receive, as it were, at his hands a sacred coronation. Thus at the funeral of Fabiola, the praising of God by singing of Psalms and resounding of Hallelujah, is specially mentioned by St. Jerome ; and the general practice and intention of the Church therein is expressed and earnestly urged by St. Chrysostom in this manner :

“ Do not we praise God and give thanks unto him, for that he hath now crowned him that is departed, for that he hath freed him from his labours, for that quitting him from fear, he keepeth him with himself ? Are not the hymns for this end ? Is not the singing of Psalms for this purpose ? All these be tokens of rejoicing.”

Whereupon he thus presseth them that used immoderate mourning for the dead :

“ Thou sayest, *Return, O my soul, unto thy rest, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee* ; and dost thou weep ? is not this a stage play ? is it not mere simulation ? For if thou dost indeed believe the

things that thou sayest; thou lamentest idly; but if thou playest, and dissemblest, and thinkest these things to be fables, why dost thou then sing? why dost thou suffer those things that are done? Wherefore dost thou not drive away them that sing?"

And in the end he concludeth somewhat prophetically, that he "very much feared lest by this means some grievous disease should creep in upon the Church."

Whether the doctrine now maintained in the Church of Rome, that the children of God, presently after their departure out of this life, are cast into a lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, be not a spice of this disease, and whether their practice in chanting of Psalms, appointed for the expression of joy and thankfulness, over them whom they esteem to be tormented in so lamentable a fashion, be not a part of that scene and pageant at which St. Chrysostom doth so take on, I leave it unto others to judge. That his fear was not altogether vain, the event itself doth show. For howsoever in his days the fire of the Romish purgatory was not yet kindled, yet were there certain sticks then a-gathering, which ministered fuel afterwards unto that flame. Good St. Augustine, who was then alive, and lived three and twenty years after St. Chrysostom's death, declared himself to be of this mind; that the oblations and alms usually offered in the Church

"for all the dead that received baptism, were thanksgivings for such as were very good, propitiations for such as were not very bad; but as for such as were very evil, although they were no helps of the dead, yet were they some kind of consolations of the living."

Which, although it were but a private exposition of the Church's meaning in her prayers and oblations for the dead, and the opinion of a doctor too that did not hold purgatory to be any article of his creed, yet did the Romanists in times following greedily take hold thereof, and make it the main foundation upon which they laid the hay and stubble of their devised Purgatory.

A private exposition I call this; not only because it is not to be found in the writings of the former Fathers, but also because it suiteth not well with the general practice of the Church, which it intendeth to interpret. It may indeed fit in some sort that part of the Church service, wherein there was made a several commemoration, first of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, after one manner; and then of the other dead, after another; which together with the conceit, that

"an injury was offered to a martyr, by praying for him,"

was it that first occasioned St. Augustine to think of the former distinction. But in the

"supplications for the spirits of the dead, which the Church, under

a general commemoration, was accustomed to make for all that were deceased in the Christian and Catholic communion."

To imagine that one and the same act of praying should be a petition for some, and for others a thanksgiving only, is somewhat too harsh an interpretation; especially where we find it propounded by way of petition, and the intention thereof directly expressed, as in the Greek Liturgy attributed to St. James, the brother of our Lord:

"Be mindful, O Lord God, of the spirits and of all flesh, of such as we have remembered, and of such as we have not remembered, being of right belief, from Abel the just, until this present day. Do thou cause them to rest in the land of the living, in thy kingdom, in the delight of paradise, in the bosoms of Abraham, of Isaac, and Jacob, our holy fathers; whence grief, and sorrow, and sighing, are fled; where the light of thy countenance doth visit them, and shine for ever."

And in the offices compiled by Alcuinus:

"O Lord, holy Father, Almighty and everlasting God, we humbly make request unto thee for the spirits of thy servants and handmaids, which from the beginning of this world thou hast called unto thee; that thou wouldest vouchsafe, O Lord, to give unto them a lightsome place, a place of refreshing and ease, and that they may pass by the gates of hell and the ways of darkness, and may abide in the mansions of the saints, and in the holy light which thou didst promise of old unto Abraham and his seed."

So the "commemoration of the faithful departed," retained as yet in the Roman missal, is begun with this orison:

"Eternal rest grant unto them, O Lord, and let everlasting light shine unto them."

Whereunto we may add these two prayers, to omit a great number more of the like kind, used of old in the same Church:

"Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation, which we offer unto thee for all that are departed in the confession of thy name; that thou reaching unto them the right hand of thy help, they may have the rest of everlasting life; and being separated from the punishment of the wicked, they may always persevere in the joy of thy praise." And "this oblation, which we humbly offer unto thee for the commemoration of the souls that sleep in peace, we beseech thee, O Lord, receive graciously; and of thy goodness, grant that both the affection of this piety may profit us, and obtain for them everlasting bliss."

Where you may observe, that the souls unto which "everlasting bliss" was wished for, were yet acknowledged to rest "in peace," and, consequently, not to be disquieted with any purgatory torment. Even as in the canon of the mass itself, the priest, in the commemoration for the dead, prayeth thus:

"Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids, which have gone

before us with the ensign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all that are at rest in Christ, we beseech thee that thou wouldst grant a place of refreshing, light, and peace."

Nay, the Armenians, in their Liturgy, entreat God to "give eternal peace," not only in general "unto all that have gone before us in the faith of Christ;" but also in particular to the "patriarchs, apostles, prophets, and martyrs." Which maketh directly for the opinion of those, against whom Nicolas Cabasilas doth dispute, who held that these "commemorations" contained "a supplication for the saints unto God," and not a "thanksgiving" only. As also do those forms of prayer, which were used in the Roman Liturgy in the days of Pope Innocent the Third :

"Let such an oblation profit such or such a saint unto glory."

And especially that for St. Leo, which is found in the elder copies of the Grecian Sacramentary :

"Grant unto us, O Lord, that this oblation may profit the soul of thy servant Leo."

For which the latter books have chopped in this prayer :

"Grant unto us, O Lord, that by the intercession of thy servant Leo, this oblation may profit us."

Concerning which alteration, when the Archbishop of Lyons propounded such another question unto Pope Innocent, as our challenger at the beginning did unto us,

"Who it was that did change it, and when it was changed, or why?" the Pope returneth him for answer :

"That who did change it, or when it was changed, he was ignorant of; yet he knew upon what occasion it was changed : because that where the authority of the Holy Scripture doth say, that he doeth injury unto a martyr, who prayeth for a martyr,"

(which is a new text of Holy Scripture, of the Pope's own canonization,)

"the same by the like reason is to be held of the other saints."

The gloss upon this decretal, layeth down the reason of this mutation a little more roundly :

"Of old they prayed for him, and now at this day he prayeth for us ; and so was the change made."

And Alphonsus Mendoza telleth us, that the old prayer was "deservedly" disused, and this other substituted in the room thereof :

"Grant unto us, we beseech thee, O Lord, that by the intercession of thy servant Leo, this oblation may profit us."

Which prayer, indeed, was to be found, heretofore in *modernioribus sacramentariis*, as Pope Innocent speaketh, and in the Roman missals that were published before the Council of Trent, as,

namely, in that which was printed at Paris, Anno 1529; but in the newly reformed missal, therewith, it seemeth, Mendoza was not so well acquainted as with his scholastical controversies, it is put out again, and another prayer for Leo put in: that by the celebration of those

“offices of atonement a blessed retribution might accompany him.”

Neither is there any more wrong done unto St. Leo, in praying for him after this manner, than unto all the rest of his fellows in that other prayer of the Roman Liturgy:

“We have received, O Lord, the divine mysteries; which as they do profit thy saints unto glory, so we do beseech thee that they may profit us for our healing:”

and nothing so much as is done unto all the faithful deceased, when, in their masses for the dead, they say daily,

“Lord JESUS CHRIST, King of Glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful that are departed from the pains of hell, and from the deep lake; deliver them from the mouth of the lion, that hell do not swallow them up, that they fall not into darkness.”

So that, whatsoever commodious expositions our adversaries can bring for the justifying of the Roman service, the same may we make use of to show, that the ancient Church might pray for the dead, and yet in so doing have no relation at all unto Purgatory; yea, and pray for the martyrs and other saints that were in the state of bliss, without offering unto them any injury thereby.

For the clearing of the meaning of those prayers which are made for Leo and the other saints, to the two expositions brought in by Pope Innocent, Cardinal Bellarmine addeth this for the third:

“that peradventure therein the glory of the body is petitioned for, which they shall have in the day of the resurrection. For although,” saith he, “they shall certainly obtain that glory, and it be due unto their merits; yet it is not absurd to desire and ask this for them.”

Where, laying aside those unsavoury terms of *debt* and *merits*, whereof we shall have occasion to treat in their proper place, the answer is otherwise true in part, but not full enough to give satisfaction unto that which was objected. For the primary intention of the Church indeed, in her prayers for the dead, had reference unto the day of the resurrection; which also in divers places we find to have been expressly prayed for. As in the Egyptian Liturgy, attributed unto St. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria:

“Raise up their bodies in the day which thou hast appointed, according to thy promises, which are true and cannot lie; grant unto them according to thy promises, that which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and which hath not ascended into the heart of man, which thou hast prepared, O Lord, for them that love thy holy name, that thy servants may not remain in death, but may get out

from thence, although slothfulness and negligence have followed them."

And in that which is used by the Christians of St. Thomas, as they are commonly called, in the East Indies :

"Let the Holy Ghost give resurrection to your dead at the last day, and make them worthy of the incorruptible kingdom."

Such is the prayer of St. Ambrose, for Gratian and Valentinian the emperors :

"I do beseech thee, most high God, that thou wouldst raise up again those dear young men with a speedy resurrection, that thou mayest recompense this untimely course of this present life, with a timely resurrection."

And that in Alcuinus :

"Let their souls sustain no hurt ; but when that great day of the resurrection and remuneration shall come, vouchsafe to raise them up, O Lord, together with thy saints and thine elect."

And that in Grimoldus's Sacramentary :

"Almighty and everlasting God, vouchsafe to place the body and the soul and the spirit of thy servant N., in the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that when the day of thy acknowledgment shall come, thou mayest command them to be raised up among thy saints and thine elect."

And that which the Syrians do use :

"Cause, Lord God, their souls and their spirits and their bodies to rest ; and sprinkle the dew of mercy upon their bones."

But yet the Cardinal's answer, that the glory of the body may be prayed for, which the saints shall have at the day of the resurrection, cometh somewhat short of that which the Church used to request in the behalf of St. Leo : for in that prayer express mention is made of his soul, and so it is wished that profit may redound by the present oblation. And, therefore, this defect must be supplied out of his answer unto that other prayer, which is made for the souls of the faithful departed, that they may be delivered out of the mouth of the lion, and that hell may not swallow them up. To this he saith, that,

"the Church doth pray for these souls, that they may not be condemned unto the everlasting pains of hell ; not as if it were not certain, that they should not be condemned unto those pains, but because it is God's pleasure that we should pray, even for those things which we are certain to receive."

The same answer did Alphonsus de Castro give before him, that

"very often those things are prayed for which are certainly known shall come to pass as they are prayed for ; and that of this there be very many testimonies."

And Johannes Medina, that

“God delighteth to be prayed unto for those things which otherwise he purposed to do. For God had decreed,” saith he, “after the sin of Adam to take our flesh, and he decreed the time wherein he meant to come; and yet the prayers of the saints, that prayed for his incarnation and for his coming, were acceptable unto him. God hath also decreed to grant pardon unto every repentant sinner; and yet the prayer is grateful unto him, wherein either the penitent doth pray for himself, or another for him, that God would be pleased to accept his repentance. God hath decreed also and promised not to forsake his Church and to be present with councils lawfully assembled; yet the prayer notwithstanding is grateful unto God, and the hymns, whereby his presence and favour and grace are implored both for the council and the Church.”

And whereas it might be objected, that howsoever the Church may sometimes pray for those things which she shall certainly receive, yet she doth not pray for those things which she hath already received; and this she hath received, that those souls shall not be damned, seeing they have received their sentence, and are most secure from damnation; the Cardinal replieth, that this objection may easily be avoided:

“For although those souls,” saith he, “have received already their first sentence in the particular judgment, and by that sentence are freed from hell, yet doth there yet remain the general judgment, in which they are to receive the second sentence. Wherefore the Church, praying that those souls in the last judgment may not fall into darkness, nor be swallowed up in hell, doth not pray for the thing which the soul hath, but which it shall receive.”

Thus, these men, labouring to show how the prayers for the dead used in their Church may stand with their conceits of Purgatory, do thereby inform us how the Prayers for the dead used by the ancient Church may stand well enough without the supposal of any purgatory at all. For if we pray for those things which we are most sure will come to pass, and the Church, by the adversary's own confession, did pray accordingly that the souls of the faithful might escape the pains of hell at the general judgment, notwithstanding they had certainly been freed from them already by the sentence of the particular judgment: by the same reason, when the Church in times past besought God to “remember all those that slept in the hope of the resurrection of everlasting life,” which is the form of prayer used in the Greek Liturgies, and to give unto them rest, and to bring them unto the place where the light of His countenance should shine upon them for evermore, why should not we think that it desired these things should be granted unto them by the last sentence at the day of the resurrection, notwithstanding they were formerly adjudged unto them by the particular sentence at the time of their dissolution?

For, as

“that which shall befall unto all at the day of judgment is accomplished in every one at the day of his death;”

so, on the other side, whatsoever befalleth the soul of every one at the day of his death, the same is fully accomplished upon the whole man at the day of the general judgment. Whereupon we find that the Scriptures everywhere do point out that great day unto us, as the time wherein mercy and forgiveness, rest and refreshing, joy and gladness, redemption and salvation, rewards and crowns, shall be bestowed upon all God’s children. As in 2 Tim. i. 16, 18. “The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus: the Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.” 1 Cor. i. 8. “Who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.” Acts iii. 19. “Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.” 2 Thess. i. 6, 7. “It is a righteous thing with God to recompense unto you which are troubled rest with us, when the Lord JESUS shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels.” Philip. ii. 16. “That I may rejoice in the day of CHRIST, that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain.” 1 Thess. ii. 19. “For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? are not even ye in the presence of our Lord JESUS CHRIST at his coming?” 1 Pet. i. 5. “Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time.” 1 Cor. v. 5. “That the spirit may be saved in the day of the LORD JESUS.” Ephes. iv. 30. “Grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.” Luke xxi. 28. “When these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh.” 2 Tim. iv. 8. “Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day;” and Luke xiv. 14. “Thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.”

And that the Church, in her offices for the dead, had special respect unto this time of the resurrection, appeareth plainly, both by the portions of Scripture appointed to be read therein, and by divers particulars in the prayers themselves, that manifestly discover this intention. For there “the ministers,” as the writer of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy reporteth,

“read those undoubted promises which are recorded in the divine Scriptures of our divine resurrection, and then devoutly sang such of the sacred Psalms as were of the same subject and argument.”

And so accordingly in the Roman Missal, the lessons ordained to be read for that time are taken from 1 Cor. xv. “Behold, I tell you a mystery; we shall all rise again,” &c. John v. “The hour cometh wherein all that are in the graves shall hear his

voice, and they that have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life," &c. 1 Thess. iv. "Brethren, we would not have you ignorant concerning them that sleep, that ye sorrow not, as others which have no hope." John xi. "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, although he were dead, shall live." 2 Maccab. xii. "Judas caused a sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the dead, justly and religiously thinking of the resurrection." John vi. "This is the will of my Father that sent me, that every one that seeth the Son and believeth in him, may have life everlasting: and I will raise him up at the last day." And, "he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting: and I will raise him up at the last day." And, lastly, Apocal. xiv. "I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth now, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; for their works follow them." Wherewith the sequence also doth agree, beginning,

"Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvat seclum in favilla
Teste David cum Sibylla ;"

and ending,

"Lacrymosa dies illa,
Qua resurget ex favilla
Judicandus homo reus ;
Huic ergo parce, Deus.
Pie Jesu Domine,
Dona eis requiem."

Tertullian, in his book de Monogamia, which he wrote after he had been infected with the heresy of the Montanists, speaking of a prayer of a widow for the soul of her deceased husband, saith, that

"she requesteth refreshing for him, and a portion in the first resurrection."

Which seemeth to have some twang of the error of the Millenaries, (whereunto not Tertullian only with his prophet Montanus, but Nepos also, and Lactantius, and divers other doctors of the Church, did fall), who, misunderstanding the prophecy in the 20th of the Revelation, imagined that there should be a *first resurrection* of the just, that should reign here a thousand years upon earth: and after that, a *second resurrection* of the wicked at the day of the general judgment.

"They that come not to the first resurrection, but are reserved to the second, shall be burned until they fulfil the times betwixt the first and the second resurrection: or if they have not fulfilled them, they shall remain longer in punishment. And therefore let us pray that we may obtain to have our part in the first resurrection,"

saith St. Ambrose. Hence, in a certain Gothic Missal, I meet

with two several exhortations made unto the people to pray after this form: the one that God would

“vouchsafe to place in the bosom of Abraham the souls of those that be at rest, and admit them unto the part of the first resurrection;”

the other, which I find elsewhere also repeated in particular, that he would

“place in rest the spirits of their friends which were gone before them in the Lord’s peace, and raise them up in the part of the first resurrection.”

And, to come nearer home, Asserius Menevensis, writing of the death and burial of Ethelred, King of the West Saxons, and Burghred, King of the Mercians, saith that they

“expect the coming of the Lord and the first resurrection with the just.”

The like doth Abbo Floriacensis also write of our Cuthbert. Which, how it may be excused otherwise, than by saying that at the general resurrection the *dead in Christ shall rise first*, and then the wicked shall be raised after them, and by referring the *first resurrection* unto the *resurrection of the just*, which shall be at that day, I cannot well resolve.

For certain it is, that the *first resurrection*, spoken of in the 20th chapter of the Revelation of St. John, is the resurrection of the soul from the death of sin and error in this world; as the *second* is the resurrection of the body out of the dust of the earth in the world to come; both which are distinctly laid down by our Saviour, in the 5th chapter of the Gospel of St. John; the first in the 25th verse, “The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live:” the second, in the 28th and 29th, “Marvel not at this; for the hour is coming, in which all that are in the grave shall hear his voice, and shall come forth: they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.”

And to this general resurrection, and to the judgment of the last day, had the Church relation in her prayers; some patterns whereof it will not be amiss to exhibit here, in these examples following:

“Although the condition of death brought in upon mankind doth make our hearts and minds heavy; yet, by the gift of thy clemency, we are raised up with the hope of future immortality; and being mindful of eternal salvation, are not afraid to sustain the loss of this light. For by the benefit of thy grace, life is not taken away to the faithful, but changed; and the souls being freed from the prison of the body, abhor things mortal when they attain unto things eternal. Wherefore we beseech thee that thy servant N., being placed in the tabernacles of the blessed, may rejoice that he hath escaped the straits of the flesh, and in the desire of glorification expect with confidence the day of judgment.”

“Through **JESUS CHRIST** our Lord, whose holy passion we celebrate without doubt for immortal and well resting souls; for them especially upon whom thou hast bestowed the grace of the second birth; who, by the example of the same **JESUS CHRIST** our Lord, have begun to be secure of the resurrection. For thou, who hast made the things that were not, art able to repair the things that were; and hast given unto us evidences of the resurrection to come, not only by the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, but also by the resurrection of the same thy only begotten Son our Redeemer.”

“O God, who art the Creator and Maker of all things, and who art the bliss of the saints, grant unto us who make request unto thee, that the spirit of our brother, who is loosed from the knot of his body, may be presented in the blessed resurrection of thy saints.”

“O almighty and merciful God, we do entreat thy clemency, forasmuch by thy judgment we are born and made an end, that thou wilt receive into everlasting rest the soul of our brother, whom thou of thy piety hast commanded to pass from the dwelling of this world, and permit him to be associated with the company of thine elect, that together with them he may remain in everlasting bliss without end.”

“Eternal God, who in **CHRIST** thine only begotten Son our Lord hast given unto us the hope of a blessed resurrection; grant, we beseech thee, that the souls for which we offer this sacrifice of our redemption unto thy Majesty, may of thy mercy attain unto the rest of a blessed resurrection with thy saints.”

“Let this communion, we beseech thee, O Lord, purge us from sin; and give unto the soul of thy servant N. a portion in the heavenly joy, that being set apart before the throne of the glory of thy **CHRIST** with those that are upon the right hand, it may have nothing common with those that are upon the left.”

“Through **CHRIST** our Lord: at whose coming, when thou shalt command both the peoples to appear, command thy servant also to be severed from the number of the evil; and grant unto him that he may both escape the flames of everlasting punishment, and obtain the rewards of a righteous life,” &c.

Lastly, Abbot Berengosius, speaking of Constantine the Great,

“Forasmuch,” saith he, “as hitherto he hath not the full perfection of his future rest, but rather doth hope as yet with us to find a better resurrection, we are to pray that He who by his blood was pleased to sanctify the banner of the quickening cross, would hereafter bring unto perfect rest both us and him.”

In these and other prayers of the like kind, we may descry evident footsteps of the primary intentions of the Church in her supplications for the dead; which was, that the whole man, not the soul separated only, might receive public remission of sins and a solemn acquittal in the judgment of that great day, and so obtain both a full escape from all the consequences of sin, *the last enemy being now destroyed, and death swallowed up in victory,*

and a perfect consummation of bliss and happiness. All which are comprised in that short prayer of St. Paul for Onesiphorus, though made for him while he was alive. *The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.* Yea, divers prayers for the dead of this kind are still retained in the Roman Offices; of which the great Spanish doctor, Johannes Medina, thus writeth:

“Although I have read many prayers for the faithful deceased which are contained in the Roman Missal, yet have I read in none of them that the Church doth petition that they may more quickly be freed from pains; but I have read that in some of them petition is made that they may be freed from everlasting pains.”

For beside the common prayer that is used in the Mass for the commemoration of all the faithful deceased, that

“Christ would free them from the mouth of the lion, that hell may not swallow them up, and that they may not fall into the place of darkness,”

this prayer is prescribed for the day wherein the dead did depart out of this life:

“O God, whose property is always to have mercy and to spare, we most humbly beseech thee for the soul of thy servant N. which this day thou hast commanded to depart out of this world, that thou mayest not deliver it into the hands of the enemy, nor forget it finally; but command it to be received by the holy angels, and brought unto the country of Paradise; that because he hath trusted and believed in thee, he may not sustain the pains of hell, but possess joys everlasting.”

Which is a direct prayer, that the soul of him which was then departed might immediately be received into heaven, and escape not the temporary pains of purgatory, but the everlasting pains of hell. For howsoever the new reformers of the Roman Missal have put in here *pœnas inferni*, under the generality peradventure of the term of the “pains of hell,” intending to shroud their purgatory, which they would have men to believe to be one of the lodges of hell; yet in the old Missal which Medina had respect unto, we read expressly *pœnas æternas*, “everlasting pains;” which by no construction can be referred unto the pains of purgatory. And to the same purpose, in the book of the ceremonies of the Church of Rome, at the exequies of a Cardinal, a prayer is appointed to be read, that by the assistance of God’s grace he might

“escape the judgment of everlasting revenge, who, while he lived, was marked with the seal of the Holy Trinity.”

Again,

“there be other prayers,” saith Medina, “wherein petition is made, that God would raise the souls of the dead in their bodies unto bliss at the day of judgment.”

Such, for example, is that which is found in the Roman Missal :
 “ Absolve, we beseech thee, O Lord, the soul of thy servant from all the bond of his sins, that in the glory of the resurrection being raised among thy saints and elect, he may breathe again,”

or be refreshed. And that other in the Roman Pontifical :

“ O God, unto whom all things do live, and unto whom our bodies in dying do not perish, but are changed for the better, we do humbly pray thee that thou wouldst command the soul of thy servant N. to be received by the hands of thy holy angels, to be carried into the bosom of thy friend the Patriarch Abraham, and to be raised up at the last day of the great judgment; and whatsoever faults by the deceit of the devil he hath incurred, do thou of thy pity and mercy wash away by forgiving them.”

Now, forasmuch as it is most certain that all such as depart in grace, as the adversaries acknowledge, that all in purgatory do, are sure to escape hell, and to be raised up unto glory at the last day, Medina perplexeth himself exceedingly in according these kind of prayers, with the received grounds of purgatory; and after much agitation of the business to and fro, at last resolveth upon one of these two desperate conclusions. That touching these

“ prayers which are made in the Church for the dead, it may first of all be said that it is not necessary to excuse them all from unfitness. For many things are permitted to be read in the Church, which although they be not altogether sane, and altogether fit, yet serve for the stirring up and increasing the devotion of the faithful. Many such things,” saith he, “ we believe, are contained in the histories that be not sacred, and in the legends of the saints, and in the opinions and writings of the doctors; all which are tolerated by the Church in the mean time, while there is no question moved of them, and no scandal ariseth from them. And therefore it is no marvel, that somewhat not so fit should be contained in the aforesaid prayers, and be tolerated in the Church, seeing such prayers were made by private persons, not by councils, neither were approved at all by councils.”

And we do easily believe, indeed, that their offices and legends are fraught not only with untrue and unfit, but also with far worse stuff; neither is this any news unto us. Agobardus, Bishop of Lyons, complained, about eight hundred years ago, that the Antiphonary used in his Church had “ many ridiculous and phantastical” things in it; that he was fain to cut off from thence such things as seemed to be “ either superfluous, or light, or lying, or blasphemous.”

The like complaint was made not long since by Lindanus of the Roman Antiphonaries and Missals; wherein

“ not only the apocryphal tales,” saith he, “ out of the Gospel of

Nicodemus and other toys are thrust in, but the very secret prayers themselves are defiled with most foul faults."

But, now we have the

"Roman Missal restored according to the decree of the Council of Trent, set out by the command of Pius V., and revised again by the authority of Clemens VIII.,"

I doubt much whether our Romanists will allow the censure which their Medina hath given of the prayers contained therein. And therefore if this will not please them, he hath another answer in store; of which though his countryman Mendoza hath given sentence that it is *indigna viro theologo*,

"unworthy of any man that beareth the name of a divine,"

yet such as it is you shall have it. Supposing, then, that the Church hath no intention to pray for any other of the dead, but those that are detained in purgatory, this he delivereth for his second resolution:

"The Church knowing that God hath power to punish everlastingly those souls by which, when they lived, he was mortally offended, and that God hath not tied his power unto the Scriptures, and unto the promises that are contained in the Scriptures, (forasmuch as he is above all things, and as omnipotent after his promises, as if he had promised nothing at all,) therefore the Church doth humbly pray God, that he would not use this his absolute omnipotency against the souls of the faithful, which are departed in grace; therefore she doth pray that he would vouchsafe to free them from everlasting pains, and from revenge and the judgment of condemnation, and that he would be pleased to raise them up again with his elect."

§ 3. *Of the Place and Condition of Souls departed.*

BUT leaving our Popish doctors, with their profound speculations of the not limiting God's power by the Scriptures, and the promises which he hath made unto us therein, let us return to the ancient Fathers, and consider the differences that are to be found among them touching the place and condition of souls separated from their bodies. For according to the several apprehensions which they had thereof, they made different applications and interpretations of the use of praying for the dead; whose particular intentions and devotions in that kind must of necessity therefore be distinguished from the general intention of the whole Church.

1. St. Augustine, (that I may begin with him, who was, as the most ingenious, so likewise the most ingenuous of all others, in acknowledging his ignorance where he saw cause,) being to

treat of these matters, maketh this preface beforehand unto his hearers :

“Of hell neither have I had any experience as yet, nor you : and peradventure it may be that our passage may lie some other way, and not prove to be by hell. For these things be uncertain.”

And having occasion to speak of the departure of Nebridius, his dear friend :

“Now he liveth,” saith he, “in the bosom of Abraham ; whatsoever the thing be that is signified by that bosom, there doth my Nebridius live.”

But elsewhere he directly distinguisheth this bosom from the place of bliss into which the saints shall be received after the last judgment :

“After this short life,” saith he, “thou shall not as yet be where the saints shall be, unto whom it is said, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world.* Thou shalt not as yet be there : who knoweth it not ? But now thou mayest be there, where that proud and barren rich man in the midst of his torments saw afar off the poor man, sometimes full of ulcers, resting. Being placed in that rest, thou dost securely expect the day of judgment ; when thou mayest receive thy body, when thou mayest be changed to be equal unto an angel.”

And for the state of souls betwixt the time of the particular and general judgment, this is his conclusion in general :

“The time that is interposed betwixt the death of man and the last resurrection, containeth the souls in hidden receptacles, as every one is worthy either of rest or of trouble, according unto that which it did purchase in the flesh when it lived.”

Into these hidden receptacles, he thought the souls of God’s children might carry some of their lighter faults with them : which being not removed would hinder them from coming into the kingdom of heaven, whereunto no polluted thing can enter, and from which, by the prayers and almsdeeds of the living, he held they might be released. But of two things he professed himself here to be ignorant.

First, What those sins were which did so endure the coming unto the kingdom of God, that yet by the care of good friends they might obtain pardon.

Secondly, Whether those souls did endure any temporary pains in the interim betwixt the time of death and the resurrection. For howsoever in his one and twentieth book of the City of God, and the thirteenth and sixteenth chapters, (for the new patch which they have added to the four and twentieth chapter is not worthy of regard,) he affirms that some of them do suffer certain purgatory punishments before the last and dreadful judgment ; yet by comparing these places with the five and twentieth chap-

ter of the twentieth book, it will appear, that by those purgatory punishments he understandeth here the furnace of the fire of conflagration, that shall immediately go before this last judgment, and, as he elsewhere describeth the effects thereof,

“separate some unto the left hand, and mete out others unto the right.”

Neither was this opinion of the reservation of souls in secret places, and the purging of them in the fire of conflagration at the day of judgment, entertained by this famous Doctor alone ; divers others there were that had touched upon the same string before him. Origen, in his fourth book *περί ἀρχῶν*, as we have him translated by Ruffinus, (for both in the extracts selected out of him by St. Basil and St. Gregory, and in St. Jerome’s 59th epistle *ad Avitum*, we find the place somewhat otherwise expressed,) saith that

“such as depart out of this world after the common course of death are disposed of according to their deeds and merits, as they shall be judged to be worthy, some into the place which is called hell, others into Abraham’s bosom, and through divers other places or mansions.”

And in his commentaries on Leviticus, he addeth further :

“Neither have the Apostles themselves as yet received their joy ; but even they do expect, that I also may be made partaker of their joy. For the saints departing from hence do not presently obtain the full rewards of their labours ; but they expect us likewise, however staying, however slacking.”

Then touching the purging of men after the resurrection, he thus delivereth his mind in his commentaries upon Luke :

“I think that even after our resurrection from the dead we shall have need of a sacrament to wash and purge us ; for none can rise without pollutions.”

And upon Jeremy :

“If any one be saved in the second resurrection, he is that sinner which needeth the baptism of fire, which is purged with burning, that whatsoever he hath of *wood, hay, and stubble*, the fire may consume it.”

Which in his 5th book against Celsus he doth explicate more at large.

Neither doth Lactantius show himself to vary much from him in either of those points ; for thus he writeth :

“When God shall judge the righteous, he will examine them by fire. Then they whose sins shall prevail, either in weight or number, shall be touched with the fire and burned ; but they whom perfect righteousness and the ripeness of virtue hath thoroughly seasoned, shall not feel that fire ; for from thence have they something in them that will repel and put back the force of the flame. So great

is the force of innocency, that that fire shall fly back from it without doing any harm, which hath received this power from God, that it may burn the wicked and do service to the righteous. Yet, notwithstanding, let no man think that the souls are presently judged after death. All of them are detained in one common custody, until the time come wherein the great Judge doth make trial of their doings."

In like manner doth St. Hilary write of the one part :

"All the faithful, when they are gone out of the body, shall be reserved by the Lord's custody for that entry into the heavenly kingdom, being in the mean time placed in the bosom of Abraham, whither the wicked are hindered from coming by the gulf interposed betwixt them, until the time of entering the kingdom of heaven do come."

And thus of the other :

"Being to render an account of every idle word, shall we desire the day of judgment, wherein that unwearied fire must be passed by us, in which those grievous punishments for expiating the soul from sins must be endured?" For, "to such as have been baptized with the Holy Ghost, it remaineth, that they should be consummated with the fire of judgment."

In St. Ambrose also there are some passages to be found which seem to make directly for either of these points ; as these for the former :

"The soul is loosed from the body, and yet after the end of this life it is held as yet in suspense, with the uncertainty of the future judgment : so that there is no end where there is thought to be an end."

"We read in the books of Esdras, that when the day of judgment shall come, the earth shall restore the bodies of the deceased, and the dust shall restore the relics of the dead which do rest in the graves ; and the habitacles shall restore the souls which were committed to them ; and the Most High shall be revealed upon the seat of judgment."

Also that Scripture

"nameth those habitacles of the souls promtuaries," or secret receptacles ; "and meeting with the complaint of man, that the just which have gone before may seem to be defrauded, until the day of judgment, which is a very long time, of the reward due unto them, saith wonderfully, that the day of judgment is like unto a crown, wherein as there is no slackness of the last, so there is no swiftness of the first. For the day of crowning is expected by all ; that within that day both they who are overcome may be ashamed, and they who do overcome may obtain the palm of victory."

"Therefore while the fullness of time is expected, the souls expect their due reward. Pain is provided for some of them, for some glory ; and yet, in the mean time, neither are those without trouble, nor these without fruit."

And these for the latter :

“ With fire shall the sons of Levi be purged, with fire Ezekiel, with fire Daniel. But these, although they shall be tried with fire, yet shall say, *we have passed through fire and water*. Others shall remain in the fire.”

“ And if the Lord shall save his servants, we shall be saved by faith, yet saved as it were by fire. Although we shall not be burned up, yet shall we be burned.”

“ After the end of the world, when the angels shall be sent to separate the good and the bad, this baptism shall be ; when iniquity shall be burnt up by the furnace of fire, that in the kingdom of God the righteous may shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. And if any one be as Peter or as John, he is baptized with this fire.” Seeing therefore, “ he that is purged here, hath need to be purged again there, let him purge us there also, when the Lord may say, Enter into my rest : that every one of us being burned with that flaming sword, not burned up, when he is entered into that pleasure of paradise, may give thanks unto his Lord, saying, Thou hast brought us into a place of refreshment.”

Hereunto we may adjoin that observation of Suarez the Jesuit :

“ They who think that the souls of men are not judged at their death, nor do receive reward or punishment, but are reserved in hidden receptacles unto the general judgment, do consequently say, that as men do not receive their last reward or punishment, so neither are they also purged, until the general resurrection or judgment do come, from whence they might say with reasonable good consequence, that men are to be purged with the fire of conflagration.”

And with as good consequence also may we add, that prayers were not to be made for the delivery of the souls of the dead from any purgatory pains, supposed to be suffered by them betwixt the time of their death and their resurrection, which be the only prayers that are now in question.

“ In the resurrection, when our works, like unto clusters of grapes, shall be cast into the probatory fire, as it were into the wine-press, every man’s husbandry shall be made manifest,”

saith Gregorius Cerameus, sometime Archbishop of Tauromenium in Sicilia. And

“ No man as yet is entered either into the torments of hell, or into the kingdom of heaven, until the time of the resurrection of the body.”

saith Anastasius Sinaita. Upon whom Gretser bestoweth this marginal annotation ; that this is the

“ error of certain of the ancient and latter Grecians.”

And we find it to be held indeed both by some of the ancient, (as namely in Caius, who lived at Rome when Zephyrinus was Bishop there, and is accounted to be the author of the treatise

falsely fathered upon Josephus, *περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας*, a large fragment whereof hath been lately published by Hoeschelius, in his notes upon Photius's *Bibliotheca*,) and by the latter Grecians, in whose name Marcus Eugenius, Archbishop of Ephesus, doth make this protestation against such of his countrymen as yielded to the definition of the Florentine Council :

"We say, that neither the saints do receive the kingdom prepared for them, and those secret good things, neither the sinners do as yet fall into hell ; but that either of them do remain in expectation of their proper lot ; and that this appertaineth unto the time that is to come after the resurrection and the judgment. But these men, with the Latins, would have these to receive presently after death the things they have deserved ; but unto those of the middle sort, that is, to such as die in penance, they assign a purgatory fire, which they feign to be distinct from that of hell, that thereby, say they, being purged in their souls after death, they likewise may be received into the kingdom of heaven together with the righteous."

2. And, therefore, as the Latins in their prayers for the dead have respect for the delivery of souls out of purgatory, so the Grecians in theirs have relation to that other state, which is to determine with the resurrection. As in that prayer of their *Euchologe* for example :

"the body is buried in the earth, but the soul goeth in unknown places, waiting for the future resurrection of the dead ; in which, O gracious Saviour, make bright thy servant, place him together with the saints, and refresh him in the bosom of Abraham ;"

the condition of which "unknown places," they do thus further explicate in another prayer :—Forasmuch as by thy divine will thou hast appointed

"the soul to remove thither, where it received the first being, until the common resurrection, and the body to be resolved into that of which it was composed ; therefore we beseech thee, the Father without beginning, and thine only begotten Son, and thy most holy and consubstantial and quickening Spirit, that thou wilt not permit thine own workmanship to be swallowed up in destruction, but that the body may be dissolved into that of which it was composed, and the soul placed in the quire of the righteous."

That "barbarous impostor," as Molanus rightly styleth him, who counterfeited a letter as written by St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, unto St. Augustine, touching the miracles of St. Jerome, taketh upon him to lay down the precise time of the first arising of this opinion amongst the Grecians in this manner :

"After the death of most glorious Jerome, a certain heresy or sect arose amongst the Grecians, and came to the Latins also, which went about with their wicked reasons to prove, that the souls of the

blessed, until the day of the general judgment, wherein they were to be joined again unto their bodies, are deprived of the sight and knowledge of God, in which the whole blessedness of the saints doth consist ; and that the souls of the damned, in like manner, until that day are tormented with no pains. Whose reason was this : that as the soul did merit or sin with the body, so with the body was it to receive rewards or pains. Those wicked sectaries also did maintain, that there was no place of purgatory, wherein the souls which had not done full penance for their sins in this world might be purged. Which pestilent sect getting head, so great sorrow fell upon us, that we were even weary of our life."

Then he telleth a wise tale, how St. Jerome, being at that time with God, for the confutation of this new-sprung heresy, raised up three men from the dead, after that he had first

"led their souls into paradise, purgatory, and hell, to the end they might make known unto all men the things that were done there ;"

but had not the wit to consider, that St. Cyril himself had need to be raised up to make the fourth man among them. For how otherwise should he, who died thirty years before St. Jerome, as is known to every one that knoweth the history of those times, have heard and written the news which those three good fellows, that were raised by St. Jerome after his death, did relate concerning heaven, hell, and purgatory ? Yet is it nothing so strange to me, I confess, that such idle dreams as these should be devised in the times of darkness, to delude the world withal, as that now in the broad daylight Binsfeldius and Suarez, and other Romish merchants, should adventure to bring forth such rotten stuff as this, with hope to gain any credit of antiquity thereby, unto the new-erected staple of Popish Purgatory.

The Dominican Friars, in a certain treatise written by them at Constantinople in the year 1252, assign somewhat a lower beginning unto this error of the Grecians ; affirming that they

"followed therein a certain inventor of this heresy, named Andrew, Archbishop sometime of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who said, that the souls did wait for their bodies, that together with them, with which they had committed good or evil, they might likewise receive the recompense of their deeds."

But that which Andrew saith herein he saith not out of his own head, and therefore is wrongfully charged to be the first inventor of it : but out of the judgment of many godly Fathers that went before him.

"It hath been said," saith he, "by many of the saints, that all virtuous men," after this life, "do receive places fit for them ; whence they may certainly make conjecture, on the glory that shall befall unto them."

Where Peltanus bestoweth such another marginal note upon him as Gretser his fellow Jesuit did upon Anastasius :

"This opinion is now expressly condemned and rejected by the Church."

And yet doth Alphonso de Castro acknowledge that

"the patrons thereof were famous men, renowned as well for holiness as for knowledge ;"

but telleth us withal, that

"no man ought to marvel that such great men should fall into so pes-
tilent an error, because, as the Apostle St. James saith, *he that offend-
eth not in word is a perfect man.*"

3. Another particular opinion, which we must sever from the general intention of the Church in her oblations and prayers for the dead, is that which is noted by Theophylact, upon the speech of our Saviour, Luke xii. 5, in which he wished us to observe, that he did not say,

"For him, who after he hath killed, casteth into hell," but, "hath power to cast" into hell. "For the sinners which die," saith he, "are not always cast into hell; but it remaineth in the power of God to pardon them also. And this I say, for the oblations and doles which are made for the dead, which do not a little avail even them that die in grievous sins. He doth not, therefore, generally, after he hath killed, cast into hell, but hath power to cast. Wherefore let us not cease by alms, and intercessions, to appease him who hath power to cast, but doth not always use this power, but is able to pardon also."

Thus far Theophylact, whom our adversaries do blindly bring in for the countenancing of their use of praying, and offering for the dead; not considering, that the prayers and oblations, which he would uphold, do reach even unto such as "die in grievous sins," (which the Romanists acknowledge to receive no relief at all, by any thing that they can do,) and are intended for the keeping of souls from being cast into hell, and not for fetching them out when they have been cast into Purgatory; a place that never came within the compass of Theophylact's belief. His testimony will fit a great deal better the prayer of St. Dunstan: who, as the tale goeth, having understood that the soul of King Edwin was to be carried into hell, never gave over praying, until he had gotten him rid of that danger, and transferred him unto the coast of penitent souls; where he well deserved, doubtless, to undergo that penance which Hugh, Bishop of Coventry and Chester, on his death-bed, imposed upon himself; even to lie in the dungeon of Purgatory, without bail or mainprise, until the general jail delivery of the last day.

4. Another private conceit, entertained by divers, as well of the elder as of middle times, in their devotion for the dead, was, that an augmentation of glory might thereby be procured for the saints, and either a total deliverance, or a diminution of torments at leastwise, obtained for the wicked.

"If the barbarians," saith St. Chrysostom, "do bury with their dead the things that belong unto them, it is much more reason that thou shouldst send with the deceased the things that are his; not that they may be made ashes as they were, but, that they may add greater glory unto him; and if he be departed hence, a sinner, that they may loose his sins; but if righteous, that an addition may be made to his reward and retribution."

Yea, in the very latter days, Ivo Carnotensis, writing unto Maud, Queen of England, concerning the prayers that were to be made for the King, her brother's soul, saith, that

"it doth not seem idle if we make intercessions for those who already enjoy rest, that their rest may be increased."

Whereupon, Pope Innocent the Third doth bring this for one of the answers wherewith he laboureth to salve the prayers which were used in the Church of Rome, that

"such or such an oblation might profit such or such a saint unto glory;" that "many repute it no indignity, that the glory of the saints should be augmented until the day of judgment; and, therefore, in the mean time, the Church may wish the increase of their glorification."

So likewise for the mitigation of the pains of them whose souls were doubted to be in torment, this form of prayer was of old used in the same Church, as in Grimoldus' Sacramentary may be seen, and retained in the Roman Missal itself, until in the late Reformation thereof it was removed.

"O Almighty and merciful God, incline, we beseech thee, thy holy ears unto our poor prayers, which we do humbly pour forth before the sight of thy Majesty, for the soul of thy servant N., that forasmuch as we are distrustful of the quality of his life, by the abundance of thy pity we may be comforted; and if his soul cannot obtain full pardon, yet at least in the midst of the torments themselves, which peradventure it suffereth, out of the abundance of thy compassion it may feel refreshment."

Which prayer whither it tendeth may appear partly by that which Prudentius writeth of the play-days, which he supposeth the souls in hell sometimes do obtain:

Sunt et spiritibus sæpe nocentibus
Pœnarum celebres sub Styge feriæ, &c.
Marcent suppliciiis Tartara mitibus,
Exultatque sui carceris otio
Umbrarum populus, liber ab ignibus:
Nec fervent solito flumina sulphure—

partly by the doubtful conceits of God's merciful dealing with the wicked, in the world to come, which are found in others, but especially by these passages that we meet withal in the sermons of St. Chrysostom:

"This man hath spent his whole life in vain, neither hath lived one

day to himself, but to voluptuousness, to luxury, to covetousness, to sin, to the devil. Tell me, therefore, shall we not mourn for him? shall we not endeavour to pull him out of these dangers? For there be means, if we will, whereby his punishment may be made light unto him. If, then, we do make continual prayers for him, if we bestow alms, although he be unworthy, God will respect us." For "many have received benefit by the alms that have been given by others for them; and found thereby, although not a perfect, yet some consolation."

"This, therefore, is done, that although we ourselves be not virtuous, we may be careful to get virtuous companions, and friends, and wife, and son, as looking to reap some fruit even by them also; reaping, indeed, but little, yet reaping some fruit notwithstanding."

"Let us not, therefore, simply weep for the dead, but for such as are dead in their sins: these be worthy of lamentations and bewailings and tears. For what hope is there, tell me, for men to depart with their sins, where they cannot put off their sins? For as long as they were here, there was, peradventure, great expectation that they would be altered, that they would be bettered; but being gone unto hell, where there is no gaining any thing by repentance, (for in hell, saith he, who shall confess unto thee?) how are they not worthy of lamentations?"

"Let us, therefore, weep for such; let us succour them to our power; let us find out some help for them, little indeed, but yet such as may relieve them. How, and after what manner? both praying ourselves, and entreating others to make prayers for them, and giving continually unto the poor, for them; for this thing bringeth some consolation."

5. The like doctrine is delivered by Andrew, Archbishop of Crete, in his sermon of the Life of Man, and of the Dead; and by John Damascen, or whosoever else was author of the book ascribed unto him, concerning them that are departed in the faith; where three notable tales are told of the benefit that even infidels, and idolaters themselves, should receive by such prayers as these. One touching the soul of the Emperor Trajan, delivered from hell by the prayers of Pope Gregory: of the truth whereof, lest any man should make question, he affirmeth very roundly that no less than

"the whole east and west will witness that this is true and uncontrollable."

And, indeed, in the east this fable seemeth first to have arisen, where it obtained such credit that the Grecians to this day do still use this form of prayer:

"As thou didst loose Trajan from punishment, by the earnest intercession of thy servant Gregory, the dialogue writer, hear us likewise who pray unto thee."

And, therefore, to them doth Hugo Etherianus thus appeal for justifying the truth of this narration:

"Do not, I pray you, say in your hearts, that this is false, or feigned.

Enquire, if you please, of the Grecians; the whole Greek Church surely doth testify these things."

He might, if he had pleased, being an Italian himself, have inquired nearer home of the Romans, among whom this feat was reported to have been acted, rather than among the Grecians, who were strangers to the business. But the Romans, as we understand by Johannes Diaconus, in the Life of St. Gregory, found no such matter among their records; and when they had notice given them thereof out of the legends of the Church of England, (for from thence received they the news of this and some other such strange acts, reported to have been done by St. Gregory among themselves,) they were not very hasty to believe it; because they could hardly be persuaded that St. Gregory, who had taught them that

"infidels and wicked men, departed out of this life, were no more to be prayed for than the devil and his angels, which were appointed unto everlasting punishment,"

should in his practice be found to be so much different from his judgment.

The second tale toucheth upon the very times of the Apostles, wherein the Apostless Thecla is said to have prayed for Falconilla, (the daughter of Tryphæna, whom St. Paul saluteth, Rom. xvi. 12.)

"a Gentile and an idolatress, altogether profane, and a servitor of another God," to this effect: "O God, Son of the true God, grant unto Tryphæna, according to thy will, that her daughter may live with thee, time without end."

Or, as Basil, Bishop of Seleucia, doth express it:

"Grant unto thy servant Tryphæna, that her desire may be fulfilled concerning her daughter; her desire therein being this, that her soul may be numbered among the souls of those that have already believed in thee, and may enjoy the life and pleasure that is in paradise."

The third tale he produceth out of Palladius's historical book written unto Lausus, (although neither in the Greek set out by Meursius and Fronto Ducaeus, nor in the three several Latin editions of that history published before, there be any such thing to be found,) touching a dead man's skull, that should have uttered this speech unto Macarius, the great Egyptian anchorite:

• When thou dost offer up thy prayers for the dead, then do we feel some little consolation."

A brainless answer you may well conceive it to be, that must be thought to have proceeded from a dry skull lying by the highway side; but as brainless as it is, it hath not a little troubled the quick heads of our Romish divines, and put many an odd crotchet into their nimble brains. Renatus Laurentius telleth us, that

"without all doubt it was an angel that did speak in this skull." And "I say," quoth Alphonsus Mendoza, "that this head which lay in the way was not the head of one that was damned, but of a just man remaining in Purgatory; for Damascen doth not say in that sermon that it was the head of a Gentile, as it there may be seen."

And true it is, indeed, he neither saith that it was so, neither that it was not so; but the Grecians generally relate the matter thus: that Macarius

"did hear this from the skull of one that had been a priest of idols, which he found lying in the wilderness, that by his prayers such as were with him in punishment received a little ease of their torment, whensoever it fell out that he made the same for them."

And among the Latins, Thomas Aquinas and other of the schoolmen take this for granted, because they found in the Lives of the Fathers, that the speech which the dead skull used was this:

"I was a priest of the Gentiles:"

so John, the Roman sub-deacon, translateth it; or, as Rufinus is supposed to have rendered it,

"I was the chief of the priests of the idols, which dwelt in this place, and thou art Abbot Macarius, that art filled with the spirit of God. At whatsoever hour, therefore, thou takest pity of them that are in torments, and prayest for them, they then feel some consolation."

Well, saith Mendoza then,

"if St. Thomas, relating this history out of the Lives of the Fathers, doth say that this was the head of a Gentile, he himself is bound to untie this knot."

And so he doth, resolving the matter thus: that the damned get no true ease by the prayers made for them, but such a phantastical kind of joy only, as the devils are said to have when they have seduced and deceived any man.

"But peradventure,"

saith Cardinal Bellarmine for the upshot,

"the things which are brought touching that skull might better be rejected as false and apocryphal."

And Stephen Durant, more peremptorily:

"The things which are told of Trajan and Falconilla, delivered out of hell by the prayers of St. Gregory and Thecla, and of the dry skul spoken to by Macarius, be feigned and commentitious."

Which last answer, though it be the surest of all the rest, yet it is not to be doubted for all that, but that the general credit which these fables obtained, together with the countenance which the opinion of the Origenists did receive from Didymus, Evagrius, Gregory Nyssen, (if he be not corrupted,) and other doctors, inclined the minds of men very much to apply the common use of praying for the dead unto this wrong end of hoping to relieve the

damned thereby. St. Augustine doth show, that in his time not only some, but exceeding many also, did out of a humane affection take compassion of the eternal pains of the damned, and would not believe that they should never have an end.

And notwithstanding this error was publicly condemned afterwards in the Origenists by the fifth general council held at Constantinople, yet by idle and voluptuous persons was it greedily embraced, as Climacus complaineth : and

“even now also,” saith St. Gregory, “there be some who therefore neglect to put an end unto their sins, because they imagine that the judgments which are to come upon them shall some time have an end.”

Yea, of late days this opinion was maintained by the Porretanians, as Thomas calleth them, and some of the Canonists, (the one following therein Gilbert Porreta, Bishop of Poitiers, in his book of theological questions, the other John Semeca in his gloss upon Gratian,) that by the prayers and suffrages of the living the pains of some of the damned were continually diminished, in such manner as infinite proportionable parts may be taken from a line, without ever coming unto an end of the division ; which was in effect to take from them at the last all pain of sense or sense of pain. For, as Thomas observeth it rightly, and Durand after him,

“in the division of a line at last we must come unto that which is not sensible, considering that a sensible body cannot be divided infinitely. And so it would follow that after many suffrages the pain remaining should not be sensible, and consequently should be no pain at all.”

Neither is to be forgotten, that the invention of All-Souls' Day, (of which you may read, if you please, Polydore Virgil, in his sixth book of the Inventors of Things, and the ninth chapter,) that solemn day, I say, wherein our Romanists most devoutly perform all their superstitious observances for the dead, was occasioned at the first by the apprehension of this same erroneous conceit, that the souls of the damned might not only be eased, but fully also delivered by the alms and prayers of the living. The whole narration of the business is thus laid down by Sigebertus Gemblacensis, in his Chronicle at the year of our Lord 998 :

“This time,” saith he, “a certain religious man returning from Jerusalem, being entertained for awhile in Sicily by the courtesy of a certain anchoret, learned from him among other matters, that there were places near unto them that used to cast up burning flames, which by the inhabitants were called the Pots of Vulcan, wherein the souls of the reprobates, according to the quality of their deserts, did suffer divers punishments, the devils being there deputed for the execution thereof ; whose voices, angers, and terrors, and sometimes

howlings also, he said he often heard, as lamenting that the souls of the damned were taken out of their hands by the alms and prayers of the faithful, and more at this time by the prayers of the Monks of Cluny, who prayed without ceasing for the rest of those that were deceased. The Abbot Odilo having understood this by him, appointed throughout all the monasteries under his subjection, that as upon the first day of November the solemnity of all the saints is observed, so upon the day following the memorial of all that rested in Christ should be celebrated. Which rite passing into many other churches, made the memory of the faithful deceased to be solemnized."

For the elect, this form of prayer was wont to be used in the Romish Church :

"O God, unto whom alone is known the number of the elect that are to be placed in the supernal bliss, grant, we beseech thee, that the book of blessed predestination may retain the names of all those whom we have undertaken to recommend in our prayer, or of all the faithful that are written therein."

And to pray, that the names of all those that are written in the book of God's election should still be retained therein, may be somewhat tolerable ; considering, as the divines of that side have informed us, that those things may be prayed for which we know most certainly will come to pass : but hardly, I think, shall you find in any ritual a form of prayer answerable to this of the Monks of Cluny for the reprobate ; unless it be that whereby St. Francis is said to have obtained that Friar Elias should be made *ex præscito prædestinatus*,

"an elect of a reprobate."

Yet it seemeth that some were not very well pleased that what was done so seldom by St. Francis, the angel of the Friars, and that for a reprobate yet living, should be so usually practised by the followers of St. Odilo, the archangel of the monks, for reprobates that were dead : and therefore, in the common editions of Sigebert's Chronicle, they have clean struck out the word *damnatorum*, and instead of *reprobatorum* chopped in *defunctorum*. Which deprivation may be detected, as well by the sincere edition of Sigebert, published by Aubertus Miræus out of the manuscript of Gemblac Abbey, which is thought to be the original copy of Sigebert himself, as by the comparing of him with Petrus Damiani in the life of Odilo, whence this whole narration was by him borrowed. For there also do we read, that in those flaming places

"the souls of the reprobate, according to the quality of their deserts, did suffer diverse torments :"

and that the devils did complain,

"that by the alms and prayers" of Odilo and others "the souls of the damned were taken out of their hands."

§ 4. *Of the opinion of the heretic Aerius touching
Prayers for the Dead.*

By these things we may see what we are to judge of that which our adversaries press so much against us out of Epiphanius ; that he

“ nameth an obscure fellow, one Aerius, to be the first author of this heresy, that Prayer and Sacrifice profit not the departed in Christ.”

For neither doth Epiphanius name this to be an heresy, neither doth it appear that himself did hold that prayers and oblations bring such profit to the dead as these men dream they do. He is much deceived who thinketh everything that Epiphanius findeth fault withal in heretics is esteemed by him to be an heresy ; seeing heresy cannot be but in matters of faith : and the course which Epiphanius taketh in that work, is not only to declare in what special points of faith heretics did dissent from the Catholic doctrine, but in what particular observances also they refused to follow the received customs and ordinances of the Church. Therefore at the end of the whole work he setteth down a brief, first of the faith, and then of the ordinances and observances of the Church ; and among the particulars of the latter kind he rehearseth this :

“ For the dead they make commemorations by name, performing,” or “ when they do perform, their prayers and divine service and dispensation of the mysteries :”

and disputing against Aerius touching the point itself, he doth not at all charge him with forsaking the doctrine of the Scriptures, or the faith of the Catholic Church, concerning the state of those that are departed out of this life, but with rejecting the order observed by the Church in her commemorations of the dead : which being an ancient institution, brought in upon wonderful good considerations, as he maintaineth, should not by this humorous heretic have been thus condemned.

“ The Church,” saith he, “ doth necessarily perform this, having received it by tradition from the Fathers ; and who may dissolve the ordinance of his mother, or the law of his father ?” And again : “ Our mother the Church hath ordinances settled in her which are inviolable, and may not be broken. Seeing then there are ordinances established in the Church, and they are well, and all things are admirably done, this seducer is again refuted.”

For the further opening hereof it will not be amiss to consider both of the objection of Aerius, and of the answer of Epiphanius. Thus did Aerius argue against the practice of the Church :

“For what reason do ye commemorate after death the names of those that are departed? He that is alive prayeth or maketh dispensation” of the mysteries: “What shall the dead be profited hereby? And if the prayer of those here do altogether profit them that be there, then let nobody be godly, let no man do good, but let him procure some friends, by what means it pleaseth him, either persuading them by money, or entreating friends at his death; and let them pray for him that he may suffer nothing there, and that those inexpressible sins which he hath committed may not be required at his hands.”

This was Acrius’s argumentation, which would have been of force indeed if the whole Church had held, as many did, that the judgment after death was suspended until the general resurrection, and that in the meantime the sins of the dead might be taken away by the suffrages of the living. But he should have considered, as Stephanus Gobarus, who was as great an heretic as himself, did, that the doctors were not agreed upon the point; some of them maintaining

“that the soul of every one that departed out of this life received very great profit by the prayers and oblations and alms that were performed for him;” and others, “on the contrary side, that it was not so;”

and that it was a foolish part in him to confound the private opinion of some with the common faith of the universal Church. That he reproveth this particular error, which seemeth to have gotten head in his time, as being most plausible to the multitude, and very pleasing unto the looser sort of Christians, therein he did well: but that thereupon he condemned the general practice of the Church, which had no dependence upon that erroneous conceit, therein he did like unto himself, headily and perversely. For the Church, in her commemorations and prayers for the dead, had no relation at all unto those that had led their lives lewdly and dissolutely, as appeareth plainly, both by the author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and by divers other evidences before alleged; but unto those that led their lives in such a godly manner as gave pregnant hope unto the living that their souls were at rest with God: and to such as these alone did it wish the accomplishment of that which remained of their redemption; to wit, their public justification and solemn acquittal at the last day, and their perfect consummation of bliss, both in body and soul, in the kingdom of heaven for ever after. Not that the event of these things was conceived to be any ways doubtful, (for we have been told that things may be prayed for, the event whereof is known to be most certain;) but because the commemoration thereof was thought to serve for special use, not only in regard of the manifestation of the affection of the living toward the dead, (he that prayed, as Dionysius noteth,

“desiring other men’s gifts as if they were his own graces,”) but also in respect of the consolation and instruction which the living might receive thereby, as Epiphanius, in his answer to Aerius, doth more particularly declare.

The objection of Aerius was this: the commemorations and prayers used in the Church being no profit to the dead, therefore as an unprofitable thing they are to be rejected. To this doth Epiphanius thus frame his answer:

“As for the reciting of the names of those that are deceased, what can be better than this? what more commodious and admirable? that such as are present do believe that they who are departed do live, and are not extinguished, but are still being and living with the Lord; and that this most pious preaching might be declared, that they who pray for their brethren have hope of them, as being in a peregrination.”

Which is as much in effect as if he had denied Aerius’s consequence, and answered him, that although the dead were not profited by this action, yet it did not therefore follow that it should be condemned as altogether unprofitable, because it had a singular use otherwise; namely, to testify the faith and the hope of the living concerning the dead: the *faith*, in “declaring them to be alive,” (for so doth Dionysius also expound the Church’s intention in her public nomination of the dead,)

“and as divinity teacheth, not mortified, but translated from death unto a most divine life;

the *hope*, in that they signified hereby that they accounted their brethren to have departed from them no otherwise than as if they had been in a journey, with expectation to meet them afterward; and by this means made a difference betwixt themselves and *others which had no hope*. Then doth Epiphanius proceed further in answering the same objection, after this manner:

“The prayer also which is made for them doth profit, although it do not cut off all their sins; yet forasmuch as whilst we are in this world, we oftentimes slip both unwillingly and with our will, it serveth to signify that which is more perfect. For we make a memorial both for the just and for sinners; (for sinners, entreating the mercy of God; for the just, both the fathers, and patriarchs, the prophets, and apostles, and evangelists, and martyrs, and confessors, bishops also and anchorites, and the whole order,) that we may sever our Lord Jesus CHRIST from the rank of all other men by the honour that we do unto him, and that we may yield worship unto him.”

Which, as far as I apprehend him, is no more than if he had thus replied unto Aerius: Although the prayer that is made for the dead do not cut off all their sins, which is the only thing that thou goest about to prove, yet doth it profit notwithstanding for another purpose; namely, to signify the supereminent perfection of our Saviour CHRIST above the rest of the sons of men,

who are subject to manifold slips and falls as long as they live in this world.

For as well the righteous with their involuntary slips, as sinners with their voluntary falls, do come within the compass of these commemorations: wherein prayers are made both for *sinners* that repent, and for righteous persons that have no such need of repentance; for sinners, that being by their repentance recovered out of the snare of the devil, they may find mercy of the Lord at the last day, and be freed from the fire prepared for the devil and his angels; for the righteous, that they may be recompensed in the resurrection of the just, and received into the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world. Which kind of prayer being made for the best men that ever lived, even the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and martyrs themselves, CHRIST only excepted, sheweth, that the profit which the Church intended should be reaped therefrom, was not so much the taking away the sins of the parties that were prayed for, as the honoring of their Lord above them; it being hereby declared,

“that our Lord is not to be compared unto any man, though a man live in righteousness a thousand times and more. For how should that be possible, considering that the one is God, the other man?”

as the praying to the one, and for the other, doth discover;

“and the one is in heaven, the other in earth, by the reason of the remains of the body yet resting in the earth,”

until the day of the resurrection, unto which all these prayers had special reference. This do I conceive to be the right meaning of Epiphanius's answer, as suiting best both with the general intention of the Church, which he taketh upon him to vindicate from the misconstruction of Acrius, and with the application thereof unto his objection, and with the known doctrine of Epiphanius, delivered by him elsewhere in these terms:

“After death there is no help to be gotten, either by godliness or by repentance. For Lazarus doth not go there unto the rich man, nor the rich man unto Lazarus; neither doth Abraham send any of his spoils, that the poor may be afterward made rich thereby; neither doth the rich man obtain that which he asketh, although he entreat merciful Abraham with instant supplication. For the garners are sealed up, and the time is fulfilled, and the combat is finished, and the lists are avoided, and the garlands are given, and such as have fought are at rest, and such as have not obtained are gone forth, and such as have not fought cannot now be present in time, and such as have been overthrown in the lists are cast out, and all things are clearly finished, after that we are once departed from hence.”

And for the general intention of the Church, beside what already hath been at large declared of the times past, let us a little compare the ancient practice of Praying for the Dead maintained

by Epiphanius, with the footsteps which remain thereof in the Euchologue used by the Grecians at this very day. For,

First, That the parties prayed for are not supposed to be in any place of torment, appeareth by that speech which they apply to the party deceased, even in the midst of the prayers which they make for the forgiveness of his sins and the resting of his soul :

"Blessed is the way wherein thou art going to-day, brother ; for to thee is prepared a place of rest."

And by the prayer following :

"He is from hence departed breathless, thither where there is the reward of his works, thither where there is the joy of all the saints, with whom rest thou this deceased person, O God, of thy mercy and loving kindness."

Secondly, That they make these prayers as well for the righteous as for sinners, this orison, among others, doth demonstrate :

"The faithful which have left this life holily, and removed to thee their Lord, receive benignly, giving them rest out of thy tender mercy."

Thirdly, That in these prayers they aim at those ends expressed by Epiphanius, as well the testifying their belief of the peregrination of their brethren and their living with the Lord, as the putting a difference betwixt CHRIST our Saviour and all other men how blessed soever, (in respect the one is God, the other but men ; the one after his glorious resurrection remaineth now immortal in heaven, the other continue yet in a state of dissolution, with their bodies resting in the earth in expectation of the resurrection ; the purity and perfection of the one is most absolute, the manifold failings of the very best of the other such that they stand in need of mercy and pardon ;) this prayer following may witness :

"Receive, O Lord, our prayers and supplications, and give rest unto all our fathers, and mothers, and brethren, and sisters, and children, and all our other kindred and alliance ; and unto all souls that rest before us in hope of the everlasting resurrection. And place their spirits and their bodies in the book of life, in the bosoms of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the region of the living, in the kingdom of heaven, in the paradise of delight, by thy bright angels bringing all into thy holy mansions. Raise also our bodies together with theirs in the day which thou hast appointed, according to thy holy and sure promises. It is not a death then, O Lord, unto thy servants, when we flit from the body and go home to thee our God, but a translation from a sorrowful state unto a better and more delightful, and a refreshment and joy. And if we have sinned in any thing against thee, be gracious both unto us and unto them. Forasmuch as no man is clean from pollution before thee, no, though his life were but of one day, thou alone excepted who didst appear upon

earth without sin, JESUS CHRIST our Lord, by whom we all hope to obtain mercy and pardon of our sins; therefore, as a good and merciful God, release and forgive both us and them: pardon our offences as well voluntary as involuntary, of knowledge and of ignorance, both manifest and hidden, in deed, in thought, in word, in all our conversations and motions. And to those that are gone before us grant freedom and release, and us that remain bless, granting a good and a peaceable end both to us and to all thy people."

Whereunto this other short prayer also for one that is deceased may be added:

"None, no, not one man hath been without sin but thou alone, O Immortal. Therefore, as a God full of compassion, place thy servant in light with the quires of thine angels; by thy tender mercy passing over his iniquities, and granting to him the resurrection."

Lastly, that these prayers have principal relation to the judgment of the great day, and do respect the escaping of the unquenchable fire of Gehenna, not the temporal flames of any imaginary purgatory, is plain, both by these kinds of *prosopopœias*, which they attribute to the deceased:

"Supplicate with tears unto Christ, who is to judge my poor soul, that he would deliver me from that fire which is unquenchable."

"I beseech all my acquaintance and my friends, make mention of me in the day of judgment, that I may find mercy at that dreadful tribunal."

"Bemired with sins and naked of good deeds, I that am worms' meat, cry in spirit, Cast not me, wretch, away from thy face; place me not on thy left hand, who with thy hands didst fashion me; but give rest unto him whom thou hast taken away by thy commands, O Lord, for thy great mercy's sake."

And by these prayers, which are accordingly tendered for him by the living:

"When in unspeakable glory thou dost come dreadfully to judge the whole world, vouchsafe, O Redeemer, that this thy faithful servant, whom thou hast taken from the earth, may in the clouds meet thee cheerfully."

"They who have been dead from the beginning, with terrible and fearful trembling standing at thy tribunal, await thy just censure, O Saviour, and receive God's righteous judgment. At that time, O Lord and Saviour, spare thy servant, who in faith is gone unto thee, and vouchsafe unto him thine everlasting joy and bliss."

"None shall fly there the dreadful tribunal of thy judgment. All kings and princes with servants stand together, and hear the dreadful voice of the Judge condemning the people which have sinned into hell, from which, O CHRIST, deliver thy servant."

"At that time, O CHRIST, spare him whom thou hast translated hence."

"O Lord our only King, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, thine heavenly kingdom to thy servant, whom thou hast now translated hence, and

then preserve him uncondemned when every mortal wight shall stand before thee the Judge to receive their judgment."

We are to consider then, that the prayers and oblations, for rejecting whereof Acrius was reproved, were not such as are used in the Church of Rome at this day, but such as were used by the ancient Church at that time, and for the most part retained by the Greek Church at this present. And therefore as we, in condemning of the one, have nothing to do with Acrius or his cause, so the Romanists, who dislike the other as much as ever Acrius did, must be content to let us alone, and take the charge of Acrianism home unto themselves. Popish prayers and oblations for the dead, we know, do wholly depend upon the belief of Purgatory: if those of the ancient Church did so too, how cometh it to pass that Epiphanius doth not directly answer Acrius, as a papist would do now, that they brought singular profit to the dead by delivering their tormented souls out of the flames of Purgatory; but forgetting as much as once to make mention of Purgatory, (the sole foundation of these suffrages for the dead, in our adversary's judgment,) doth trouble himself and his cause with bringing in such far-fetched reasons as these: that they who performed this duty did intend to signify thereby that their brethen departed were not perished, but remained still alive with the Lord; and to put a difference betwixt the high perfection of our Saviour CHRIST, and the general frailty of the best of all his servants? Take away popish Purgatory on the other side, (which in the days of Acrius and Epiphanius needed not to be taken away, because it was not as yet hatched,) and all the reasons produced by Epiphanius will not withhold our Romanists from absolutely subscribing to the opinion of Acrius; this being a case with them resolved, that

"if Purgatory be not admitted after death, Prayer for the dead must be unprofitable."

But though Thomas Aquinas and his abettors determined so, we must not, therefore, think that Epiphanius was of the same mind, who lived in a time wherein Prayers were usually made for them that never were dreamed to have been in Purgatory, and yieldeth those reasons of that usage, which overthrew the former consequence of Thomas, every whit as much as the supposition of Acrius.

For Acrius and Thomas both agree in this, that prayer for the dead would be altogether unprofitable, if the dead themselves received not special benefit thereby. This doth Epiphanius, defending the ancient use of these Prayers in the Church, show to be untrue, by producing other profits that redound from thence unto the living; partly by the public signification of their faith, hope and charity toward the deceased; partly by the honour that they did unto the Lord Jesus, in exempting him from the common condition of the rest of mankind. And to make it appear that these

things were mainly intended by the Church in her memorials for the dead, and not the cutting off of the sins which they carried with them out of this life, or the releasing of them out of any torment, he allegeth, as we have heard, that not only the meaner sort of Christians, but also the best of them, without exception, even the prophets and apostles, and martyrs themselves, were comprehended therein. From whence, by our adversary's good leave, we will make bold to frame this syllogism:

They who reject that kind of praying and offering for the dead which was practised by the Church in the days of Acrius, are in that point flat Arians.

But the Romanists do reject that kind of praying and offering for the dead which was practised by the Church in the days of Acrius.

Therefore the Romanists are in this point flat Arians.

The assumption or second part of this argument, (for the first, we think, nobody will deny,) is thus proved:

They who are of the judgment that prayers and oblations should not be made for such as are believed to be in bliss, do reject that kind of praying and offering for the dead which was practised by the ancient Church.

But the Romanists are of this judgment.

Therefore they reject that kind of praying and offering for the dead which was practised by the ancient Church.

The truth of the first of these propositions doth appear by the testimony of Epiphanius, compared with those many other evidences whereby we have formerly proved, that it was the custom of the ancient Church to make prayers and oblations for them of whose resting in peace and bliss there was no doubt at all conceived. The verity of the second is manifested by the confession of the Romanists themselves, who reckon this for one of their "Catholic verities," that suffrages should not be offered for the dead that reign with Christ; and, therefore, that an ancient "form of praying for the apostles, martyrs, and the rest of the saints, is by disuse deservedly abolished," saith Alphonsus Mendoza. Nay, to offer sacrifices and prayers to God for those that are in bliss, is "plainly absurd and impious," in the judgment of the Jesuit Azorius; who was not aware that thereby he did outstrip Acrius in condemning the practice of the ancient Church, as far as the censuring it only to be "unprofitable," (for *τί ὠφεληθήσεται ὁ τεθνεὼς*; *what shall the dead be profited thereby?* was the furthest that Acrius durst to go) cometh short of rejecting it as "absurd and impious." And therefore, our adversaries may do well to purge themselves first from the blot of Arianism, which sticketh so fast unto them, before they be so ready to cast the aspersion thereof upon others.

§ 5. *Of the profit of Prayers for the Dead to the Persons prayed for.*

IN the mean time, the reader who desireth to be rightly informed in the judgment of Antiquity, touching this point, is to remember that these two questions must necessarily be distinguished in this enquiry : whether prayers and oblations were to be made for the dead ? And, whether the dead did receive any peculiar profit thereby ? In the latter of these we shall find great difference among the doctors ; in the former very little, or none at all. For

“ howsoever all did not agree about the state of the souls,” saith Cassander, an indifferent Papist, “ which might receive profit by these things, yet all did judge this duty as a testimony of their love towards the dead, and a profession of their faith, touching the soul’s immortality, and the future resurrection, to be acceptable unto God and profitable to the Church.”

Therefore for condemning the general practice of the Church herein, which aimed at those good ends before expressed, Acrius was condemned ; but for denying that the dead received profit thereby, either for the pardon of the sins which before were unremitted, or for the cutting off or mitigation of any torments that they did endure in the other world, the Church did never condemn him ; for that was no new thing invented by him. Divers worthy men, before and after him, declared themselves to be of the same mind, and were never, for all that, charged with the least suspicion of heresy.

“ The narration of Lazarus and the rich man,” saith the author of the Questions and Answers, in the works of Justin Martyr, “ presenteth this doctrine unto us, that after the departure of the soul out of the body, men cannot, by any providence or care, obtain any profit.”

“ Then,” saith Gregory Nazianzen, “ in vain shall any one go about to relieve those that lament. Here men may have a remedy, but afterwards there is nothing but bonds,” or “ all things are fast bound.” For “ after death, the punishment of sin is remediless,” saith Theodoret ; and “ the dead,” saith Diodorus Tarsensis, “ have no hope of any succour from man.”

And therefore, St. Jerome doth conclude, that

“ while we are in this present world we may be able to help one another either by our prayers, or by our counsels ; but when we shall come before the judgment-seat of Christ, neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah, can entreat for any one, but every one must bear his own burden.”

Other doctors were of another judgment, that the dead received special profit by the prayers and oblations of the living, either for the remission of their sins or the easing of their punishment. But whether this were restrained to smaller offences only, or such as lived and died in great sins might be made partakers of the same benefit; and whether these men's torments might be lessened only thereby, or in tract of time quite extinguished, they did not agree upon. Stephanus Gobarus, whom before I alleged, made a collection of the different sentences of the Fathers, whereof some contained the received doctrine of the Church, others the unallowable opinions of certain of the ancient that varied therefrom. Of this latter kind he maketh this sentence to be one:

"That such sinners as be delivered unto punishment are purged from their sins, and after their purging are freed from their punishment; albeit, not all who are delivered unto punishment be thus purged and freed, but some only;" whereas "the true sentence of the Church was, that none at all was freed from punishment."

If that were the true sentence of the Church, that none of those who suffered punishment in the other world were ever freed from the same, then the applying of prayers to the helping of men's souls out of any such punishments must be referred to the erroneous apprehension of some particular men, and not to the general intention of the ancient Church; from which in this point, as in many others beside, the latter Church of Rome hath swerved and quite gone astray. The ancient writer of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, handling this matter of praying for the dead professedly, doth by way of objection move this doubt:

"To what purpose should the Bishop entreat the divine Goodness to grant remission of sins unto the dead, and a like glorious inheritance with those that have followed God?"

seeing by such prayers he can be brought to no other rest but that which is fitting for him, and answerable unto the life which he hath here led. If our Romish divinity had been then acknowledged by the Church, there had been no place left to such questions and doubts as these. The matter might easily have been answered, that though a man did die in a state of grace, yet was he not presently to be admitted unto the place of rest, but must first be reckoned withal, both for the committal of those smaller faults unto which, through human frailty, he was daily subject, and for the not performance of full penance and satisfaction for the greater sins, into which in this life he had fallen; and Purgatory being the place wherein he must be cleansed from the one, and make up the just payment of the other, these prayers were directed unto God for the delivery of the poor soul, which was not now in case to help itself out of that place of torment.

But this author, taking upon him the person of St. Paul's scholar, and professing to deliver herein

“that tradition which he had received from his divine Master,” saith no such thing, but giveth in this for his answer :

“The divine Bishop, as the Scriptures witness, is the interpreter of the divine judgments ; for he is the angel of the Lord God Almighty. He hath learned, therefore, out of the oracles delivered by God, that a most glorious and divine life is by his just judgment worthily awarded to them that have lived holily, his divine goodness and kindness passing over those blots which by human frailty he had contracted ; for as much as no man, as the Scriptures speak, is free from pollution. The Bishop, therefore, knowing these things to be promised by the true oracles, prayeth that they may accordingly come to pass, and those sacred rewards may be bestowed upon them that have lived holily.”

The Bishop at that time belike did not know so much as our popish Bishops do now, that God’s servants must dearly smart in Purgatory for the sins wherewith they were overtaken through human infirmity ; he believed that God of his merciful goodness would pass by those slips, and that such after-reckonings as these should give no stoppage to the present bestowing of those holy rewards upon the children of the promise.

“Therefore the divine Bishop,” saith our author, “asketh those things which were promised by God, and are grateful to him, and without doubt will be granted ; thereby as well manifesting his own good disposition unto God, who is a lover of the good, as declaring like an interpreter unto them that be present the gifts that shall befall to such as are holy.”

He further also addeth, that

“The Bishops have a separating power, as the interpreters of God’s judgments ;”

according to that commission of CHRIST, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whose ye shall retain, they are retained : and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* Now, as in the use of the keys the schoolmen following St. Jerome do account the minister to be the interpreter only of God’s judgment, by declaring what is done by him in the binding or loosing of men’s sins ; so doth this author here give them power only to

“separate those that are already judged of God,” and, by way of “declaration and convoy to bring in those that are beloved of God, and to exclude such as are ungodly.”

And if the power which the ministers have received by the afore-said commission do extend itself to any further real operation upon the living, Pope Gelasius will deny that it may be stretched in like manner unto the dead ; because that CHRIST saith, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth.*

“He saith, upon earth: for he that dieth bound is nowhere said to be loosed.”

And

“that which a man remaining in his body hath not received, being unclothed of his flesh he cannot obtain,”

saith Leo. Whether the dead received profit by the prayers of the living, was still a question in the Church. Maximus, in his Greek Scholies upon the writer of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, wisheth us to

“mark, that even before” that writer’s “time this doubt was questioned.”

Among the questions wherein Dulcitus desired to be resolved by St. Augustine, we find this to be one:

“Whether the offering that is made for the dead did avail their souls any thing?” Many “did say to this, that if herein any good were to be done after death, how much rather should the soul itself obtain ease for itself by its own confessing of her sins there, than that for the ease thereof an oblation should be procured by other men.”

The like also is noted by Cyril, or rather John, Bishop of Jerusalem, that he

“knew many who said thus: What profit doth the soul get that goeth out of this world, either with sins or not with sins, if you make mention of it in prayer?”

And by Anastasius Sinaita, or Nicænus:

“Some do doubt, saying that the dead are not profited by the oblations that are made for them.”

And long after them by Petrus Cluniacensis, in his treatise against the followers of Peter Bruse, in France:

“That the good deeds of the living may profit the dead, both these heretics do deny, and some Catholics also do seem to doubt.”

Nay, in the West, not the profit only, but the lawfulness also of these doings for the dead was called in question; as partly may be collected by Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz’s consulting with Pope Gregory, about 730 years after the birth of our Saviour,

“whether it were lawful to offer oblations for the dead,”

(which he should have no reason to do if no question had been made thereof among the Germans); and is plainly delivered by Hugo Etherianus, about 1170 years after CHRIST, in these words:

“I know that many are deformed with vain opinions, thinking that the dead are not to be prayed for, because that neither CHRIST, nor the Apostles that succeeded him, have intimated these things in the Scripture. But they are ignorant that there be many things, and

those exceeding necessary, frequented by the Holy Church, the tradition whereof is not had in the Scriptures ; and yet they pertain nevertheless to the worship of God, and obtain great strength."

Whereby it may appear that this practice wanted not opposition even then, when in the Papacy it was advanced unto its greatest height.

REMARKS.

So far Archbishop Ussher. The objects of making the above extract from his learned work have been as follows : first, in order to present before the reader a clear and conclusive argument against the Romanists, whose tenet of Purgatory seems therein to be fairly encountered and exposed. This, be it observed, is proposed as the chief object of this series of Tracts ; viz. to erect safe and substantial bulwarks for the Anglican believer against the Church of Rome, to draw clear and intelligible lines, which may allow him securely to expatiate in the rich pastures of Catholicism, without the reasonable dread, that he, as an individual, may fall into that great snare which has bewildered the whole Latin Church, the snare of Popery. And it is conceived that the foregoing citation from Ussher proves thus much at least, that Romanism is not the pure creed of antiquity, that the tenet of Purgatory in particular is but the gradual creation of centuries, and has no claim on our consideration.

In all controversy it is a great point to keep on the *offensive*, and it is well we should be seriously aware of this, and use our advantage. Romanists have been entangling us too long in questions, which our deficient knowledge of antiquity has kept us from retorting on themselves. The true answer to their accusations is to adduce, as we may well do, counter charges : which are not only more effective, both from their nature and their number, than any which they can bring against us, but especially from the circumstance that *they* profess in all matters of faith to be infallible.

A second motive for the foregoing republication has been a hope to obviate a danger to which controversialists will be exposed, who have not mastered the facts of the case. It is shown in the above pages, that it *does not follow*, that, *though* Prayers for the dead were an Apostolical institution, (granting it,) that *therefore* Purgatory was ; whereas unlearned persons, when

assailed by Romanists, may be, and doubtless have been, overcome and converted by arguments which reach far short of the Roman doctrine in dispute.

It may serve as a suitable ending to this Paper, to present the reader with an account of the *circumstances* under which the Commemoration of the Dead was omitted from our own Liturgy. Some information on the general subject of the Primitive Commemoration will be found in No. 63 of these Tracts.

In 1548, the second year of King Edward, it was determined by the King in Council to draw up a public liturgy. "This Service Book," says Collier, (History, vol. ii. page 252,) "when confirmed in Parliament, it was supposed would effect a more general compliance. For then the pretences of defective authority in a Privy Council, would be all out of doors. To this purpose the Committee of Bishops and Divines . . . were ordered to attend the king on the first of September." . . . "This Committee of Bishops and Divines," he proceeds, "set down this (as is very well observed) for a general rule, *not to change any thing for the sake of novelty*. In this performance they resolved to govern themselves by the word of God and the precedent of the Primitive Church. . . . Their business was only to brighten what had been rusted by time, to discharge the innovations of latter ages, and bring things up to the primitive standard. To this purpose, it was very prudently agreed *to make use of none but English help*. When Calvin heard of the farther advances of Reformation, he offered Cranmer his assistance, but was happily refused by the Archbishop. It is true he gave Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, two eminent Divines, an invitation to our Universities ; but the Liturgy, as Heylin proves, was finished before their arrival."

The compilation which was the subject of these deliberations is called the First Book of King Edward, and in it the Burial Service proceeded as follows, to use the words of the same author.

"In the office for the Burial of the Dead, when the priest throws earth upon the corpse, he says,

'I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty, and thy body to the ground,' &c.

"And the next prayer begins thus :

'We commend into thy hands of Mercy, most merciful Father, the soul of this our brother departed : . . . that when the judgment shall come which Thou hast committed to Thy well beloved Son, both this our brother and we may be found acceptable in Thy sight, and we may receive Thy blessing,' &c.

"The next prayer stands thus :

'Almighty God, we give Thee hearty thanks for this Thy servant, whom thou hast delivered from the miseries of this wretched world,

from the body of death and all temptation; and as we trust, hast brought his soul, which he committed into Thy holy hands, into sure consolation and rest. Grant, we beseech Thee, that at the day of judgment, his soul and all the souls of thy elect, departed out of this life, may with us and we with them fully receive Thy promises, and be made perfect altogether, through the glorious resurrection of thy Son, JESUS CHRIST our Lord.'

"After the second Lesson, 'Lord, have mercy upon us,' &c. and the Lord's Prayer, the Priest says,

'Enter not, O Lord, into judgment with Thy servant :

'*Ans.* For in Thy sight no living creature shall be justified.

'*Pr.* From the gates of hell,

'*Ans.* Deliver their souls, O Lord.

'*Pr.* I believe to see the goodness of the Lord,

'*Ans.* In the land of the living.

Pr. O Lord, graciously hear my prayer,

Ans. And let my cry come unto Thee.'

"Then follows this prayer :

'O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead, and in whom the souls of them that be elected after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity : grant unto this Thy servant that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed unto him, but that he, escaping the gates of hell, and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the regions of light, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow, nor heaviness ; and when that dreadful day of the resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible. Set him on the right hand of Thy Son JESUS CHRIST, among Thy holy and elect, that there he may hear with them these most sweet and comfortable words, Come to me, ye blessed,' &c. . . .

"At the Burial of the Dead, there is an order for the Communion, I shall only mention what is particular to the occasion. First, the 42d Psalm is said by way of introduction. The Collect is now used at burials : it begins thus : 'O merciful God, the Father,' &c. The epistle is taken out of 1 Thess. [iv. ?] 13, and the Gospel is John vi. 37—40. Receiving the holy Eucharist is not without precedent in the Primitive Church, as appears by Canon 44th of the Council of Carthage. . . . Upon this Canon the learned Bishop Beveridge cites a passage of St. Austin, to prove the custom of recommending the dead to GOD ALMIGHTY upon such occasions."

So much for King Edward's first Book ; now let us pass to the transactions of 1551.

"Much greater alterations," says Collier, "were now coming forward. *The Common Prayer Book was to be revised ; Calvin, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, by making exceptions against the Service established, had their share in bringing on this change.*

Calvin, who thought himself wiser than the Ancient Church, and fit to dictate religion to all countries in Christendom, had taken no small pains in this matter," . . . and, "being apprehensive he might not pass altogether for an oracle with the Council and Bishops, [he] tried his interest in other places, and pushed his design by his agents in the court, the country, and the Universities. Bucer was a strong second to Calvin, and what efforts he made has been seen already. Peter Martyr agreed to Bucer's amendments, as appears by his letter, in which there are some remarkable passages. For the purpose, 'he gives God thanks, for making himself and Bucer instrumental in putting the Bishops in mind of the exceptionable places in the Common Prayer. The Archbishop Cranmer told him they had met about this business, and concluded on a great many alterations, but what those corrections were, Cranmer did not acquaint him, neither durst he take the freedom to inquire. But that which pleases me not a little,' continues Martyr, 'Sir John Cheek acquaints me, that if the Bishops refuse to consent to the altering what is necessary, the King is resolved to do it himself, and recommend that affair at the next Session of Parliament.' These foreign divines had gained the esteem of some of the English Bishops so far, that in last year's Convocation, there was a contest in the upper house concerning some controverted passages in the Common Prayer Book."

As to the subject before us, Collier observes: "The custom" [of praying for the dead] "seems to have gone upon this principle, that supreme happiness is not to be expected till the resurrection; and that in the interval between death and the end of the world is a state of imperfect bliss. The Church might, therefore, believe her prayers for good people departed might improve their condition, and raise the satisfactions of this period." Bucer's objections to the usage were, according to Collier, as follows: "He urges this text of St. John, 'He that hears my word, and believes on Him that sent me, has everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation.' He likewise cites a passage from the Romans, where it is said, 'Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.' He argues from it thus, that nothing can be done in faith, without an express warrant from Scripture, or that stands upon a conclusion evidently inferred from some inspired text; but Prayer for the Dead stands upon neither of these grounds, and therefore ought to be waved. There is another text urged in favour of Bucer's opinion, 'Blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.'

"To proceed, the Common Prayer Book was brought to a review, and altered to the same form in which it stands at pre-

sent, some little variations for clearing ambiguities excepted. . . The Prayers for persons deceased, in the Communion Service and the Office of Burial, are expunged."

Such is the *history* of the present state of opinion in the English Church touching Prayers for the Dead. The chief reason against the usage is given by implication, in the third part of the Homily on Prayer, which proceeds on the ground that such Prayers are essentially connected with belief in Purgatory. This argument is well commented on by a recent writer in the following passage:—

"In primitive times," says Mr. Palmer, "these Commemorations" [in the Holy Communion] "were accompanied by Prayers for the departed. *When* the custom of praying for the dead began in the Christian Church, has never been ascertained. We find traces of the practice in the second century, and either then, or shortly after, it appears to have been customary in all parts of the Church. The first person who objected to such prayers was Aerius, who lived in the fourth century, but his arguments were answered by various writers, and did not produce any effect in altering the immemorial practice of praying for those that rest. Accordingly, from that time all the Liturgies in the world contained such prayers. These facts being certain, it becomes a matter of some interest and importance to ascertain the reasons which justified the omission of these Prayers in the Liturgy of the English Church for the first time in the reign of King Edward VI. Some persons will perhaps say that this sort of prayer is unscriptural; that it infers either the Romish doctrine of Purgatory, or something else which is contrary to the revealed will of God, or the nature of things. But when we reflect that the great divines of the English Church have not taken this ground, and that the Church of England herself has never formally condemned Prayers for the Dead, but only omitted them in her Liturgy, we may perhaps think that there are some other reasons to justify that omission.

"The true justification of the Church of England is to be found in her zeal for the purity of the Christian faith, and for the welfare of all her members. It is too well known that the erroneous doctrine of Purgatory had crept into the Western Church, and was held by many of the clergy and people. Prayers for the departed were represented as an absolute proof that the Church had always held the doctrine of Purgatory. The deceitfulness of this argument can only be estimated by the fact, that many persons at this day, who deny the doctrine of Purgatory, assert positively that the custom of praying for the departed infers a belief in Purgatory. If persons of education are deceived by this argument, which has been a hundred times refuted, how is it possible that the uneducated classes could ever have got rid of the persuasion

that their Church held the doctrine of Purgatory, if prayers for the departed had been continued in the Liturgy? Would not this custom, in fact, have rooted the error of Purgatory in their minds? If then the Church of England omitted public Prayer for the departed Saints, it was to remove the errors and superstitions of the people, and to preserve the purity of the Christian faith. . . .

"It was therefore relinquished, and the happy consequence was, that *all the people gradually became free from the error of Purgatory*. Thenceforward the Catholic doctrine prevailed in England, that the righteous after death are immediately translated to a region of peace, refreshment, and joy; while the wicked are consigned to the place of torment from whence there is no escape. And, *when the doctrine of Purgatory had been extirpated*, the English Church restored the Commemoration of Saints departed in the Liturgy;" [viz. at the end of the prayer for the Church Militant;] "which had been omitted for many years, from the same cautious and pious regard to the souls of her children."*

* Chap. iv. § 10.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

No. 73.

(*Ad Scholas.*)

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF RATIONALISTIC PRINCIPLES INTO RELIGION.

It is not intended in the following pages to enter into any general view of so large a subject as Rationalism, nor to attempt any philosophical account of it ; but, after defining it sufficiently for the purpose in hand, to direct attention to a very peculiar and subtle form of it existing covertly in the popular religion of this day. With this view two writers, not of our own Church, though of British origin, shall pass under review, Mr. Erskine and Mr. Jacob Abbott.

This is the first time that a discussion of (what may be called) a *personal* nature has appeared in these Tracts, which have been confined to the delineation and enforcement of *principles* and *doctrines*. However, in this case, while it was important to protest against certain views of the day, it was found that this could not be intelligibly done, without referring to the individuals who have inculcated them. Of these the two authors above mentioned seemed at once the most influential and the most original ; and Mr. Abbott being a foreigner, and Mr. Erskine having written sixteen years since, there seemed a possibility of introducing their names without seriously encroaching on the province of a Review.

It will be my business first to explain what I mean by Rationalism, and then to illustrate the description given of it from the writings of the two authors in question.

§ 1. *The Rationalistic and the Catholic Spirit compared together.*

To Rationalize is to ask for *reasons* out of place ; to ask improperly how we are to *account* for certain things, to be unwilling to believe them unless they can be accounted for, i. e. referred to something else as a cause, to some existing system as harmoni-

zing with them or taking them up into itself. Again, since whatever is assigned as the reason for the original fact canvassed, admits in turn of a like question being raised about itself, unless it be ascertainable by the senses, and be the subject of personal experience, Rationalism is bound properly to pursue onward its course of investigation on this principle, and not to stop till it can directly or ultimately refer to self as a witness, whatever is offered to its acceptance. Thus it is characterised by two peculiarities: its love of systematizing, and its basing its system upon personal experience, on the evidence of sense. In both respects it stands opposed to what is commonly understood by the word Faith, or belief in Testimony; for which it deliberately substitutes System (or what is popularly called Reason,) and Sight.

I have said that to act the Rationalist is to be unduly set upon *accounting* for what is offered for our acceptance; *unduly*, for to seek reasons for what is told us, is natural and innocent in itself. When we are informed that this or that event has happened, we are not satisfied to take it as an isolated fact; we are inquisitive about it; we are prompted to refer it, if possible, to something we already know, to incorporate it into the connected family of truths or facts which we have already received. We like to ascertain its position relatively to other things, to view it in connexion with them, to reduce it to a place in the series of what is called cause and effect. There is no harm in all this, until we insist upon receiving this *satisfaction* as a necessary condition of believing what is presented for our acceptance, until we set up our existing system of knowledge as a legitimate test of the credibility of testimony, until we claim to be told the mode of reconciling alleged truths to other truths already known, the *how* they are, and *why* they are; and then we Rationalize.

When the rich lord in Samaria said, "Though God shall make windows in heaven, shall this thing be?" he rationalized, as professing his inability to discover *how* Elisha's prophecy was to be fulfilled, and thinking in this way to excuse his unbelief. When Naaman objected to bathe in Jordan, it was on the ground of his not seeing the *means* by which Jordan was to cure his leprosy above the rivers of Damascus. "*How* can these things be?" was the objection of Nicodemus to the doctrine of regeneration; and when the doctrine of the Holy Communion was first announced, "the Jews strove among themselves," in answer to their Divine Informant, "saying, *How* can this man give us his flesh to eat?" When St. Thomas doubted of our Lord's resurrection, though his reason for so doing is not given, it plainly lay in the astonishing, unaccountable nature of such an event. A like desire of judging for oneself is discernible in

the original fall of man. Eve did not believe the Tempter, any more than God's word, till she perceived that "the fruit was good for food."

So again, when infidels ask, *how* prayer can really influence the course of God's providence, or *how* everlasting punishment consists with God's infinite mercy, they rationalize.

The same spirit shows itself in the restlessness of others to decide *how* the sun was stopped at Joshua's word, *how* the manna was provided, and the like; forgetting what our Saviour suggests to the Sadducees,—"*the power of God.*"

Rationalism then in fact is a forgetfulness of God's power, disbelief of the existence of a First Cause sufficient to account for any events or facts, however marvellous or extraordinary, and a consequent measuring of the credibility of things, not by the power and other attributes of God, but by our own knowledge; limiting the possible to the actual, and denying the indefinite range of God's operations beyond our means of apprehending them. Mr. Hume openly avows this principle, declaring it to be unphilosophical to suppose that Almighty God can do any thing, but what we see he does. And, though we may not profess it, we too often, it is to be feared, act upon it at the present day. Instead of looking out of ourselves, and trying to catch glimpses of God's workings, from any quarter,—throwing ourselves forward upon Him and waiting on Him, we sit at home bringing everything to ourselves, enthroning ourselves as the centre of all things, and refusing to believe anything that does not force itself upon our minds as true. Our private judgment is made every thing to us,—is contemplated, recognized, and referred to as the arbiter of all questions, and as independent of everything external to us. Nothing is considered to have an existence except so far forth as our minds discern it. The notion of half views and partial knowledge, of guesses, surmises, hopes and fears, of truths faintly apprehended and not understood, of isolated facts in the great scheme of providence, in a word, of Mystery, is discarded. Hence a distinction is drawn between what is called Objective and Subjective Truth, and Religion is said to consist in a reception of the latter. By Objective Truth is meant the Religious System considered as existing in itself, external to this or that particular mind: by Subjective, is meant that which each mind receives in particular, and considers to be such. To believe in Objective Truth is to throw ourselves forward upon that which we have but partially mastered or made Subjective; to embrace, maintain, and use general propositions which are greater than our own capacity, as if we were contemplating what is real and independent of human judgment. Such a belief seems to the Rationalist superstitious and unmeaning, and he consequently confines faith to the province of Subjective Truth, or to the recep-

tion of doctrine, as, and so far as it is met and apprehended by the mind, which will be differently in different persons, in the shape of orthodoxy in one, heterodoxy in another; that is, he professes to *believe* in that which he *opines*, and he avoids the apparent extravagance of such an avowal by maintaining that the moral trial involved in faith does not lie in the submission of the reason to external truths partially disclosed, but in that candid pursuit of truth which ensures the eventual adoption of that opinion on the subject, which is best for us, most natural according to the constitution of our minds, and so divinely intended. In short he owns that faith, viewed with reference to its objects, is never more than an opinion, and is pleasing to God, not as an active principle apprehending different doctrines, but as a result and fruit, and therefore an evidence of past diligence, independent inquiry, dispassionateness, and the like. Rationalism takes the words of Scripture as signs of Ideas; Faith, of Things or Realities.

For an illustration of Faith, considered as the reaching forth after and embracing what is beyond the mind, or Objective, we may refer to St. Paul's description of it in the ancient Saints; "These all died in faith, *not having received* the promises, but *having seen them afar off*, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth;" or to St. Peter's; "Of which salvation the Prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who *prophesied* of the grace that should come *unto you, searching what, or what manner of time* the Spirit of Christ which was in them, did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, the glory that should follow; unto whom it was revealed, that *not unto themselves*, but unto us they did minister the things *which are now reported unto you* by them that have evangelized you." Here the faith of the ancient Saints is described as employed, not on truths so far as mastered by the mind, but truths beyond it, and even to the end withheld from its clear apprehension.

On the other hand, if we would know to what a temper of mind the Rationalistic Theory of Subjective Truth really tends, we may study the following passage from a popular review. It will be found to make use of the wonders of nature, not as "declaring the glory of God, and showing His handywork," but in order to exalt and deify the wisdom of man. Of the almost avowed infidelity contained in it, I do not speak.

"For the civil and political historian the past alone has existence, the present he rarely apprehends, the future never. To the historian of science it is permitted, however, to penetrate the depths of past and future with equal clearness and certainty; facts to come are to him as present, and not unfrequently more assured than facts which are past. Although this clear perception of causes and consequences characterizes the whole domain of physical science, and clothes the natural philosopher with powers denied to the political and moral

inquirer, yet *foreknowledge is eminently the privilege of the astronomer*. Nature has raised the curtain of futurity, and displayed before him the succession of her decrees, so far as they affect the physical universe, for countless ages to come; and the *revelations* of which she has made him the instrument, are supported and verified by a never-ceasing train of predictions fulfilled. He [the astronomer] "shows us the things which will be hereafter;" not obscurely shadowed out in figures and in parables, as must necessarily be the case with other revelations, but attended with the most minute precision of time, place, and circumstance. He converts the hours as they roll into an ever-present miracle, *in attestation of those laws which the Creator through him has unfolded*; the sun cannot rise, the moon cannot wane, a star cannot twinkle in the firmament without bearing testimony to the truth of his [the astronomer's] *prophetic records*. It has pleased the "Lord and Governor" of the world, in his inscrutable wisdom, to baffle our inquiries into the nature and proximate cause of that wonderful faculty of intellect—that image of his own essence which he has conferred upon us, &c. &c. But how nobly is the darkness which envelopes metaphysical inquiries compensated by the flood of light which is shed upon the physical creation! *There all is harmony, and order, and majesty, and beauty*. From the chaos of social and political phenomena exhibited in human records, phenomena unconnected to our imperfect vision by any discoverable law, a war of passions and prejudices governed by no apparent purpose, tending to no apparent end, and setting all intelligible order at defiance,—*how soothing and yet how elevating* it is to turn to the splendid spectacle which offers itself to the habitual contemplation of the astronomer! How favourable to the development of all the *best and highest feelings* of the soul are such objects! The only passion they inspire being the *love of truth*, and the chiefest pleasure of their votaries arising from excursions through the imposing scenery of the universe, scenery on a scale of grandeur and magnificence compared with which whatever we are accustomed to call sublimity on our planet, dwindles into ridiculous insignificance. Most justly has it been said, that nature has implanted in our bosoms *a craving after the discovery of truth*, and assuredly that glorious instinct is never more irresistibly awakened than when our notice is directed to what is going on in the heavens, &c.

Here desire after Truth is considered as irreconcilable with acquiescence in doubt. Now if we do not believe in a First Cause, then indeed we know nothing except so far as we know it clearly, consistency and harmony being the necessary evidence of reality; and so we may reasonably regard doubt as an obstacle in the pursuit of Truth. But, on the other hand, if we *assume the existence* of an unseen Object of Faith, then we already possess the main truth, and may well be content even with half views as to His operations, for whatever we have is so much gain, and what we do not know does not in that case tend at all to invalidate what we do know.

A few words may be necessary to bring together what has been said. Rationalism then, viewed in its essential character, is a refusal to take for granted the existence of a First Cause, in religious inquiries, which it prosecutes as if commencing in utter ignorance on the subject. Hence it receives only so much as may be strictly drawn out to the satisfaction of the reason, advancing onwards in belief according to the range of the proof; it limits Truth to our comprehension of it, or *subjects* it to the mind, and admits it only so far as it is subjected. Hence again it considers faith to have reference to a *thing* or *system*, far more than to an *agent*, for an agent may be supposed as acting in unknown ways, whereas a system cannot be supposed to have existence beyond what is ascertained of it. Hence moreover it makes the credibility of any alleged truth to lie solely in its capability of coalescing and combining with what is already known.

Mr. Hume, as has been observed, avowed the principle of Rationalism in its extent of Atheism. The writers, I shall have to notice, have religious sensibilities, and are far less clear-sighted. Yet even Mr. Erskine maintains or assumes that the main *object* of Christian faith is, not Almighty God, but a certain work or course of things which He has accomplished; as will be manifest to any reader either of His Essay on Internal Evidence, or on Faith. He says, for instance, in the latter of these works,

“I may understand many things which I do not believe; but I cannot believe any thing which I do not understand, unless it be something addressed merely to my senses, and not to my thinking faculty. A man may with great propriety say, I understand the Cartesian System of Vortices, though I do not believe in it. But it is absolutely impossible for him to believe in that system without knowing what it is. *A man may believe in the ability of a maker of a system without understanding it*; but he cannot believe in the *system itself* without understanding it. Now there is a meaning in the Gospel, *and there is declared in it the system of God’s dealings with men*. This meaning, and this system, must be understood before we can believe the Gospel. We are not called on to believe the Bible merely that we may give a proof of our willingness to submit in all things to God’s authority, but that we may be influenced by the object of our belief, &c.”

Every word of this extract tells in illustration of what has been drawn out above. And it is cited here merely in illustration; what judgment is to be formed of it shall be determined in its place. To resume the thread of our discussion.

We shall now perhaps be prepared to understand a very characteristic word, familiarly used by Mr. Erskine among others to designate his view of the Gospel dispensation. It is said to be a *Manifestation*, as if the system presented to us were such as we could trace and connect into one whole, complete and definite. Let me use this word “Manifestation,” as a token of the philoso-

phy under review; and let me contrast it with the word "Mystery," which on the other hand may be regarded as the badge or emblem of orthodoxy. Revelation considered as a Manifestation, is a doctrine variously received by various minds, but nothing more to each than that which it appears to be. Considered as a Mystery, it is a doctrine enunciated by inspiration, in human language, as the only possible medium of it, and suitably according to the capacity of language; a doctrine *lying hid* in language, to be received in that language from the first by every mind, whatever be its separate power of understanding; entered into more or less by this or that mind, as it may be; and admitting of being apprehended more and more perfectly according to the diligence of the person receiving it. It is one and the same, independent and real, of depth unfathomable, and illimitable in its extent.

This is a fit place to make some remarks on the Scripture sense of the word Mystery. It may seem a contradiction in terms to call a Revelation a Mystery; but is not the book of the Revelation of St. John as great a mystery from beginning to end as the most abstruse doctrine the mind ever imagined? yet it is even called a *revelation*. How is this? The answer is simple. No revelation can be complete and systematic, from the weakness of the human intellect; *so far as* it is not such, it is mysterious. When nothing is revealed, nothing is known, and there is nothing to contemplate or marvel at; but when something is revealed and only something, for all cannot be, there are forthwith difficulties and perplexities. A Revelation is religious doctrine viewed on its illuminated side; a Mystery is the self-same doctrine viewed on the side unilluminated. Thus Religious Truth is neither light nor darkness, but both together; it is like the dim view of a country seen in the twilight, with forms half extricated from the darkness, with broken lines, and isolated masses. Revelation, in this way of considering it, is not a revealed *system*, but consists of a number of detached and incomplete truths belonging to a vast system unrevealed, of doctrines and injunctions mysteriously connected together, that is connected by unknown media, and bearing upon unknown portions of the system. And in this sense we see the propriety of calling St. John's prophecies, though highly mysterious, yet a revelation.

And such seems to be the meaning of the word Mystery in Scripture, a point which is sometimes disputed. Campbell, in his work on the Gospels, maintains that the word means a *secret*, and that, whatever be the subject of it in the New Testament, it is always, when mentioned, associated with the notion of its being now revealed. Thus it is, in his view, a word belonging solely to the Law, which was a system of types and shadows, and is utterly foreign to the Gospel which has brought light instead of darkness. This sense might seem to be supported by our Lord's

announcement, for instance, to His disciples that to them was given to know the mysteries of His kingdom; by His command to them at another time to speak abroad what they had heard from Him in secret. And St. Paul in like manner glories in the revelation of mysteries hid from the foundation of the world.

But the sense of Scripture will more truly be represented as follows. What was hidden altogether before Christ came could not be a mystery; it became a Mystery then, for the first time, by being disclosed at all, at His coming. What had never been dreamed of by "righteous men," before Him, when revealed as *being* unexpected, if for no other reason, would be strange and startling. And such unquestionably is the meaning of St. Paul, when he uses the word; for he applies it, not to what was passed and over, but what was the then state of the doctrine revealed. Thus in the 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52, "Behold I show you a Mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump." The resurrection and consequent spiritualizing of the human body, was not dreamed of by the philosophy of the world till Christ came, and, when revealed, was "mocked," as then first becoming a mystery. Reason was just where it was: and, as it could not discover it beforehand, so now it cannot account for it, or reconcile it to experience, or explain the manner of it: the utmost it does is by some faint analogies to show it is not inconceivable. Again, St. Paul, speaking of marriage, says, "This is a great Mystery, I mean, in its reference to Christ and the Church;" that is, the ordinance of marriage has an inward and spiritual meaning, contained in it and revealed through it, a certain bearing, undefined and therefore mysterious, towards the heavenly communion existing between Christ and the Church:—as if for persons to place themselves in that human relation interested themselves in some secret way in the divine relation of which it is a figure. Again: "Great is the Mystery of piety, God was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of Angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." 1 Tim. iii. 16. Now, is the revelation of these truths a Manifestation (as above explained) or a Mystery? Surely the great secret has, by being revealed, only got so far as to be a Mystery, nothing more; nor could become a Manifestation, (i. e. a system connected in its parts by the human mind,) without ceasing to be any thing great at all. It must ever be small and superficial, viewed only as received by man; and is vast only when considered as that external truth into which each Christian may grow continually, and ever find fresh food for his soul. As to the unknown and marvellous system of things spoken of in the text just quoted, it is described again, in an almost parallel passage, as regards the subject,

though differently worded, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the Living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of Angels, to the full concourse and assembly of the first-born enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of the perfected just, and to Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel." xii. 22—24. In like manner when St. Paul speaks of the election of the Gentiles as a Mystery revealed, the facts of the case show that it was still a Mystery, and therefore but revealed to be a Mystery, not a secret explained. We know that the Jews did stumble at it: why if it was clear and obvious to reason? Certainly it was still a Mystery to them. Will it be objected that it had been plainly predicted? Surely not. The calling indeed of the Gentiles had been predicted, but not their equal participation with the Jews in all the treasures of the covenant of grace, not the destruction of the Mosaic system. The prophets every where speak of the Jews as the head of the Gentiles; it was a new doctrine altogether (at least to the existing generation) that the election henceforth was to have no reference whatever to the Jews as a distinct people. It had hitherto been utterly hidden and unexpected; it emerged into a stumbling block, or Mystery, when the Gospel was preached, as on the other hand it became to all humble minds a marvel or mystery of mercy. Hence St. Paul speaks of the Mystery "which in other ages was not made known to the sons of men. . . . that the Gentiles should be *fellow-heirs*, and of the *same body*, and *partakers of His promise in Christ* by the Gospel."

In these remarks on the meaning of the word Mystery, some of the chief doctrines of the Gospel revelation have been enumerated; before entering, however, into the particular subjects to be discussed, it may be right briefly to enumerate the revealed doctrines according to the Catholic, that is the anti-rationalistic notion of them. They are these: the Holy Trinity; the Incarnation of the Eternal Son; His atonement and merits; the Church as the medium and instrument through which He operates on the world in the communication of them; the Sacraments, and Sacramentals, (as Bishop Taylor calls them,) as the principal channels through which His merits are applied to individuals; Regeneration, the Communion of Saints, the Resurrection of the body, consequent upon their administration; and lastly, our faith and works, as a condition of the availableness and success of these divine appointments. Each of these doctrines is a Mystery; that is, each stands in a certain degree isolated from the rest, unsystematic, connected with the rest by unknown intermediate truths, and bearing upon subjects unknown. Thus the atonement, *why* it was necessary, *how* it operates, is a Mystery; that is, the heavenly

truth which is revealed, extends on each side of it into an unknown world. We see but the skirts of God's glory in it. The virtue of the Holy Communion; how it conveys to us the body and blood of the Incarnate Son crucified, and how by partaking it body and soul are made spiritual. The Communion of Saints; in what sense they are knit together into one body of which Christ is the head. Good works; how they, and how prayers again, influence our eternal destiny. In like manner what our relation is to the innumerable company of Angels, some of whom, as we are told, minister to us; what to the dead in Christ, the spirits of the just perfected, who are ever joined to us in a heavenly communion; what bearing the Church has upon the fortunes of the world, or, it may be, the universe.

That there are some such mysterious bearings, not only the incomplete character of the Revelation, but even its documents assure us. For instance. The Christian dispensation was ordained, "to the intent that now unto *the principalities and powers in heavenly places*, might be known by *the Church* the manifold wisdom of God." Eph. iii. 10. Such is its relation to the Angels. Again to lost spirits; "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of darkness in this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places." Eph. vi. 12. In like manner our Lord says, "the gates of hell shall not prevail against" the Church, Matt. xvi. 18. implying thereby a contest. Again in writing the following text, had not St. Paul thoughts in his mind, suggested by the unutterable sights of the third heaven, but to us unrevealed and unintelligible? "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us" (that is, the Church,) "from the love of God, which is in CHRIST JESUS our LORD." Rom. viii. 38, 39.

The practical inference to be drawn from this view is, first, that we should be very reverent in dealing with revealed truth; next, that we should avoid all theorizing and systematizing as relates to it, which is pretty much what looking into the ark was under the Law: further, that we should be solicitous to hold it safely and entirely; moreover that we should be zealous and pertinacious in guarding it; and lastly, which is implied in all these, that we should religiously adhere to the form of words and the ordinances under which it comes to us, through which it is revealed to us, and apart from which the revelation does not exist, there being nothing else given us by which to ascertain or enter into it.

Striking indeed is the contrast presented to this view of the Gospel, by the popular theology of the day! That theology is as follows:—that the Atonement is the chief doctrine of the

Gospel ;—again, that it is chiefly to be regarded, not as a wonder in heaven, and in its relation to the attributes of God and the unseen world, but in its experienced effects on our minds, in the change it effects where it is believed. On this, as on the horizontal line in a picture, all the portions of the Gospel system are placed and made to converge ; as if it might fearlessly be used to regulate, adjust, correct, complete, every thing else. Thus, the doctrine of the Incarnation is viewed as necessary and important to the Gospel, *because* it gives sacredness to the Atonement : of the Trinity, *because* it includes the revelation, not only of the Redeemer, but also of the Sanctifier, by whose aid and influence the Gospel message is to be blessed to us. It follows that faith is nearly the whole of religion, for through it the message or Manifestation is *received* ; on the other hand, the scientific language of Catholicism is disparaged, as having no tendency to enforce the operation of the revelation of the Atonement on our minds, and the Sacraments are limited to the office of representing, and promising, and impressing on us the promise of divine influences, in no measure of conveying them. Thus the Dispensation is practically identified with its Revelation or rather Manifestation. Not that the reality of the Atonement is formally denied, but it is cast in the back ground, except so far as it can be discovered to be influential, viz. to show God's hatred of sin, the love of CHRIST and the like ; and there is an evident *tendency* to consider it as a *mere* Manifestation of the love of CHRIST, to the denial of all real virtue in it as an expiation for sin ; as if His death took place, merely to show His love for us as a sign of God's infinite mercy, to calm and assure us, without any *real* connexion existing between it and God's forgiveness of our sins. And the dispensation thus being hewn and chiselled into an intelligible human system, is represented, when thus mutilated, as affording a remarkable evidence of the truth of the Bible, an evidence level to the *reason*, and superseding the *testimony* of the Apostles. That is, according to the above observations, that Rationalism, or want of faith, which has first invented a spurious gospel, next looks complacently on its own offspring, and pronounces it to be the very image of that notion of the Divine Providence according to which it was originally modelled ; a procedure, which, besides more serious objections, incurs the logical absurdity of arguing in a circle.

§ 2. Remarks on Mr. Erskine's "Internal Evidence."

THIS is in fact pretty nearly Mr. Erskine's argument in his Internal Evidence : an author, concerning whom personally I have

no wish to use one harsh word, not doubting that he is better than his own doctrine, and is only the organ, eloquent and ingenious, of unfolding a theory, which it has been his unhappiness to mistake for the Catholic faith revealed in the Gospel. Let us now turn to the Essay in question.

Mr. Erskine begins in the following words :

"There is a principle in our nature, which makes us dissatisfied with unexplained and unconnected facts ; which leads us to theorize all the particulars of our knowledge, or to form in our minds some system of causes sufficient to explain or produce the effects which we see ; and which teaches us to believe or disbelieve in the truth of any system which may be presented to us, just as it appears adequate or inadequate to afford that explanation of which we are in pursuit. We have an intuitive perception, that the appearances of nature are connected by the relation of cause and effect ; and we have also an instinctive desire to classify and arrange the seemingly confused mass of facts with which we are surrounded, according to this distinguishing relationship." pp. 1, 2.

He then speaks of two processes of reasoning which the mind uses in searching after truth.

"When we are convinced of the real existence of a cause in nature, and when we find that a class of physical facts is explained by the supposition of this cause, and tallies exactly with its ordinary operation, we resist both reason and instinct when we resist the conviction that this class of facts does result from this cause." p. 2.

Again :

"There is another process of reasoning . . . by which, instead of ascending from effects to a cause, we descend from a cause to effects. When we are once convinced of the existence of a cause, and are acquainted with its ordinary mode of operation, we are prepared to give a certain degree of credit to a history of other effects attributed to it, provided we can trace the connexion between them." p. 3.

Presently he says,

"In [all] these processes of reasoning we have examples of conviction, upon an evidence which is, most *strictly speaking*, internal—an evidence altogether independent of our *confidence in the veracity* of the narrator of the facts." p. 8.

Now, before explaining the precise argument he draws from the contents of Scripture, be it observed, that in these passages he countenances the principle of "believing or disbelieving in the truth of any system which may be presented to us," according as it contains in it or not, a satisfactory adjustment of causes to effects, the question of testimony being altogether superseded. Accordingly he says a little further on of the Apostles ; "Their system is true in the nature of things, even were they proved to be impostors," p. 17. And it will appear from other passages of his work that he does not hesitate to receive the other alternative

contained in the original proposition with which he opens it, viz. that that professed revelation is to be rejected, which implies a system of causes and effects incongruous in man's judgment with each other. To proceed :

His argument is as follows :—

“ *The first faint outline of Christianity*,” he says, “ presents to us a view of God operating on the characters of men through a manifestation of His own character, in order that by leading them to participate in some measure of His moral likeness, they may also in some measure participate of His happiness.” p. 12.

Again :

“ If the actions attributed to God, by any system of religion, be really such objects as, when present to the mind, do not stir the affections at all, that religion cannot influence the character, and is *therefore* utterly useless.” p. 23.

“ The *object* of Christianity is to bring the character of man into harmony with that of God.” p. 49.

“ The *reasonableness* of a religion seems to me to consist in there being a direct and natural *connexion between* a believing the doctrines which it inculcates, and a being formed by these to the character which it recommends. If the belief of the doctrines has *no* tendency to train the disciple in a more exact and more willing discharge of its moral obligations, *there is evidently a very strong probability against the truth of that religion*. . . . What is the history of another world to me, unless it have some *intelligible relation* to my duties or happiness ?” p. 59.

Now in these passages there is, first, this great assumption, that the object of the Christian revelation is ascertainable by us. It is asserted that its object is “ to bring the character of man into harmony with that of God.” That this is *an* object, is plain from Scripture, but that it is *the* object is no where told us ; no where it is represented as the object in such sense, that we may take it as a key or rule, whereby to arrange and harmonize the various parts of the revelation,—which is the use to which the author puts it. God's works look many ways ; they have objects (to use that mere human word) innumerable ; they are full of eyes before and behind, and like the cherubim in the Prophet's vision, advance forward to diverse points at once. But it is plainly unlawful and presumptuous to make one of those points, which happen to be revealed to us, the τέλος τελειότατον of His providence, and to subject every thing else to it. It plainly savours of the Rationalism already condemned ; for what is it but to resolve, that what is revealed to us is and shall be a complete system ; to reject every thing but what is so complete ; and to disallow the notion of revelation as a collection of fragments of a great scheme, the notion under which the most profound human philosophy is accustomed to regard it ?

“Christianity,” says Bishop Butler, “is a scheme quite beyond our comprehension. The moral government of God is exercised by gradually conducting things so in the course of His providence, that every one at length and upon the whole shall receive *according to his deserts*; and neither fraud nor violence, but *truth and right, shall finally prevail*. Christianity is a particular scheme under this general plan of providence, and a part of it, conducive to its completion, with regard to mankind; consisting itself also of various parts and a mysterious economy, which has been carrying on from the time the world came into its present wretched state, and is still carrying on for its recovery by a divine person, the Messiah, who is to ‘gather together in one the children of God, that are scattered abroad,’ and establish ‘an everlasting kingdom, wherein dwelleth righteousness.’ Parts likewise of this economy, are the miraculous system of the Holy Ghost, and His ordinary assistance as given to good men; the invisible government which Christ exercises over His Church and His future return to judge the world in righteousness, and completely re-establish the kingdom of God. . . . Now little, surely, need be said to show, that *this system or scheme of things is but imperfectly comprehended by us*. The Scripture expressly asserts it to be so. And indeed, *one cannot read a passage relating to this great mystery of godliness, but what immediately runs up into something which shows us our ignorance in it*, as every thing in nature shows our ignorance in the constitution of nature.”*

In this passage the great philosopher, though led by his line of argument to speak of the Dispensation entirely in its reference to man, still declares that even then its object is not identical with man’s happiness, but that it is justice and truth; while, viewed in itself, every part of it runs up into mystery.

Right reason, then, and faith combine to lead us, instead of measuring a divine revelation by human standards, or systematizing, except so far as it does so itself, to take what is given as we find it, to use it and be content. *E.g.* Scripture says that Christ died for sinners,—*so far* we may systematize; that He rose for our justification, that He went that the Spirit might come. Such and such like portions of a scheme are revealed, and we may use them, but no farther. On the other hand, the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity is a mere juxtaposition of separate truths, which to our minds involve inconsistency, when viewed together; nothing more being attempted, for nothing more is told us. Arrange and contrast them we may and do; systematize (i. e. reduce them into an intelligible dependence on each other, or harmony with each other,) we may not; unless indeed any such oversight of Revelation, such right of subjecting it to our understandings, is committed to us by Revelation itself. What then must be thought of the confident assumption,

* Anal. ii. 4.

without proof attempted, contained in the following sentence, already quoted ?

“The first faint outline of Christianity presents to us a view of God operating on the characters of men through a manifestation of His own character, in order that, by leading them to participate in some measure in His moral likeness, they may also in some measure participate in His happiness.”

That God intends us to partake in His moral likeness, that He has revealed to us His own moral character, that He has done the latter in order to accomplish the former (to speak as a man), I will grant, for it is in Scripture ; but that it is the *leading idea* of Christianity, the chief and sovereign principle of it, this I altogether deny. I ask for proof of what seems to us an assumption, and (if an assumption) surely an unwarranted and presumptuous one.

Notice was above taken of the selfishness of that philosophy, which resolves to sit at home and make every thing subordinate to the individual. Is not this painfully instanced in one of the foregoing passages ? “What is the history of another world to *me*, unless it have some intelligible relation to my duties and happiness ?” Was this Moses’ temper, when he turned aside to see the great sight of the fiery bush ?

Further, be it observed, the above theory has undeniably a tendency to disparage, if not supersede the mysteries of religion, such as the doctrine of the Trinity. It lays exclusive stress upon the *character* of God, as the substance of the Revelation. It considers Scripture as a *Manifestation* of God’s character, an intentional subjecting of it in an intelligible shape to our minds, and nothing more. The author says :

“The *reasonableness* of a religion seems to me to consist in there being a direct and natural connexion between a believing [its] doctrines, and being formed by these to the character which it recommends.”

Again :

“These terms [“manifestation” and “exhibition”] suit best with the *leading idea* which I wish to explain, viz. that the facts, [*i. e.* doctrines, as is just before explained] of revelation are developments of the moral principles of the Deity, and carry an influential address to the feelings of man.” p. 26.

Now, is the theological doctrine of the Trinity such a development ? Is it influentially addressed to our feelings ? Is it “an act of the divine government,” as the author expresses himself ? Further, does he not also tell us the “reasonableness of a religion seems to consist in there being a *direct and natural* connexion between a believing the doctrines which it inculcates, and a being formed by these to the character which it recommends ?” We need not dwell on the assumption hazarded in this passage ; for

surely it is conceivable that reasons may exist in the vast scheme of the Dispensation, (of the bearings of which we know nothing perfectly,) for doctrines being revealed, which do not directly and naturally tend to influence the formation of our characters, or at least which we cannot see to do so. We have at least the authority of Bishop Butler to support us in considering that,

"we are wholly ignorant what degree of new knowledge it were to be expected God would give mankind by Revelation, upon supposition of His affording one; or how far, or in what way, He would interpose miraculously, to qualify them to whom He should originally make the Revelation, *for communicating the knowledge given by it*; and to secure their doing it to the age in which they should live, and to secure its being transmitted to posterity."*

But even though Butler, and other deep thinkers, had not said a word on the subject, the immediate and inevitable result, or rather operation of Mr. Erskine's principle, when applied to the matter of the Scripture Revelation, is a sufficient refutation of it. It will be found to mean nothing, or to lead pretty nearly to Socinianism. Let us take an instance: he says that the reasonableness of a religion, and therefore its claim on our acceptance, consists in there being a direct and natural tendency in belief in its doctrines to form that moral character which it recommends. Now, I would ask—do we never hear it asked; have we never been tempted to ask ourselves,—“What is the *harm* of being *e. g.* a Sabellian?” And is not the habit of thought, from which such questionings proceed, owing to the silent influence of such books as this of Mr. Erskine's? Further, do we not hear persons say, “As to the Athanasian doctrine, I do not deny there is a Mystery about the Manifestations of the Divine Nature in Scripture, but this Mystery, whatever it is, as it does not interfere with the practical view of the doctrine, so, on the other, it cannot subserve it. It is among the secret things of God, and must be left among them;” as if we might unthankfully throw back again into the infinite abyss any of the jewels which God has vouchsafed to bring us thence.

The reader may at first sight be tempted to say, “This is an overstrained handling of Mr. Erskine's words. What he does mean, is, not that the *want* of connexion between doctrine and precept is an objection, (though his words strictly taken *may* say this,) but, that where such a connexion does exist, as we see it does in Christianity, *there is* a strong argument in behalf of the divinity of a professed Revelation.” Probably this was his original meaning, and it would have been well had he kept to it. But it is the way with men, particularly in this day, to generalize freely, to be impatient of such concrete truth as existing appoint-

* Anal. ii. 3.

ments contain, to attempt to disengage it, to hazard sweeping assertions, to lay down principles, to mount up above God's visible doings, and to subject them to tests derived from our own speculations. Doubtless He, in some cases, vouchsafes to us the knowledge of truths more general than those works of His which He has set before us; and when He does so, let us thankfully use the gift. This is not the case in the present instance. Mr. Erskine has been led on, from the plain fact, that in Christianity there is a certain general bearing of faith in doctrine upon character, and so far a proof of its *consistency*, which is a token of divine working,—led on, to the general proposition, that “in a genuine Revelation all doctrines revealed must have a direct bearing upon the moral character enjoined by it;” and next to the use of it as a test for rejecting such alleged doctrines of the gospel, *e. g.* the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, as do not perceptibly come up to it.

That I am not unfair upon Mr. Erskine will appear from the following passages:

“*The abstract fact that there is a plurality in the unity of the Godhead, really makes no address either to our understandings, or our feelings, or our consciences. But the obscurity of the doctrine, as far as moral purposes are concerned, is dispelled, when it comes in such a form as this,—‘God so loved the world,’ &c., or this, ‘But the Comforter which is,’ &c.—Our metaphysical ignorance of the Divine Essence is not indeed in the slightest degree removed by this mode of stating the subject; but our moral ignorance of the Divine character is enlightened, and that is the thing with which we have to do.*” p. 96.

Now, I do not say that such a passage as this is a denial of the doctrine of the Athanasian Creed; but I ask, should a man be disposed to deny it, *how* would the writer refute him? Has he not, if a Trinitarian, cut away the ground from under him? Might not a Socinian or Sabellian convince him of the truth of their doctrine, by his own arguments? Unquestionably. He has laid down the principle, that a Revelation is *only so far* reasonable as it exhibits a direct and natural connexion between belief in its doctrines and conformity to its precepts. He then says, that in matter of fact the doctrine of the Trinity is only influential as it exhibits the moral character of God; that is, that so far as it does not, so far as it is abstract (as he calls it) and in scientific form, *i. e.* viewed as the Catholic Doctrine, it is not influential, or reasonable, or by consequence important, or even credible. He has cut off the *Doctrine* from its roots, and has preserved only that superficial part of it which he denominates a “*Manifestation*,”—only so much as bears visibly upon another part of the system, the character of man,—so much as is perceptibly connected with it, so far as may be comprehended.

But he speaks so clearly on this subject that comment is perhaps needless.

"In the Bible the Christian doctrines . . . stand as indications of the character of God, and as the exciting motives of a corresponding character in man."

This assumption must not pass without notice: often they so stand, not always, as he would imply. When St. Paul bids Timothy hold fast the form of sound words, or St. Jude exhorts us to contend earnestly for the faith, these Apostles seem so to direct for the sake of the faith itself, not for any ulterior reason. When St. John requires us to reject any one who brings not the true doctrine, nothing is said of it as an "exciting motive" of a certain character of mind, though viewed on one side of it, that doctrine certainly is so. St. Paul glories in the doctrine of CHRIST crucified as being a *strange* doctrine and a *stumbling block*. St. John states the doctrine of the Incarnation, in the first chapter of his gospel, as a heavenly truth, which was too glorious for men, and believed on only by the few, by which, indeed, the Father was declared, but which *shone in darkness*. But to return:

"In the Bible, the Christian doctrines are always stated in this connexion, they stand as indications of the character of God, and as the exciting motives of a corresponding character in man. Forming thus the connecting link between the character of the Creator and the creature, they possess a majesty which it is impossible to despise, and exhibit a form of consistency and truth which it is difficult to disbelieve. Such is Christianity in the Bible; *but in creeds and Church articles it is far otherwise*. These tests and summaries originated from the introduction of doctrinal errors and metaphysical speculations into religion; and in consequence of this, they are not so much intended to be the repositories of the truth, as barriers against the encroachment of erroneous opinions. The doctrines contained in them, therefore, are not stated with any reference to their *great object* in the Bible,—the regeneration of the human heart by the knowledge of the Divine character. *They appear as detached propositions*, indicating no *moral* cause, and pointing to no *moral* effect. They do not look to God on the one hand as their source; nor to man on the other as the object of their moral urgency. *They appear like links severed from the chain to which they belonged*; and *thus* they lose all that evidence which arises from their consistency, and all that dignity which is connected with their high design. I do not talk of the propriety or impropriety of having Church Articles, but the evils which spring from receiving impressions of religion exclusively or chiefly from this source." pp. 93, 94.

It is always a point gained to be able to come to issue in a controversy, as I am able to do here with the writer under consideration. He finds fault with that disjointed and isolated character of the doctrines in the old Catholic creed, that want of system, which to the more philosophical mind of Bishop Butler would

seem an especial recommendation from its analogy to the course of nature. He continues,

"I may instance the ordinary statements of the doctrine of the Trinity, as an illustration of what I mean. It seems difficult to conceive that any man should read through the New Testament candidly and attentively, without being convinced that this doctrine is essential to, and implied in every part of the system: but it is not so difficult to conceive, that although his mind is perfectly satisfied on this point, he may yet, if his religious knowledge is exclusively derived from the Bible, feel a little surprised and staggered, when he for the first time reads the terms in which it is announced in the articles and confessions of all Protestant Churches. In these summaries, the doctrine in question is stated by itself, divested of all its Scriptural accompaniments, and is made to bear simply on the nature of the Divine Essence, and the *Mysterious fact* of the existence of Three in One. *It is evident that this fact, taken by itself, cannot in the smallest degree tend to develop the Divine character, and therefore cannot make any moral impression on our minds.*" pp. 94, 95.

Now, here, if it were to the purpose, this author might be encountered on his own ground. Surely, if it were religious to do so, it might be asserted, in contradiction to his last remark, that the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity *does* "tend to develop the Divine character," *does* "make a moral impression on our minds;" for does not the notion of a Mystery lead to reverence awe, wonder, and fear? and are these not moral impressions? He proceeds:

"In the Bible it assumes quite a different shape; it is there *subservient to the manifestation* of the moral character of God. The doctrine of God's combined justice and mercy, in the redemption of sinners, and of His continued spiritual watchfulness over the progress of truth through the world, and in each particular heart, could not have been communicated without it, so as to have been distinctly and vividly apprehended; but it is never mentioned, except in connexion with these objects; nor is it ever taught as a separate subject of belief. There is a great and important difference between these two modes of statement. In the first, *the doctrine stands as an isolated fact of a strange and unintelligible nature*, and is apt even to suggest the idea, that *Christianity holds out a premium for believing improbabilities*. In the other, it stands indissolubly united with an act of Divine holiness and compassion, which radiates to the heart an appeal of tenderness most intelligible in its nature and object, and most constraining in its influence." pp. 95, 96.

Here, at length, Rationalism stands confessed, and we hear openly the "mouth speaking great things," described in prophecy. Again:

"The hallowed purpose of restoring men to the lost image of their Creator, is in fact the very soul and spirit of the Bible; and *when ever this object does not distinctly appear, the whole system becomes dead and useless.*"

If so, what judgment are we to pass upon such texts as the following? "We are unto God a *sweet savour of Christ*, in them that are saved, *and in them that perish*; to the one we are the *savour of death unto death*; and to the other, the savour of life unto life." "What if God, *willing to show His wrath and to make His power known*, endured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, and that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy, which He had afore prepared unto glory?" "He hath appointed a day in which *He will judge the world in righteousness*, by that Man whom He hath ordained." "*Behold, I come quickly*, and My reward is with Me, *to give every man according as his work shall be*."* The glory of God, according to Mr. Erskine, and the maintenance of truth and righteousness, are *not* objects sufficient, were there no other, to prevent "the whole system" of revealed truth from "becoming dead and useless." Does not this philosophy tend to Universalism? can its upholders maintain for any long while the eternity of future punishment? Surely they speak at random, and have no notion what they are saying. He proceeds:

"In Creeds and Confessions this great purpose is not made to stand forth with its real prominence; its intimate connexion with the different articles of faith is not adverted to; the *point* of the whole argument is thus lost, *and Christianity is misapprehended to be a mere list of mysterious facts*. One who understands the Bible may read them with profit, *because his own mind may fill up the deficiencies*, and when their statements are correct, they may assist inquiries in certain stages, by bringing under their eye a concentrated view of all the points of Christian doctrine; and they may serve, according to their contents, either as public invitations to their communion, or as public warnings against it; . . . but they are not calculated to impress on the mind of a learner a vivid and *useful* apprehension of Christianity . . . Any person who draws his knowledge of the Christian doctrines, exclusively or principally from such sources, must run considerable risk of losing the benefit of them, by overlooking their moral objects; and, in so doing, he may be tempted to reject them altogether, because he will be blind to their *strongest evidence, which consists in their perfect adaptation to these objects*. The Bible is the only perfectly pure source of Divine knowledge, and the man who is unacquainted with it, is, in fact, ignorant of the doctrines of Christianity, however well read he may be in the schemes, and systems, and controversies, which have been written on the subject. . . . The habit of viewing the Christian doctrine and the Christian character as two separate things has a most pernicious tendency. A man who in his scheme of Christianity says, 'here are so many things to be believed, and here are so many things to be done,' has already made a fundamental mistake. The doctrines are

* 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16.

Rom. x. 22, 23.

Acts xvii. 31.

Rev. xxii. 12.

the principles which must excite and animate the performance," &c. pp. 139—141.

It is not the design of this Paper to refute Mr. Erskine's principles, so much as to delineate and contrast them with those of the Church Catholic. Since, however, he has already, in several of these extracts, *assumed* that Scripture ever speaks of revealed doctrines in a directly practical way,—not as objects of faith merely, but as motives to conduct,—I would call attention to the following passage, in addition to those which have been above pointed out. "Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, *Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.* Nicodemus saith unto Him, *How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?* Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. *Marvel not* that I said to thee, *Ye must be born again.* The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but *canst not tell* whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit. Nicodemus answered and said unto Him, *How can these things be?* Jesus answered and said unto him, *Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, We speak that We do know, and testify that We have seen; and ye receive not Our witness.* If I have told you earthly things, and ye *believe not, how shall ye believe* if I tell you of heavenly things? And *no man ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven.*"*

Some persons, doubtless, are so imbued with modern glosses and the traditions of men, that they will discern in all this but a practical exhortation to conversation, change of heart, and the like; but any one who gets himself fairly to look at the passage in itself, will, I am persuaded, see nothing more or less than this,—that Christ enunciates a solemn *Mystery* for Nicodemus to receive in *faith*; that Nicodemus so understands His words, and hesitates at it; that our Lord reproves him for hesitating, tells him that there are even higher Mysteries than that He had set forth, and proceeds to instance that of the Incarnation. In what conceivable way would a supporter of Mr. Erskine's views make the last awful verse "subservient to the manifestation of the moral character of God," or directly influential upon practice? unless, indeed, he explained its clauses away altogether, as if they meant nothing more than is contained in the next verses, "As Moses," &c., and "God so loved the world," &c. All this is too painful

* John iii. 3—13.

to dwell upon. The latter part, particularly the conclusion, of the sixth chapter of the same Gospel, would afford another instance in point.

Now, let us hear what Mr. Erskine says in like manner on the doctrine of the Atonement, which he would exalt, indeed, into the substance of the Gospel, but in his account of which, as well as of the other Mysteries of revelation, he will, I fear, be found wanting.

"The doctrine of the Atonement through Jesus Christ, which is the corner-stone of Christianity, and to which *all the other doctrines of Revelation are subservient*,"—

Here is the same (what I must call) presumptuous assumption,—

"—has had to encounter the misapprehension of the understanding as well as the pride of the heart."

Now let us observe, he is going to show *how* the understanding of the Church Catholic has *misapprehended* the doctrine.

"This pride is natural to man, and can only be overcome by the power of truth; but the misapprehension might be removed by the simple process of reading the Bible with attention; because it has arisen from neglecting the record itself, and taking our information from the discourses or the *system of men* who have engrafted the metaphysical subtleties of the schools upon the unperplexed statement of the word of God. In order to understand the facts of Revelation, we *must* (sic) form a system to ourselves; but if any subtilty, *of which the application is unintelligible to common sense, or, unimportant on conduct*, enters into our system, *we may be sure that it is a wrong one*."

The author here alludes to the Catholic teaching in the words "systems of man;" indeed it has been fashionable of late so to speak of it; but let me ask, which teaching has the more of system in it, that which regards the doctrines of revelation as isolated truths, so far as they are not connected in Scripture itself, or that which pares away part, and forcibly deals with the rest, till they are all brought down to an end cognizable by the human mind? It must be observed, that the author expressly sanctions the formation of a *system*, which Catholic believers do not. He proceeds,

"The common sense system of a religion consists in two connexions,—first, the connexion between the doctrines and the character of God which they exhibit; and secondly, the connexion between these same doctrines and the character which they are intended to impress on the mind of man. When, therefore, we are considering a religious doctrine, our questions ought to be, first, What view does this doctrine give of the character of God in relation to sinners? And secondly, What influence is the belief of it calculated to exercise on the character of man? . . . The first of these questions leads us to consider the Atonement as an act necessarily resulting from,

and simply developing principles in the Divine mind, altogether independent of its effects on the hearts of those who are interested in it. The second leads us to consider the adaptation of the history of the Atonement, when believed, to the moral wants and capacities of the human mind. . . . There is something very striking and wonderful in this adaptation; and the deeper we search into it, the stronger reason shall we discover for admiration and gratitude, and the more thoroughly shall we be convinced that it is not a lucky coincidence, not an adjustment contrived by the precarious and temporizing wisdom of this world, but that it is stamped with the uncounterfeited seal of the universal Ruler, and carries on it the traces of that same mighty will, which has connected the sun with his planetary train, and fixed the great relations in nature, appointing to each atom its bound that it cannot pass." pp. 97—100.

These last remarks are true of course in their place; so far as we think we see an adaptation, even though Scripture does not expressly mention it, let us praise God and be thankful;—but it is one thing to trace humbly and thankfully what we surmise to be God's handywork, and so far as we think we see it, and quite another thing to propound our surmises dogmatically, not only as true, but as the substance of the revelation, the test of what is important in it, and what not; nay, of what is really part of it, and what not. Presently he says as follows:—

"The doctrine of the Atonement is the great subject of Revelation. God is represented as delighting in it, as being glorified by it, and as being most fully manifested by it. *All the other doctrines radiate from this as their centre.* In *subservience to it*, the distinction in the unity of the Godhead has been revealed. It is described as the everlasting theme of praise and song amongst the blessed who surround the throne of God." pp. 101, 102.

Now that the doctrine of the Atonement is so essential a doctrine that none other is more so, (true as it is,) does not at all hinder other doctrines in their own place being so essential that they may not be moved one inch from it, or made to converge towards that doctrine ever so little, beyond the sanction of Scripture. There is surely a difference between being prominent and being paramount. To take the illustration of the human body: the brain is the noblest organ, but have not the heart and the lungs their own essential rights (so to express myself,) their own independent claims upon the regard of the physician? Will not he be justly called a theorist who resolves all diseases into one, and refers general healthiness to one organ as its seat and cause?

One additional observation is to be made on Mr. Erskine's view of the Atonement. He considers, in common with many other writers of his general way of thinking, that in that most solemn and wonderful event, we have a Manifestation, not only of God's love, but of His justice. *E.g.*

"The distinction of persons in the Divine nature we cannot com-

prehend, but we can easily comprehend the high and engaging morality of that character of God, which is developed in the history of the New Testament. God gave His equal and well-beloved Son, to suffer in the stead of an apostate world : *and through this exhibition of awful justice*, He publishes the fullest and freest pardon. He thus teaches us, that it forms no part of His scheme of mercy to dissolve the eternal connexion between sin and misery. No ; this connexion stands sure ; and one of the chief objects of Divine Revelation, is to convince men of this truth ; and *Justice* does the work of mercy, when it alarms us to a sense of danger, &c." p. 74.

Again :

"The design of the Atonement was *to make mercy towards this off-cast race consistent with the honour and the holiness of the Divine Government*. To accomplish this gracious purpose, the Eternal Word, who was God, took on Himself the nature of man, and as the elder brother and representative and champion of the guilty family, He solemnly acknowledged the justice of the sentence pronounced against sin, and submitted Himself to its full weight of woe, in the stead of His adopted kindred. *God's justice found rest here ; His law was magnified and made honourable, &c.*" pp. 102, 103.

The view maintained in these and other extracts, and by others beside Mr. Erskine, is remarkable for several reasons. First, for the *determination* it evinces not to leave us any thing in the gospel system unknown, unaccounted for. One might have thought that here at least somewhat of awful Mystery would have been allowed to hang over it ; here at least some "depth" of God's counsels would have been acknowledged and accepted on *faith*. For though the death of Christ manifests God's *hatred of sin*, as well as His love for man, (inasmuch as it was sin that made His death necessary, and the greater the sacrifice the greater must have been the evil that caused it,) yet *how* His death expiated our sins, and what satisfaction it was to God's *justice*, are surely subjects quite above us. It is in no sense a great and glorious *Manifestation* of His *justice*, as men speak now-a-days ;* it is an event ever *mysterious* on account of its necessity, while it is *fearful* from the hatred of sin implied in it, and most *transport-*

* This passage has been misunderstood from the word *manifestation* not being taken in the sense intended by the writer. The word may either mean the making a *fact evident*, or making the *reason* of it *intelligible* ; it is used above in the latter sense. Christ's atoning death does indeed proclaim the fact that God's justice is satisfied, but it does not contain in it an explanation *how* it came to be a satisfaction. In the former sense then it may properly be called a manifestation of God's justice ; not in the latter, though it is often said to be so. The Atonement is a satisfaction to God's justice, in that His just anger was in matter of fact averted thereby from us sinners ; but we do not know in what way it satisfied His justice to afflict Christ instead of us. This is a mystery, though many persons speak as if they saw the fitness of it. It *manifests* to our *comprehension* the love and holiness of God ; it is a *proof* of love towards man and of hatred of sin ; it is not a *proof* to us that He is just, but must be taken on *faith* as a result of His being so.

ing and elevating from its display of God's love to man. But Rationalism would account for every thing.

Next it must be observed, as to Mr. Erskine himself, that he is of necessity forced by his hypothesis to speak of God's justice as if manifested to our comprehension in the Atonement, if he speaks of it at all, however extravagant it may be to do so. For unless this were the case, the dispensation would not be a "Manifestation," the revealed scheme would be imperfect, doctrines would be severed from ascertainable moral effects on the character,—which the Catholic Church indeed has ever considered, but which Mr. Erskine pronounces in the outset to be contrary to reason, and fatal to the claims of a professed revelation.

An additional remark is in place. The difficulty here pointed out has been felt by writers who agree with Mr. Erskine, and they have contrived to get rid of the remaining Mystery of the Dispensation, resulting from the question of justice, as follows. They refer God's justice to the well-being of His creation, as *a final end*, as if it might in fact be considered a modification of benevolence. Accordingly, they say God's justice was satisfied by the Atonement, inasmuch as He could then pardon man consistently with the good of His creation, consistently with their salutary terror of His power and strictness, consistently with the due order of His Government. This should be carefully noted, as showing us the tendency of the Rationalistic principle under review towards Utilitarianism. The following passage is given in illustration, from the Essays of Mr. Scott of Aston Sandford.

"The story of Zaleucus, prince of the Locrians, is well-known : to show his abhorrence of adultery, and his determination to execute the law he had enacted, condemning the adulterer to the loss of both his eyes, and at the same time to evince his love to his son who had committed that crime, he willingly submitted to lose one of his own eyes, and ordered at the same time one of his son's to be put out ! Now what adulterer could *hope to escape* when *power was vested* in a man whom neither *self-love*, nor *natural affection* in its greatest force, could induce to dispense with the law, or relax the rigour of its sentence ?" Essay ix.

True, this act would show intense energy of determination to uphold the existing laws, clearly enough ; and so did Mucius Scaevola show intense energy in burning off his hand ; but what is this question to the question of *justice* ?

One more subject of examination, and that not the least important, is suggested by the foregoing passages. Mention has been made in them once or twice of the *facts* of revelation : the doctrines are said to be facts, and such facts to be all in all. Now according to Catholic teaching, doctrines are divine truths, which are the objects of faith, not of sight ; we may call them facts, if we will, so that we recollect that they are sometimes

facts of the unseen world, not of this, and that they are not synonymous with actions or works. But Mr. Erskine, by a remarkable assumption, rules it that doctrines are facts of the revealed divine *governance*, so that a doctrine is made the same as a divine action or work. As Providence has given us a series of moral facts by nature, as in the history of nations or of the individual, from which we deduce the doctrines of natural religion, so Scripture is supposed to reveal a second series of facts, or works, in the course of the three dispensations, especially the Christian, which are the *doctrines* of religion, or at least, which, together with the principle involved in them, are the doctrines. Thus Christ's death upon the cross is an historical fact; the meaning of it is what illustrates and quickens it, and adapts it for influencing the soul. Now if we ask, how on this theory the doctrine of the Trinity is a fact in the divine governance, we are answered that it must be thrown into another shape, if I may so express myself; it must be made subordinate, and separated into parts. The series of Christian facts is supposed to pass from the birth to the death of Christ, and thence to the mission of the Holy Ghost. We must view the divinity of Christ in His death, the divinity of the Spirit in His mission. That they are therein exhibited, I grant; but the theory requires us to consider this *the* scriptural mode of their exhibition. This theory is supposed by some of its upholders to be sanctioned by Butler; for they seem to argue, that *as* the course of nature is a collection of manifested facts, so is the course of grace. But that great divine knew better than to infer, from what he saw, what was to be expected in a Revelation, were it to be granted. He asserts plainly the contrary; his whole argument is merely negative, defending Christianity as far as nature enables him to do so,—not limiting the course of the revelation to the analogy of nature. Accordingly the Church Catholic has ever taught, (as in her Creeds,) that there are facts revealed to us, not of this world, not of time, but of eternity, and that absolutely and independently; not merely embodied and indirectly conveyed in a certain historical course, not subordinate to the display of the Divine character, not revealed merely relatively to us, but primary objects of our faith, and essential in themselves, whatever dependence or influence they may have upon other doctrines, or upon the course of the Dispensation. In a word, it has taught the existence of *Mysteries* in religion, for such emphatically must truths ever be which are external to this world, and existing in eternity;—whereas this narrow-minded, jejune, officious, and presumptuous human system teaches nothing but a *Manifestation*, i. e. a series of historical works conveying a representation of the moral character of God; and it dishonours our holy faith by the unmeaning reproach of its being metaphysical, abstract, and the like,—a reproach, unmeaning and irreverent, just as much so as

it would be on the other hand to call the historical facts earthly or carnal.

I will quote some passages from Mr. Erskine's work, to justify my account of his view, and then shall be able, at length, to take leave of him.

"It may be proper to remark, that the acts attributed to the Divine Government are usually termed '*doctrines*,' to distinguish them from the moral precepts of a religion." p. 25.

Thus the doctrine of the Trinity, *as such*, is not a doctrine of the Gospel. Again :

"It is not enough to show, in proof of its authenticity, that the facts which it affirms concerning the dealings of God with His creatures, do exhibit His moral perfections in the highest degree, it must also be shown that these facts, when present to the mind of man, do naturally, according to the constitution of his being, tend to excite and suggest that combination of feelings which constitutes his moral perfection. But when we read a *history* which authoritatively claims to be an *exhibition* of the character of God in His dealings with men; if we find in it that which fills and overflows our most dilated conceptions of moral worth, &c. ; . . . and if our reason farther discovers a system of powerful moral stimulants, embodied in the *facts* of this *history*; . . . if we discern that the spirit of this history gives peace to the conscience, &c. ; . . . we may then well believe that God has been pleased in pity, &c. . . . to clothe the eternal laws which regulate His spiritual government, in such a form as may be palpable to our conceptions, and adapted to the urgency of our necessities." pp. 18, 19.

"I mean to show that there is an intelligible and necessary connexion between the *doctrinal facts* of revelation and the character of God and farther, that the belief of these *doctrinal facts* has an intelligible and necessary tendency to produce the Christian character, &c." pp. 20, 21.

"The object of this dissertation is to analyse the component parts of the Christian scheme of doctrine, with reference to its bearings both on the character of God and on the character of man; and to demonstrate that *its facts*, not only present an expressive *exhibition* of all the moral qualities which can be conceived to reside in the divine mind, but also contain all those objects which have a natural tendency to excite and suggest in the human mind, that combination of moral feelings which has been termed moral perfection." p. 16.

"God has been pleased to present to us a most interesting *series of actions*, in which His moral character, *as far as we are concerned*, is fully and perspicuously embodied. In this *narration*, &c." p. 55.

"It [the Gospel] addresses the learned and the unlearned, the savage and the civilized, the decent and the profligate; and to all it speaks precisely the same language! What then is this universal language? It cannot be the language of metaphysical discussion, or what is called abstract moral reasoning its argument consists in a relation of *facts*." p. 55.

Now that in these passages, the doctrines of the Gospel are resolved into facts which took place in God's governance, and that its mysteries are admitted, only so far as they are qualities or illustrations of these historical facts, seems to me not only the true but the only interpretation to be put upon his words. If they do not mean this, let this at least be proposed, as an approximation to the real meaning; in the meanwhile, let it be observed, that nothing which has been said in the former portions of this discussion is at all affected by any failing, if so, in having fully elicited it.

§ 3. *Remarks on Mr. Abbott's "Corner Stone."*

HERE then we have arrived at a point where we part company with Mr. Erskine, and join Mr. Abbott, who advances further in a most perilous career. The principle with which Mr. Erskine began has been above discovered to issue in a view of the Gospel, which may be contemplated apart from that principle. That the human mind may criticise and systematise the divine revelation, that it may identify it with the Dispensation, that it may limit the uses of the latter to its workings through our own reason and affections, and such workings as we can ascertain and comprehend, in a word, that the Gospel is a *Manifestation*, this is the fundamental principle of Mr. Erskine's Essay. Mr. Jacob Abbott seems so fully to take this principle for granted, that it would be idle to do more than notice his doing so; it will be more to the purpose to direct attention to his treatment of the theory, in which Mr. Erskine's principle seems to issue, viz. that the Gospel is a *collection of facts*. I am now referring to Mr. Abbott's work called "the Corner Stone," which I do not hesitate to say approaches within a hair's breadth of Socinianism: a charge which I would by no means urge against Mr. Erskine, whatever be the *tendency* of his speculations.

In the work in question Mr. Abbott disclaims entering into *theological* questions, properly so called (Preface, p. vi.); nor is there any necessity for his entering into them, so that the line of discussion which he does take, does not intrude upon them or provoke them.

"I have made this *exhibition* of the Gospel," he says, "with reference to its *moral* effect on human hearts, and not for the purpose of taking sides in a controversy between different parties of Christians."

Again,

"A system of theology is a map or plan, in which every feature of the country must be laid down in its proper place and proportion;

this work is on the other hand a series of views, as the traveller sees them in passing over a certain road. In this case, the road which I have taken, leads indeed through the heart of the country, but it does not by any means bring to view all which is interesting or important. The reader will perceive that the history of JESUS CHRIST is the clue which I have endeavoured to follow; that is, the work is intended to exhibit religious truth, as it is connected with the various events in the life of our Saviour. In first introducing Him to the scene, I consider His exalted nature as the *great moral Manifestation of the Divinity to us*. Then follows a view of *His personal character, and of His views of religious duty, &c.*" pp. vi. vii.

Let us observe here the similarity of language between the two writers I am speaking of. They are evidently of the same school. They both direct their view to the Gospel *history* as a Manifestation of the Divine Character; and though, in the above extracts, Mr. Abbott speaks more guardedly than Mr. Erskine, there will be found to be little or no practical difference between them. But there seems this most important distinction in their respective applications of their theory, though not very distinct or observable at first sight; that Mr. Erskine admits into the range of divine facts such as are not of this world, as the voluntary descent of Christ from heaven to earth, and his Incarnation, whereas Mr. Abbott virtually limits it to the witnessed history of Christ upon earth. This, so far as it exists, is all the difference between orthodoxy and Socinianism.

For this encroachment Mr. Erskine indeed had prepared the way; for he certainly throws the high doctrines of religion into the background; and the word "Manifestation" far more naturally fits on to a history witnessed by human beings, than to dispositions belonging to the unseen world. But Mr. Erskine certainly has not *taught* this explicitly.

If we wish to express the sacred Mystery of the Incarnation accurately, we should rather say that God is man, than that man is God. Not that the latter proposition is not altogether Catholic in its wording, but the former expresses the *history* of the Economy, (if I may so call it,) and confines our LORD's personality to His divine nature, making His manhood an adjunct; whereas to say that man is God, does the contrary of both of these,—leads us to consider Him a man personally, with some vast and unknown dignity superadded, and that acquired of course after His coming into existence as man. The difference between these two modes of speaking is well illustrated in the recent work of a Socinian writer, whom on account of the truth and importance of his remarks, it is right, with whatever pain, to quote.

"A quick child, though not acquainted with logic, . . . will perceive the absurdity of saying that Edward is John. . . . As the young pupil must be prepared to infer from the New Testament, that a perfect man is perfect God, he . . . must be imperceptibly led to

consider the word *God* as expressing a quality, or an aggregate of qualities, which may be predicted of more than one, as the name of a species; just when we say *John is man*, *Peter is man*, *Andrew is man*. And so it is, with the exception of a few who, in this country, are still acquainted with that ingeniously perverse system of words, by means of which the truly scholastic Trinitarians (such as Bishop Bull and Waterland, who had accurately studied the fathers and the schoolmen,) appear to evade the logical contradictions with which the doctrine of the Trinity abounds; all, as I have observed for many years, take the word *God*, in regard to Christ, as the name of a species, and more frequently of a dignity.”—*Heresy and Orthodoxy*, p. 91.

It will be observed of this passage, that the writer implies that the orthodox mode of speaking of the Incarnation is not exposed to a certain consequence, to which the mode at present popular is exposed, viz. the tendency to explain away Christ's divinity. *Man is God*, is the popular mode of speech; *God is man*, is the Catholic. To return. It seems then that Mr. Erskine proceeds in the orthodox way, illustrating the doctrine that *God* became man; Mr. Abbott starting with the earthly existence of our *LORD*, does but enlarge upon the doctrine that a man is *God*. Mr. Erskine enforces the Atonement, as a Manifestation of *God's* moral character; Mr. Abbott the life of *CHRIST* with the same purpose,—with but slight reference to the doctrine of the Expiation, for of course he whose life began with his birth from Mary, had given up nothing, and died merely because other men die. Here then is something very like Socinianism at first sight.

But again, let us see how he conducts his argument. Here again he differs from Mr. Erskine. The latter considers the incarnation of the Son of God to be a manifestation of God's mercy. Here then in his view, which so far is correct, there is a double Manifestation,—of the Son of God personally in human nature, and of God morally in the history and circumstances of His incarnation; though Mr. Erskine's argument leads him to insist on the latter. Mr. A. assumes the latter as the sole Manifestation, thus bringing out the tendency of Mr. Erskine's argument. In other words, he considers our Lord Jesus Christ as a man primarily, not indeed a mere man, any more than the conversion of the world was a mere human work, but not more than a man aided by God, just as the conversion of the world was a human work aided and blessed by God; a man in intimate union, nay in mysterious union with God, as Moses might be on the Mount, but not more than Moses except in degree. He considers that certain attributes of the Godhead were manifested in Jesus Christ, in the sense in which the solar system manifests His power, or the animal economy His wisdom; which is a poorly concealed Socinianism.—So this, it appears, is what really comes of declaiming

against "metaphysical" notions of the revelation, and enlarging on its moral character !

That I may not be unfair to Mr. A., I proceed to cite his words :

"In the first place, let us take a survey of the *visible universe*, that we may see what *manifestations* of God appear in it. Let us imagine that we can see with the naked eye all that the telescope would show us ; and then, in order that we may obtain an uninterrupted view, let us leave this earth, and, ascending from its surface, take a station where we can look, without obstruction, upon all around. As we rise above the summits of the loftiest mountains, the bright and verdant regions of the earth begin to grow dim. City after city, &c. As the last breath of its atmosphere draws off from us, it leaves us in the midst of universal night, with a sky extending without interruption all around us, and bringing out to our view, in every possible direction, innumerable and interminable vistas of stars. . . . Our globe itself cuts off one half of the visible universe at all times, and the air spreads over us a deep canopy of blue, which, during the day, shuts out entirely the other half. But were the field open, we should see in every direction the endless perspective of suns and stars, as I have described them. . . The conception of childhood, and it is one which clings to us in maturer years, that above the blue sky there is a *heaven* concealed, where the Deity sits enthroned, is a delusive one. God is everywhere. . . The deity is the *All-pervading Power*, which lives and acts throughout the whole. He is not a separate existence, having a special habitation in a part of it. . . . The striking and beautiful metaphors of the Bible never were intended to give us this idea. God is a Spirit, it says, in its most emphatic tone. A Spirit ; that is, He has no form, no place, no throne. Where He acts, there only can we see Him. He is the wide-spread omnipresent power, which is everywhere employed, but which we can never see, and never know, except so far as He shall manifest Himself by His doings.

"If we thus succeed in obtaining just conceptions of the Deity, as the invisible and universal *power*, pervading all space, and existing in all time, we shall at once perceive that the only way by which He can make Himself known to His creatures, is by *acting Himself* out, as it were, in His works ; and of course the nature of the *Manifestation which is made will depend upon the nature of the works*. In the structure of a solar system, with its blazing centre and revolving worlds, the Deity, invisible itself, acts out its mighty power, and the unerring perfection of its intellectual *skill*. At the same time, while it is carrying on these mighty movements, it is exercising, in a very different scene, its untiring *industry*, and unrivalled *taste*, in clothing a mighty forest with verdure, &c. &c. . . . And so everywhere this unseen and universal essence *acts out its various attributes by its different works*. We can learn its nature only by the character of the effects which spring from it . .

"This universal essence, then, must display to us its nature, by acting itself out in a thousand places, by *such manifestations* of itself

as it wishes us to understand. Does God desire to impress us with the idea of His *power*? He darts the lightning, &c. &c. Does He wish to beam upon us in *love*? What can be more expressive than the sweet summer sunset, &c. . . . How can He make us acquainted with His *benevolence and skill*? Why, by acting them out in some mechanism which exhibits them. He may construct an eye or a hand for man, &c. How can He give us some conception of His *intellectual powers*? He can plan the motions of the planets, &c. &c. . . . But the great question, after all, is to come. It is the one to which we have meant that all we have been saying should ultimately tend. *How can such a Being exhibit the moral principle by which His mighty energies are all controlled?*" pp. 6—14.

It is impossible to do justice to one's feelings of distress and dismay on studying this passage,—to explain what one thinks of it, and why,—to convince a careless reader that one's language about it is not extravagant. Nor is it necessary perhaps, as it does not directly bear upon the subject before us,—to which I will hasten on. I interrupt the course of his exposition merely to put in a protest against the doctrine of it, which, to speak shortly and plainly, is pantheistic, and against the spirit of it, which breathes an irreverence approaching to blasphemy. Should the reader think the tone of this paragraph is out of keeping with the remarks as yet made, he will see in a little time that Mr. Abbott does not allow one to preserve that didactic or critical air, which is commonly appropriate to a discussion such as the present. To proceed, however, with our immediate subject, the author's views, not of natural, but revealed religion:—

"He is an unseen, universal power, utterly invisible to us, and imperceptible, except so far as He shall act out His attributes in what He does. *How shall He act out moral principle*? It is easy, by His material creation, to make any impression upon us, which material objects can make; but how shall He exhibit to us the moral beauty of justice and benevolence and mercy between man and man? He might declare His moral attributes as He might have declared His power; but if He would bring home to us the one as vividly and distinctly as the other, He must act out His moral principles by a *moral manifestation*, in a moral scene; and the great beauty of *Christianity* is, that it represents Him as doing so. He brings out the purity, and spotlessness, and moral glory of the Divinity, through the workings of a human mind, called into existence for this purpose, and stationed in ■ most conspicuous attitude among men . . . Thus the moral perfections of divinity show themselves to us in the only way by which, so far as we can see, it is possible directly to show them, by coming out in action, in the very field of human duty, by a mysterious union with a human intellect and human powers. It is God manifest in the flesh; the visible moral image of an all-pervading moral Deity, Himself for ever invisible." pp. 14, 15.

On this explanation of the Incarnation, now, alas! not unpo-

pular even in our own Church, viz. that "God manifest in the flesh" is "the *visible moral image*" of God, let us hear the judgment of one who was a Trinitarian, and has lately avowed Socinianism. He thus relates the change in his own religious profession :

"In my anxiety to avoid a separation from the Church by the deliberate surrender of my mind to my old Unitarian convictions, I took refuge in a modification of the Sabellian theory, and availed myself of the moral unity which I believe to exist between God the Father and Christ, joined to the consideration that Christ is called in the New Testament the *Image* of God, and addressed my prayers to God as *appearing in that Image*. I left nothing untried to cultivate and encourage this feeling by devotional means. But such efforts of mere feeling (and I confess with shame their frequency on my part for the sake of what seemed most religious) were always vain and fruitless. *Sooner or later my reason has not only frustrated but punished them*. In the last mentioned instance, the devout contrivance would not bear examination. *Sabellianism is only Unitarianism disguised in words* : and as for the worship of an image in its absence, the idea is most unsatisfactory. In this state, however, I passed five or six years ; but the return to the clear and definite Unitarianism in which I had formerly been, was as easy as it was natural."—*Heresy and Orthodoxy*, p. viii.

This passage proves thus much, not that the philosophising in question *leads* to Socinianism, but that it is one under which Socinianism may *lie hid*, even from a man's own consciousness ; and this is just the use I wish to make of it against Mr. Abbott. He ends as follows :

"The substance of the view, which I have been wishing to impress upon your minds, is, that we are to expect to see Him solely through the *manifestation He makes of Himself in His works*. We have seen in what way some of the traits of His character are displayed in the visible creation, and how at last He determined to *manifest His moral character*, by bringing it into action *through the medium of a human soul*. The plan was carried into effect, and the mysterious person thus formed appears for the first time to our view in the extraordinary boy, &c." pp. 15, 16.

In these passages it seems to be clearly maintained that our Lord is a Manifestation of God in precisely that way in which His creatures are, though in a different respect, viz. as regards His moral attributes,—a Manifestation, not having any thing in it essentially peculiar and incommunicable, and therefore "*a Manifestation*," as he in one passage expresses himself, not *the* Manifestation of the Father.

Further he expressly disclaims any opinion concerning the essential and superhuman relation, or (as he calls it) the "metaphysical" relation of the Son to the Father, in a passage which involves a slight upon other doctrines of a most important, thought not of such a sacred character.

"Another source of endless and fruitless discussion, is disputing about questions *which can be of no practical consequence*, however they may be decided ; such as the origin of sin,"

does this mean original sin ?

"the state of the soul between death and the resurrection, the salvation of infants,"

is it possible he should thus talk ?

"The *precise metaphysical relationship* of the Son to the Father." p. 323.*

Why called metaphysical, I do not understand, but we have been already introduced to this word by Mr. Erskine, whose original fallacy also, be it observed, is faithfully preserved in this passage:—"questions which can be of no practical consequence," as if we have any warrant thus to limit, or to decide upon, the gracious revelations of God. He continues,

"We have said they are of no practical consequence: *of course* an ingenious reason *can contrive* to connect practical consequences with *any subject whatever*, and in his zeal he will exaggerate the importance of the connexion ;"

I interrupt the reader, to remind him that the subjects spoken of in this careless self-satisfied way, are those which from the first have been preserved in Creeds and Confessions as the most necessary, most solemn truths ;—

"in fact *every subject in the moral world is more or less connected with every other one* ; nothing stands out entirely detached and isolated, and *consequently* a question which its arguers will admit to be merely a theoretical one, will never be found." pp. 32, 4.

But if so, who shall draw the line between truths practical and theoretical ? Shall we trust the work to such as Mr. Abbott ? Surely this passage refutes his own doctrine. *We* also say that there are no two subjects in religion but may be connected by our minds, and therefore, for what we know, perchance are connected in fact. All we maintain in addition, is, that evidence of the fact of that connexion is not necessary for the proof of their importance to us, and further, that we have no right to pronounce that they are revealed merely with a view to their importance to us.

He disposes of the Catholic doctrine of Christ's eternal Sonship by calling it metaphysical : how, he escapes from the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation we have already seen,—he resolves it into a moral Manifestation of God in the person of Christ. But his view requires a few more words of explanation. First he speaks of God in pantheistic language, as an *Anima Mundi*, or universal essence, who has no known existence except in His works, as an all-pervading power or principle not external to the

* Vide also p. 197.

created world, but in it, and developed through it. He goes on to say that Almighty God, who is thus illimitable and incomprehensible, is exhibited in *personal* attributes in Christ, as if all the laws and provisions in which He energizes in nature impersonally, were condensed and exemplified in a real personal being. Hence he calls our Lord by a strange term, the *personification* of God, *i. e.* (I suppose) the personal image, or the manifestation in a person. In other words God, whose person is unknown in nature, in spite of His works, is revealed in Christ, who is the express image of His person; and just in this, and (as I conceive) nothing more, would he conceive there was a difference between the manifestation of God in Christ and the manifestation of Him in a plant or flower. Christ is a *personal* Manifestation. Whether there be any elements of truth in this theory, I do not concern myself to decide; thus much is evident, that he so *applies* it as utterly to explain away the real divinity of our Lord. The passages are as follow:—

“It is by Jesus Christ that we have access to the Father. This vivid exhibition of His character, this *personification of His moral attributes*, opens to us the way. Here we see a manifestation of divinity, an image of the Invisible God, which comes as it were down to us; it meets our feeble faculties with a personification,” &c. p. 40.

“We accordingly commenced with His childhood, and were led at once into a train of reflection on the nature and the character of that eternal and invisible essence, *whose attributes were personified in Him.*” p. 192.

“The human mind . . . reaches forward for some vision of the Divinity, the great unseen and inconceivable essence. Jesus Christ is the *personification of the divinity for us*, the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person.” p. 200.

Next, as to his opinions concerning the doctrine of the Atonement. I will not deny that some of his general expressions are correct, and taken by themselves, would be satisfactory; but they are invalidated altogether by what he has at other times advanced. It may be recollected that Mr. Erskine, in his treatise on Internal Evidence, lays such a stress upon the use of the Atonement *as a Manifestation*, as to throw the real doctrine itself in the shade. Viewed in itself, Christ's death is, we believe, a sacrifice acting in some unknown way for the expiation of human sin; but Mr. Erskine views it, (as indeed it may well be viewed, but exclusively as it should not be viewed,) as a mark and pledge of God's love to us, which it would be, though it were not an Expiation. Even though Christ's incarnation issued in nothing more than His preaching to the world and sealing His doctrine with His blood, it would be a great sign of His love, and a *pledge* now of our receiving blessings through Him; for why should He die except He meant to be merciful to us? but this would not involve

the necessity of an expiation. St. Paul died for the Church, and showed his love for it in this sense. When then the view of the Christian is limited, as Mr. Erskine would almost wish it to be, to the *Manifestation* of the Atonement, or the effect of the Atonement on our minds, no higher doctrine is *of necessity* elicited than that of its being a sign of God's mercy, as the rainbow might be, and a way is laid, by obscuring, to obliterate the true doctrine concerning it. So far Mr. Erskine proceeds, not denying it (far from it) but putting it aside in his philosophical evidence: Mr. Abbott upon the very same basis, is bolder in his language, and almost, if not altogether gets rid of it.

In the following passage he applies Mr. Erskine's doctrine of the moral lesson, taught in Christ's death, of the justice and mercy of God: and he will be found distinctly to assert that the virtue of it *lay in this*, viz. that it was a *declaration* of God's hatred of sin, the same in kind as the punishment of the sinner would have been, only more perfect, a means of impressing *on us* His hatred of sin; not as if it really reconciled us to an offended Creator.

"The balm for your wounded spirit is this, that the moral impression in respect to the nature and tendencies of sin, which *is the only possible reason* God can have in leaving you to suffer its penalties," one should think the reason might be that "the wages of sin is death,"

"is accomplished far better by the life and death of His Son;—" surely it is a greater balm to know that Christ has put away the wrath of God, as Scripture says, than to theorize about "moral impressions" beyond the word of Scripture. Observe too he says "the *life* and death," excluding the proper idea of Atonement, which lies in the death of Christ, and so tending to resolve it into a Manifestation.

"God never could have wished to punish you for the sake of doing evil;"

how unspeakably bold; when God says He does punish the sinner, not indeed for the sake of evil, but as a just and holy God!

"and all the good which He could have accomplished by it, is already effected in another and a better way." p. 179.*

Here is the same assumption which was just now instanced from the writings of Mr. Scott, of Aston Sandford, that God cannot inflict punishment except for the sake of a greater good, or, (as Mr. Abbott himself has expressed it just before) "because the welfare of His government requires" it, which is an altogether gratuitous statement.

Again:

* Vide also p. 173.

"A knowledge of the death of Christ, with the explanation of it given in the Scriptures, touches men's hearts, it shows the nature and tendencies of sin, it produces fear of God's displeasure, and resolution to return to duty; and thus *produces effects by which* justice is satisfied,"—

observe, not by an expiation, but by the repentance of the offender in consequence of the "moral impression" attendant on the "Manifestation" of Christ's death,—

"and the authority of the law sustained far better in fact, than it would be by the severest punishment of the guilty sinner." p. 174.

"Look at the *moral effect* of this great sacrifice, and feel that it takes off all the necessity of punishment, and all the burden of your guilt." p. 190.

The necessity of punishment is (according to Mr. Abbott,) the well being of the Universe: and the virtue of the great sacrifice is, not expiation, atonement in God's sight, but the *moral effect* of Christ's death on those who believe in it. So again, in a passage lately quoted for another purpose:

"It is by Jesus Christ that we have access to the Father. *This vivid exhibition of His character*, this personification of His moral attributes, *opens to us the way.*" p. 40.

Lastly, we have the same stress laid upon the facts of the Gospel as in Mr. Erskine's work, with this difference, that Mr. Erskine supposes the orthodox doctrine, or what he considers such, to be conveyed in the facts; Mr. Abbott, with the liberalism to which his predecessor leads, but which is more characteristic of this day than of fifteen years ago, seems to think that various theories may be raised about the facts, whether orthodox or otherwise, but that the facts alone are of consequence to us.

"Such are the three great *Manifestations* of Himself to man, which the one Unseen All-pervading Essence has made, and exhibited to us in the Bible, and in our own experience and observation,"—

—This sentence, be it observed in passing, savours strongly of Sabellianism; he has spoken of what he calls three Manifestations of Almighty God, as our natural Governor, as influencing the heart, and as in Jesus Christ, without there being any thing in his way of speaking to show, that he attributed these Manifestations respectively to Three Persons. He proceeds:

"Though there have been interminable disputes in the Christian Church about the language which has been employed to describe these *facts*, there has been comparatively little dispute among even nominal Christians about the *facts themselves*." p. 39.

Such is the theology to which Mr. Erskine's principle is found to lead in the hands of Mr. Abbott; a theology, (so to name it,) which violently robs the Christian Creed of all it contains, except those outward historical facts through which its divine truths were fulfilled and revealed to man.

This brief explanation of Mr. Abbott's theological system may be fitly followed up by some specimens of the temper and tone of his religious sentiments. In this way we shall be able to ascertain the state of mind which such speculations presuppose and foster.

"Jesus Christ had a taste for beauty, both of nature and art; He admired the magnificent architecture of the Temple, and deeply lamented the necessity of its overthrow, and his dress was at least of such a character, that the disposal of it was a subject of importance to the well paid soldiers who crucified him." pp. 50, 51.

I put aside the utter unreasonableness of this last remark; but let us think seriously, is CHRIST GOD, or is He not? if so, can we dare talk of Him as having "a taste for nature?" It is true Mr. Abbott does speak in this way of the Almighty Father also; so that it may be said rather to prove that He has a grovelling conception of GOD than of CHRIST. Perhaps it will be more truly said that his irreverence towards the Saviour has led on to the other more direct profaneness. Yet a "taste for beauty of *art*!" This of the Eternal Son of God, the Creator; will it be said that He is man also? true;—but His personality is in His Godhead, if I may express myself in theological language. He did not undo what He was before, He did not cease to be the Infinite God, but He added to him the substance of a man, and thus participated in human thoughts and feelings, yet without impairing (God forbid) His divine perfection. The Incarnation was not "a conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but a taking of the manhood into God." It seems there is *need* of the Athanasian creed in these dangerous times. A mystery, indeed, results from this view, for certain attributes of Divinity and of manhood seem incompatible; and there may be some revealed instances in our Lord's history on earth of less than divine thought and operation: but *because* of all this we never must speak, we have utterly no warrant to speak, of the Person of the Eternal Word as thinking and feeling like a mere man, like a child, or a boy, as simply ignorant, imperfect, and dependent on the creature, which is Mr. Abbott's way. In saying this, I am quite aware that the sensitiveness of a Christian mind will at once, without argument, shrink from a passage such as that commented on, but I say it by way of accounting for its aversion, which, perhaps, it may not be able to justify to others. To proceed:—

"Jesus Christ was in some respects the *most* bold, energetic, decided, and courageous man *that ever lived*; but in others he was the most flexible, submissive, and yielding." p. 51.

The Son of God made flesh, though a man, is beyond comparison with other men; His person is not human; but to say "most of all men," is to compare.

"There never was a mission, or an enterprise of any kind, conducted with a more bold, energetic, fearless spirit, than the Saviour's mission." p. 52.

This sentence may not seem objectionable to many people, and as it is similar to many others in the work, it may be right to remark upon it. The truth is, we have got into a way of what may be called panegyricizing our Lord's conduct, from our familiarity with treatises on External Evidence. It has been the fashion of the day to speak as to unbelievers, and, therefore, to level the sacred history to the rank of a human record, by way of argument. Hence we have learned to view the truth merely externally, i. e. as an unbeliever would view it; and so to view and treat it even when we are not arguing; which involves, of course, an habitual disrespect towards what we hold to be divine, and ought to treat as such. This will in part account for the tone in which the history of the Jews is sometimes set forth. And it is remarkably illustrated in the work before us, which though pointedly addressed only to those who "have confessed their sins and asked forgiveness," who "strive against temptation, and seek help from above," (vid. p. 1.) yet is continually wandering into the external view of CHRIST's conduct, and assumes in a didactic treatise, what is only accidentally allowable in controversy.

"There is something very bold and energetic in the measures He adopted in accomplishing His work . . . In fact, there perhaps never was so great a moral effect produced in three years, on any community so extensive, if we consider at all the disadvantages incident to the customs of those days. There was no press, no modes of extensive written communication, no regularly organized channels of intercourse whatever between the different portions of the community. He acted under every disadvantage." pp. 53, 54.

Under no disadvantage, if He were God. But this is only part of one great error under which this writer lies. "There was no press!" What notions he has concerning the nature, the strength, and the propagation of moral truth!

"He sought solitude, He shrunk from observation; in fact, almost the only enjoyment which He seemed really to love, was his lonely ramble at midnight, for rest and prayer . . . It is not surprising, that after the heated crowds and exhausting labours of the day, He should love to retire to silence and seclusion, to enjoy the cool and balmy air, the refreshing stillness, and all the beauties and glories of midnight among the solitudes of the Galilean hills, to find there happy communion with his Father, &c." p. 55.

The more ordinary and common-place, the more like vulgar life, the more carnal the history of the Eternal Son of God is made, the more does this writer exult in it. He exults in sinking the higher notion of Christ, and in making the flesh the *ἡγεμονικόν*

of a Divine Essence. Even a prophet or apostle *might* be conceived to subdue the innocent enjoyments of His lower nature to the sovereignty of faith, and enjoy this world as an emblem and instrument of the unseen. But it is the triumph of Rationalism to level every thing to the lowest and most tangible form into which it can be cast, and to view the Saviour Himself, not in His mysterious greatness, acting by means of human nature, and ministered unto by Angels in it, but as what I dare not draw out, lest profane words be necessary,—as akin to those lower natures which have but an animal existence.

“Another thing which exhibits the *boldness and enterprise* that characterized His plans for making an impression on the community, was the *peculiarly new and original style of public speaking* He adopted.” p. 55.

“This then is the key to the character of JESUS CHRIST in respect to *spirit and decision*.” p. 57.

“For the real sublimity of courage, the spectacle of this deserted and defenceless sufferer coming at midnight to meet the betrayer and his band, far exceeds that of Napoleon urging on his columns over the bridge of Lodi, or even that of Regulus returning to his chains.” pp. 59, 60.

One seems to incur some ceremonial pollution by repeating such miserable words.

“He *evidently observed, and enjoyed nature*. There are many allusions to His solitary walks in the fields, and on the mountains, and by the sea side; but the greatest evidence of His *love for nature* is to be seen in the manner in which He speaks of its beauties. A *man’s metaphors* are drawn from the sources with which he is most familiar, or which interest him most.” p. 60.

“We learn in the same manner how distinct were the *impressions of beauty or sublimity*, which the works of nature made upon the Saviour, by the manner in which He alluded to them. . . . Look at the lilies of the field, says He . . . A *cold heartless man*, without *taste or sensibility*, would not have said such a thing as that. He could not; and we may be as sure, that JESUS CHRIST *had stopped to examine and admire* the grace and beauty of the plant, &c.” pp. 61, 62.

“Now JESUS CHRIST noticed these things. He *perceived* their beauty and enjoyed it.” p. 62.

Surely such passages as these are direct evidence of Socinianism. Does any one feel curiosity, or wonder, does any one search and examine, in the case of things fully known to Him? Could the Creator of nature “stop to *examine*” and “enjoy the grace and beauty” of His own work? Were indeed this said of Him, we should say, “Here is one of the Mysteries which attend on the Incarnation;” but since we cannot suspect such writers as Mr. Abbott of inventing a Mystery for the sake of it, we must

take it as evidence of a carnal and Socinian view of the Saviour of mankind.

"He observed every thing, and His *imagination was stored* with an inexhaustible supply of images, drawn from every source, and with these He illustrated and enforced His principles in a manner altogether unparalleled by any writings, sacred or profane." p. 63.

So this is the ashes to be given as children's meat, to those who "confess" and repent, and try to know God's will in the Gospel.

"Even His disciples, till they came to see Him die, had no conception of His love. They learned it at last, however. They saw Him suffer and die; and inspiration from above explained to them something about the influence of His death. *They enjoyed its benefits long before.*"—

All this is presumptuous, and unsatisfactory, but let it pass.

"It is hard to tell which touches our gratitude most sensibly; the ardent love which led Him to do what He did, or the *delicacy with which He refrained from speaking of it*, to those who were to reap its fruits." p. 94.

—that is, the delicacy towards sinners of an injured Creator, coming to atone in some mysterious way by His own sufferings for their sins in the sight of God and His Father.

"There is in fact no moral or spiritual safety without these feelings, and our Saviour knew *this full well.*" p. 204.

"Jesus Christ understood human nature better. . . . He was *wiser* than the builders of the pyramids. . . . The Saviour did the work, and *did it better*, by a few parting words." p. 217.

Such are the feelings which this writer ventures to express concerning Him, who is his Lord and his God. In condemning, however, his most unclean and miserable imaginings, I have neither wish nor occasion to speak against him as an individual. We have no concern with *him*. We know nothing of his opportunities of knowing better, nor how far what appears in his writings is an index of his mind. We need only consider him as the organ, involuntary (if you will) or unwitting, but still the organ, of the spirit of the age, the voice of that scornful, arrogant, and self-trusting spirit, which has been unchained during these latter ages, and waxes stronger in power day by day, till it is fain to stamp under foot all the host of heaven. This spirit we may steadily contemplate to our great edification; but to do more than denounce it as *such*, to judge or revile its instruments would involve another sin besides uncharitableness. For surely, this is a spirit which has tempted others besides those who have yielded to its influences; and like an infection of the air, it has perchance ere now, in some degree, not perhaps as regards the high doctrines of the gospel, but in some way or other, breathed

upon those, who, at the present crisis of things, feel themselves called upon solemnly to resist it. The books of the day are so full of its evil doctrine in a modified shape, if not in its grosser forms, the principles (I may say) of the nation are so instinct with it or based in it, that the best perhaps that can be said of any of us, or at most of all but a few, is that they have escaped from it, "so as by fire," and that the loudness of their warning is but a consequence of past danger, terror, and flight.

I view the works, then, of this writer, whether in their publication, or in their general reception, as signs of the religious temper of this Age. What shall be said of the *praise* that has been lavished on them? the *popularity* they have acquired? Granting that there are many things in them, from which a religious mind may gain something (for no one accuses Mr. Abbott of being deficient in quickness and intelligence, and he evidently has had opportunities of studying human nature, whatever success has attended him in it,—and it must be confessed that his first work published here was of a less objectionable character, and might well interest at first sight those who "thought no evil.") but, allowing all this, yet it may be fairly asked, is the book from which I have cited, one which can come very near to Christian minds without revolting them? How is it then that so many men professing strict religion, have embraced and dwelt on its statements without smelling the taint of death which is in them? And is there not something of a self-convicted mischief in that view of religion, which its upholders, independent of each other, and disagreeing with each other materially in other points of doctrine and discipline, attempt to support by editing a book, as conducive to it, which turns out to be all but Socinian? The reason (I believe) why many pious persons tolerate a writer such as this, is, that they have so fully identified spirituality of mind with the use of certain phrases and professions, that they cannot *believe* that a person who uses them freely and naturally can be but taught of the Holy Spirit: to believe it otherwise, would be unsettling their minds from the very foundation,—which indeed must take place sooner or later whether they will or not.

With some quotations from the preface of one of Mr. Abbott's editors, one of the most learned, orthodox, and moderate of the Dissenters of the day, I will bring this discussion to an end.

"Mr. Abbott has so much of originality in his manner of thinking, and of *unguarded simplicity* in his style of expression," [as render a friendly editor useful.] "There might be peril that, without such a precaution, some readers would take a premature alarm, when they found some essential doctrines of Christianity conveyed in *terms of simplicity*, and elucidated by very familiar analogies, which appear considerably removed from our accredited phraseology. . . . *Whatever use we make of the language of the theological schools, we should*

never go beyond our ability to translate it into the plain speech of common life."

As far as the *words* go, this means, when duly explained, though the writer could not of course intend it, that Mr. Abbott's merit consisted in having translated Trinitarianism into Socinianism. And that this is no unfair interpretation of the words, is plain from what presently follows, in which he speaks of the *prejudice* which the orthodox language and doctrine of divinity create against orthodoxy in the minds of those who are orthodox, *all but* receiving these orthodox statements. In other words, expressly specifying the Socinians, he requires us to adopt Mr. Abbott's language in order to reconcile them to us. I quote his words :

"But there is one department in the inseparable domain of theology and religion, upon Mr. Abbott's treatment of which I should be very blameable, were I to withhold my convictions. Among us, as well as in the New England States, there is a body, large and respectable if considered absolutely, but far from large when viewed in comparison with the numbers of other professed Christians. It consists of those who disbelieve the doctrines held, as to their essential principles, by all other Christian denominations, with respect to the way in which sinful, guilty, degraded mankind may regain the favour of God and the pure felicity of the world to come; the doctrines of a divine Saviour, His assumption of our nature, His propitiation and righteousness, and the restoration of holiness and happiness by His all-gracious Spirit. This class of persons is treated, by some public men, and in some influential writings, chiefly periodical, with scorn and contumely, and are held up to hatred, not to say persecution; they are continually represented as blasphemers and infidels, alike dangerous to the state, and inimical to all vital religion. Hence, thousands of excellent persons, deriving their only knowledge from the source to which I have alluded, regard this portion of their neighbours with horror, never think of treating them with tenderness, never attempt to obtain a lodgment for truth and holy affections in their hearts. Ah, little think these well-meaning persons, &c. The circumstances of my life have put me into a condition of more correctly knowing this class of our fellow-professors of Christianity; I know that there are among them serious, thoughtful, amiable persons, whose minds are prepossessed with prejudices against us and our system, much to the same extent as we are against them and theirs. I know, not merely how they reason, but how they feel. They in general have extremely erroneous conceptions of the orthodox system of faith. They have imbibed those misconceptions in early years; and subsequent circumstances have contributed to strengthen them. For some of those circumstances, of no trivial power to confirm prejudice, we have to blame ourselves. This is a state of things full of mischief and danger. Surely it is a pressing duty, to do all that we can for clearing away the clouds of ignorance and misrepresentation which, with so dire effect, discolour

and distort the objects seen through them. For this purpose, it is to me an heartfelt pleasure to say that Mr. Abbott's 'Corner Stone' is admirably adapted. Notions producing feelings, and those feelings of deep and wide activity in the formation of religious sentiments, have been derived from Pelagius, Socinus, and Episcopius, from Clarke, Law, and Watson, from Lardner, Priestley, and Channing; and it is the thoroughly pervading influence on the mind of those mutually acting feelings and sentiments, which produces all that is formidable in the theoretical objections, and much of that which is effective in the practical repugnance, which are entertained by many against the doctrines of grace and holiness, through the Atonement and the Spirit of Christ. How desirable to meet those feelings in their germinating principle; to anticipate those sentiments, by the dissolution of the causes which would form them. This is what our author has done. His *reasonings and illustrations upon the personal and official attributes* of our Lord and Saviour, are such as may be compared to the *correctness of anatomical knowledge, the delicacy of touch, and the astonishing preciseness of applying the probe and the knife, which we admire in the first surgeons of the age.*"

A correct and memorable witness indeed, to the kind of treatment offered by these religionists to Him, whom, after His exposure on the cross, His true disciples reverently "took down," and "wrapped in fine linen," and "laid in a sepulchre wherein never man before was laid."

I will conclude by summing up in one sentence, which must be pardoned me, if in appearance harsh, what the foregoing discussion is intended to show. There is a widely spread, though variously admitted School of doctrine among us, within and without the Church, which intends and professes peculiar piety as directing its attention to the *heart itself*, not to say any thing external to us, whether creed, actions, or ritual. I do not hesitate to assert that this doctrine is based upon error, that it is really a specious form of trusting man rather than God, that it is in its nature Rationalistic, and that it tends to Socinianism. How the individual supporters of it will act as time goes on is another matter,—the good will be separated from the bad; but the School, as such, will pass through Sabellianism, to that "God-denying Apostasy," to use the ancient phrase, to which in the beginning of its career it professed to be especially opposed.

[N. B. For reasons, not necessary here to explain, it may be proper to observe, that this Tract was written before the commencement of 1836.]

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above Essay was in type, an account of Dr. Schleiermacher's view of the doctrine of the Trinity, as contained in an American Periodical,* has been put into the writer's hands, and raises very painful feelings.

It seems, indeed, impossible to doubt that a serious doctrinal error is coming as a snare over the whole of the Protestant part of Christendom, (every part, at least, which is not fallen into worse and more avowed heterodoxy,) being the result of an attempt of the intellect to delineate, philosophise, and justify that religion, (so called) of the heart and feelings, which has long prevailed. All over the Protestant world,—among ourselves, in Ireland, in Scotland, in Germany, in British America,—the revival of religious feeling during the last century has taken a peculiar form, difficult to describe or denote by any distinct appellation, but familiarly known to all who ever so little attend to what is going on in the general Church. It has spread, not by talents or learning in its upholders, but by their piety, zeal, and sincerity, and its own incidental and partial truth. At length, as was natural, its professors have been led to a direct contemplation of it, to a reflection upon their own feelings and belief, and the genius of their system; and thence has issued that philosophy of which Mr. Erskine and Mr. Abbott have in the foregoing pages afforded specimens.

The American publication above alluded to is a melancholy evidence that the learning and genius of Germany are to be made to bear, by the theologians of the United States, in favour of this same (as the writer must call it) spurious Christianity. Some passages from it shall be here extracted, which will be found to tend to one or other of these three objects, all of them more or less professed in the two works above analysed.

1. That the one object of the Christian Revelation, or Dispensation, is to stir the affections, and soothe the heart.

2. That it really contains nothing which is unintelligible to the intellect.

3. That misbelievers, such as Socinians, &c., are made so, for the most part, by the Creeds, which are to be considered as the great impediments to the spread of the Gospel, both as being stumbling-blocks to the reason, and shackles and weights on the affections.

* The Biblical Repository, Nos. 18 and 19; in which is translated and reviewed "Schleiermacher's Comparison of the Athanasian and Sabellian views of the Trinity."

"With regard to Schleiermacher's views as a Trinitarian, I can truly say that I have met with scarcely any writer, ancient or modern, who appears to have a deeper conviction of, or more hearty belief in, the doctrine of the real Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit . . . 'God manifest in the flesh,' seems to be inscribed, in his view, on every great truth of the Gospel, and to enter as a necessary ingredient into the composition of its essential nature. Yet Schleiermacher was not made a Trinitarian by creeds and confessions. Neither the Nicene nor Athanasian symbol, nor any succeeding formula of Trinitarian doctrine, built on this, appears to have had any influence in the formation of his views. From the Scriptures, and from arguments flowing, as he believed, out of Scriptural premises, he became, and lived, and died, a hearty and constant believer in the One Living and True God, *revealed to us as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost* . . . He ventured to inquire whether, in the vehemence of dispute, and in the *midst of philosophical mists*, the former survey had been in all respects made with thorough and exact skill and care, and whether a report of it *in all respects intelligible and consistent* had been made out."—Translator, No. 18. p. 268, 9.

"After defending in various places, in the most explicit manner, and with great ability, the doctrine of the Godhead of the Son and Spirit, and *showing that such a development of the Deity is demanded by our moral wants, as sinners, in order that we may obtain peace and sanctification*; he concludes, &c." *ibid.*

"Of his view of the Trinity, we may at least say that *it is intelligible*. But who will venture to say, that any of the definitions heretofore given of personality in the Godhead in itself considered, I mean such definitions as have their basis in the Nicene or Athanasian Creeds, are *intelligible and satisfactory* to the mind?" p. 277.

"The sum of Schleiermacher's opinions . . . is that . . . the Unity . . . is God *in se ipso*; . . . but as to the Trinity, the Father is God as revealed in the works of creation, providence, and legislation; the Son is God in human flesh, the divine Logos incarnate; the Holy Ghost is God the sanctifier, who renovates the hearts of sinners, and dwells in the hearts of believers. The personality of the Godhead consists in these developments, made in time, and made to intelligent and rational beings. Strictly speaking, personality is not in his view eternal; and from the nature of the case as thus viewed, it could not be, because it consists in developments of the Godhead to intelligent beings, &c." p. 317.

"That God has developed himself in these three different ways, is what they [Sabellius and Schleiermacher] believe to be taught in the Scriptures, and to be commended to our spiritual consciences by the nature of our wants, woes, and sins." No. 19, p. 18.

"Dr. Schleiermacher asks, with deep emotion, what more is demanded? what more is necessary? what more can *further the interest of practical piety*." p. 82.

"I can see no contradiction, no absurdity, nothing even incongruous

in the supposition, that the Divine Nature has *manifested* itself as Father, &c." p. 88.

"Why should it ever have any more been overlooked that the names Father, &c. are names that have a *relative* sense . . . than that such names as Creator, &c." p. 110.

"It may be proper for me to say, that the results of this re-examination of the doctrine of the Trinity are, in their essential parts, the same which I some years since advocated in my letters addressed to the Rev. Dr. Channing, &c." p. 115.

These extracts are perhaps sufficient to justify the apprehensions above expressed, as far as the more religious part of Protestant Germany is concerned. It is believed that Protestant France could be made to afford similar evidence of the Sabellian tendencies of the day.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

No. 74.

(*Ad Populum.*)

CATENA PATRUM.

No. I.

TESTIMONY OF WRITERS IN THE LATER ENGLISH CHURCH TO
THE DOCTRINE OF THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

The Baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven or of men? And they reasoned among themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven, He will say unto us, Why did ye not then believe him? But if we shall say, Of men, we fear the people; for all hold John as a prophet.

PERSONS who object to our preaching distinctly and unhesitatingly the doctrine of the Apostolical succession, must be asked to explain, why we may not do what our Fathers in the Church have done before us, or whether they too, as well as we, are mistaken, or injudicious theorists, or Papists, in so doing? This question is here plainly put to them; and at the same time the attention of inquirers, who have not made up their minds on the subject, is invited to the answer, if any is forthcoming, from the parties addressed.

The doctrine in dispute is this: that CHRIST founded a visible Church as an ordinance for ever, and endowed it once for all with spiritual privileges, and set His Apostles over it, as the first in a line of ministers and rulers, like themselves except in their miraculous gifts, and to be continued from them by successive ordination; in consequence, that to adhere to this Church thus distinguished, is among the ordinary duties of a Christian, and is the means of his appropriating the Gospel blessings with an evidence of his doing so not attainable elsewhere.

The passages quoted below contain, it is presumed, this doctrine; but they are not intended as more than tokens and suggestions of the full testimony, contained in the works of their great authors.

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| 2. Hooker. | 24. Potter. |
| 3. Bancroft. | 25. Nelson. |
| 4. Andrews. | 26. Kettlewell. |
| 5. Hall. | 27. Hicks. |
| 6. Laud. | 28. Law. |
| 7. Bramhall. | 29. Johnson. |
| 8. Mede. | 30. Dodwell. |
| 9. Mason. | 31. Collier. |
| 10. Sanderson. | 32. Leslie. |
| 11. Hammond. | 33. Wilson. |
| 12. Taylor. | 34. Bingham. |
| 13. Heylin. | 35. Skelton. |
| 14. Allestrie. | 36. Samuel Johnson. |
| 15. Pearson. | 37. Horne. |
| 16. Fell. | 38. W. Jones. |
| 17. Bull. | 39. Horsley. |
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| 19. Kenn. | 41. Jebb. |
| 20. Beveridge. | 42. Van Mildert. |
| 21. Sharp. | 43. Mant. |
| 22. Scott. | |

BILSON, BISHOP.—*Perpetual Government of Christ's Church.*
ch. ix. p. 105.*

It will happily [haply] be granted the Apostles had their prerogative and pre-eminence above others in the Church of Christ; but that limited to their persons, and during for their lives, and, therefore, no reason can be made for their superiority, to force the like to be received and established in the Church of Christ for all ages and places; since their office and function are long since ceased, and no like power reserved to their successors after them. I do not deny but many things in the Apostles were personal, &c. . . . yet, that all their gifts ended with their lives, and no part of their charge and power remained to their after-comers, may neither be confessed by us, nor affirmed by any, unless we mean wholly to subvert the Church of Christ. . . . The Scriptures, once written, suffice all ages for instruction; the miracles then done, are for ever a most evident confirmation of their doctrine; the authority of their first calling liveth yet in their succession; and time and travel, joined with God's graces,

* As quoted by Dr. Spry in his Bampton Lectures, p. 311.

bring pastors at this present to perfection; yet the Apostles charge to teach, baptize, and administer the Lord's Supper, to bind and loose sinners in heaven and in earth, to impose hands for the ordaining of pastors and elders, these parts of the Apostolic function and charge are not decayed, and cannot be wanted in the Church of God. There must either be no Church, or else these must remain; for without these no Church can continue.

HOOKE, PRESBYTER AND DOCTOR.—*Ecclesiastical Polity.*
Book v. § 77.

... In that they are Christ's ambassadors and His labourers, who should give them their commission, but He whose most inward affairs they manage? Is not GOD alone the Father of spirits? Are not souls the purchase of JESUS CHRIST? What angel in heaven could have said to man, as our Lord did unto Peter, "Feed my sheep—preach—baptize—do this in remembrance of Me. Whose sins ye retain, they are retained; and their offences in heaven pardoned, whose faults you shall on earth forgive?" What think we? Are these terrestrial sounds, or else are they voices uttered out of the clouds above? The power of the ministry of God, translateth out of darkness into glory; it raiseth man from the earth, and bringeth God Himself from heaven; by blessing visible elements, it maketh them invisible graces; it giveth daily the Holy Ghost; it hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls; when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked, they perish; when it revoketh the same, they revive. O wretched blindness, if we admire not so great power; more wretched if we consider it aright, and, notwithstanding, imagine that any but God can bestow it! To whom CHRIST hath imparted power, both over that mystical body which is the society of souls, and over that natural which is Himself, for the knitting of both in one, (a work which antiquity doth call the making of CHRIST's body,) the same power is in such not amiss both termed a kind of mark or character, and acknowledged to be indelible "Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted; whose sins ye retain, they are retained." Whereas, therefore, the other Evangelists had set down, that CHRIST did before His suffering promise to give His Apostles the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and being risen from the dead, promised moreover at that time a miraculous power of the Holy Ghost, St. John addeth, that He also invested them even then with the power of

the Holy Ghost for castigation and relaxation of sin, wherein was fully accomplished that which the promise of the keys did import. Seeing, therefore, that the same power is now given, why should the same form of words expressing it be thought foolish?

Ibid. § 68.

Now the privilege of the visible Church of God (for of that we speak) is to be herein like the ark of Noah, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep; yet in this was the ark of Noah privileged above the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could perish, numbers in the other are cast away, because to eternal life our profession is not enough.

BANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP.—*Sermon preached at Paul's Cross.*

This hath ever been reckoned a most certain ground and principle in religion, that that Church, which maintaineth without error the faith of CHRIST, which holdeth the true doctrine of the Gospel in matters necessary to salvation, and preacheth the same, which retaineth the lawful use of those Sacraments only which CHRIST hath appointed, and which appointeth vice to be punished, and virtue to be maintained, notwithstanding in some other respects, and in some points, it have many blemishes, imperfections, nay divers and sundry errors, is yet to be acknowledged for the Mother of the faithful, the House of God, the Ark of Noah, the pillar of Truth, and the spouse of Christ. From which Church whosoever doth separate himself, he is to be reckoned a schismatic or an heretic. . . .

There are many causes set down by the said ancient Fathers, why so many false prophets do go out into the world; but I will only touch four; whereof I find the contempt of Bishops especially to be one; for unto them, as St. Jerome saith, ever since St. Mark's time, the care of Church government hath been committed; they had authority over the rest of the ministry. . . . "that the seed of schism might be taken away, &c."

Read the Scriptures, but with sobriety; if any man presuming upon his knowledge, seek further than is meet for him, besides that he knoweth nothing as he ought to know, he shall cast himself into a labyrinth, and never find that he seeketh for. God hath bound Himself by His promise unto His Church of purpose, that men by her good direction might in this point be relieved; to whose godly determination in matters of question, her dutiful children ought to submit themselves without any curious or wilful contradiction. I could bring many authorities to this effect.

ANDREWS, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—*Sermons on Whitsunday.*No. 9. (*Works*, p. 695.)

The Holy Ghost may be received more ways than one. He hath many *spiramina*; πολυτρόπως, “in many manners” He comes; and *multiformis gratia* He comes with. He and they carry the name of their cause; and to receive them is to receive the Spirit. There is a *gratum faciens*, the saving grace of the Spirit, for one to save himself by, received by each, without respect to others; and there is a *gratis data* (whatever become of us) serving to save others by, without respect to ourselves. And there is χάρις διακονίας, the grace of a holy calling, for it is a grace, to be a conduit of grace any way. All these; and all from one and the same Spirit.

That was here conferred, (in John xx. 22.) was not the saving grace of inward sanctimony; they were not “breathed on” to that end. The Church to this day gives this still in her ordinations, but the saving grace the Church cannot give; none but God can give that. Nor the *gratis data* it is not. That came by the tongues, both the gift of speaking divine languages, and the gift of ἀποφθέγγεσθαι, speaking wisely, and to the purpose; and (we know) none is either the holier or the learned by his ordination.

Yet a grace it is. For the very office itself is a grace; *mihi data est hæc gratia*, saith the Apostle, in more places than one; and speaks of his office and nothing else. The Apostleship was a grace, yet no saving grace. Else, should Judas have been saved. Clearly then, it is the grace of their calling (this) whereby they were sacred and made persons public and their acts authentical, and they enabled to do somewhat about the remission of sins, that is not (of like avail) done by others, though perhaps more learned and virtuous than they, in that they have not the like *mitto vos*, nor the same *accipite* that these have.

Ibid.—*Sermon on Absolution.* (*Appendix*, p. 90.)

The power of remitting sin is originally in God, and in God alone. And CHRIST our Saviour, by means of the union of the Godhead and manhood into one person, by virtue whereof, “The Son of man hath power to forgive sins upon earth.”

This power being thus solely vested in God, He might, without wrong to any, have retained and kept to Himself, and without means of word or sacrament, and without ministers, either apostles or others, have exercised immediately by Himself from Heaven.

But we should then have said of the remission of sins, saith St. Paul, "Who shall go up to heaven for it, and fetch it thence? for which cause," saith he, "the righteousness of faith speaketh thus, Say not so, &c."

Partly this, but there should be no such difficulty to shake our faith, as once to imagine to fetch CHRIST from heaven for the remission of our sins; and partly also, because CHRIST, to whom alone this commission was originally granted, having ordained Himself a body, would work by bodily things, and having taken the nature of a man upon Him, would honour the nature He had so taken, for these causes; that which was His, and His alone, He vouchsafed to impart, and out of His commission to grant a commission, and thereby to associate them to Himself, (it is His own word by the prophet,) and to make them *συνεργους*, that is *co-operatores*, workers together with Him (as the Apostle speaketh) to the work of salvation, both of themselves and of others. From God then it is derived; from God and to men. * * *

Now if we ask, to what men? the text is plain. They to whom CHRIST said this *Remiseritis*, were the Apostles.

In the Apostles, (that we may come nearer yet) we find three capacities as we may term them, 1. As Christians in general. 2. As preachers, priests, or ministers, more special. 3. As those twelve persons, whom, in strict propriety of speech, we term the Apostles.

Some things that CHRIST spake to them, He spake to them as representing the whole company of Christians; as His *Vigilate*.

Some things to them, not as Christians, but as preachers or priests; as His *Ite prædicate Evangelium*, and his *Hoc facite*; which no man thinketh all Christians may do.

And some things to themselves personally: as that He had appointed them witnesses of His miracles and resurrection, which cannot be applied but to them and them in person. It remaineth we inquire, in which of these three capacities CHRIST imparted to them this commission.

Not to the Apostles properly; that is, this was no personal privilege to be in them, and to die with them, that they should only execute it for a time, and none ever after them. God forbid we should so think it. For, this power being more than needful for the world, (as in the beginning it was said,) it was not to be either personal, or for a time; then those persons dying, and those times determining them in the ages following (as we now in this) that should light into this prison or captivity of sin, how could they or we receive any benefit by it? Of nature, it is said by the heathen philosopher, that it does neither *abundare in superfluis*, nor *deficere in necessariis*. God forbid, but we should ascribe as much to God at the least, that neither He would ordain power superfluous or more than needed, or else, it being needful,

would appropriate it unto one age, and leave all other destitute of it; and not rather, as all writers both new and old take it, continue it successively to the world's end.

And as not proper to the Apostles' persons, so neither common to all Christians in general, nor in the persons of all Christians conveyed to them. Which thing the very circumstances of the text do evict. For He sent them first, and after inspired them; and after both these, gave them this commission. Now all Christians are not so sent, nor all Christians inspired with the grace or gift of the Spirit, that they were here. Consequently, it was not intended to the whole society of Christians. Yea, I add, that forasmuch as these two, both these two, must go before it, *Missio* and *Inspiratio*, that though God inspire some laymen, if I may have leave so to term them, with very special graces of knowledge to this end, yet inasmuch as they have not the former of sending, it agreeth not to them, neither may they exercise it, until they be sent, that is, until they have their calling thereunto.

It being then neither personal nor peculiar to them as Apostles, nor again common to all as Christians, it must needs be committed to them as ministers, priests, or preachers; and consequently to these that in that office and function do succeed them, to whom this commission is still continued. Neither are they, that are ordained or instituted to that calling, ordained or instituted by any other words or verse than this (John xx. 23). Yet not so, that absolutely without them, God cannot bestow it, on whom or when Him pleaseth; or that He is bound to this means only, and cannot work without it. For, *gratia Dei non alligatur mediis*, the grace of God is not bound but free, and can work without means either of word or sacrament: and as without means, so without ministers, how and when to Him seemeth good. But speaking of that which is proper and ordinary, in the course by Him established, this is an ecclesiastical act, committed as the residue of the ministry of reconciliation to ecclesiastical persons. And if at any time He vouchsafe it by others that are not such, they be in that case *Ministri necessitatis, non officii*, in case of necessity ministers, but by office not so. * *

The remission of sins, as it is from God only, so it is by the death and blood-shedding of CHRIST alone; but for the applying of this unto us, there are divers means established. * * *

In the institution of Baptism there is a power to that end. * *

2. Again, there is also another power for the remission of sins, in the institution of the Holy Eucharist. * *

3. Besides, in the word itself there is a like power ordained. "Now are you clean," saith CHRIST, (no doubt from their sins) *propter Sermonem hunc*. And the very name giveth as much, that it is entitled, "The Word of Reconciliation."

4. Further there is to the same effect a power in prayer, and that in the priest's prayers, "Call for the

Priests," saith the apostle, "and let them pray for the sick person, and if he have committed sin, it shall be forgiven him." All and every of them, are acts for the remission of sins: and in all and every of these, is the minister required, and they cannot be dispatched without him.

But the ceremonies and circumstances that here (John xx. 23.) I find used, prevail with me to think, that there is somewhat here imparted to them, that was not before. For it carrieth no likelihood, that our Saviour bestowing on them nothing here, but that which before He had, would use so much solemnity, so diverse and new circumstances, no new or diverse grace being here communicated. * * * I take it to be a power distinct from the former, and (not to hold you long) to be the accomplishment of the promise made (Matt. xvi. 19.) of the power of the keys, which here in this place and in these words is fulfilled; and have therein for me, the joint consent of the Fathers. Which being a different power in itself, is that which we call the act or benefit of absolution; in which, as in the rest, there is in the due time and place of it, an use for the remission of sins.

HALL, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*On Episcopacy*, Pt. iii. p. 9.

And for you, my dearly beloved brethren at home, for CHRIST's sake, for the Church's sake, for your soul's sake, be exhorted to hold to this holy institution of your blessed Saviour and His unerring apostles, and bless God for Episcopacy. Do but cast your eyes a little back, and see what noble instruments of God's glory He hath been pleased to raise up in this very Church of ours out of this sacred vocation; what famous servants of God, what strong champions of truth, and renowned antagonists of Rome and her superstitions; what admirable preachers, what incomparable writers, yea what constant and undaunted martyrs and confessors, &c. . . . Neither doubt I but that it will please God, out of the same rod of Aaron, still to raise such blossoms and fruit, as shall win Him glory to all eternity. So you are to honour those your reverend pastors, to hate all factious withdrawals from that government, which comes the nearest of any Church upon earth to the Apostolical. . . . Let me therefore confidently shut up all with that resolute word of that blessed Martyr and Saint, Ignatius. . . . "Let all things be done to the honour of God, give respect to your bishop as you would God should respect you. My soul for theirs which obey their bishop, presbyters, and deacons; God grant that my portion may be the same with theirs." And let my soul have the same share with that blessed Martyr that said so. Amen.

LAUD, ARCHBISHOP AND MARTYR.—*Conference with Fisher.*
xvi. 29.

"I am with you always unto the end of the world." Yes, most certain it is,—present by His Spirit; or else in bodily presence He continued not with His Apostles, but during His abode on earth. And this promise of His spiritual presence was to their successors; else, why "to the end of the world?" The Apostles did not, could not, live so long. But then to the successors the promise goes no farther, than "I am with you always," which reaches to continual assistance, but not to divine and infallible.

"The Comforter the Holy Ghost shall abide with you for ever." Most true again; for the Holy Ghost did abide with the Apostles, according to Christ's promise thus made, and shall abide with their successors for ever, to comfort and preserve them.

Ibid.—xxv. 15.

Christ promised the Keys to St. Peter. (Matt. xvi.) True; but so did He to all the rest of the Apostles (Matt. xviii. John xx.) and to their successors as much as to his. . . . St. Augustine is plain, "If this were said only of St. Peter, then the Church hath no power to do it," which God forbid! The Keys therefore were given to St. Peter and the rest in a figure of the Church, to whose power and for whose use they were given. But there's not one key in all that bunch, that can let in St. Peter's successor to a "more powerful principality" universal than the successors of the other Apostles had.

BRAMHALL, ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Vindication of the Church of England.*—Discourse III.

I do also acknowledge that Episcopacy was comprehended in the Apostolic office, *tanquam trigonus in tetragono*, and the distinction was made by the Apostles, with the approbation of CHRIST; that the angels of the seven Churches in the Revelation were seven Bishops; that it is the most silly ridiculous thing in the world, to calumniate that for a Papal innovation, which was established in the Church before there was a Pope at Rome; which hath been received and approved in all ages since the very cradle of Christianity, by all sorts of Christians, Europeans, Africans, Asiatics, Indians, many of which never had any intercourse with Rome, nor scarcely ever heard of the name of Rome. If *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*, be not a sufficient plea, I know not what is.

But because I esteem them Churches not completely formed, do I, therefore, exclude them from all hopes of salvation? or esteem them aliens and strangers from the commonwealth of Israel? or account them formal schismatics? No such thing. First, I know there are many learned persons among them who do passionately affect Episcopacy; some of which have acknowledged it to myself, that their Church would never be rightly settled, until it was new moulded. Baptism is a sacrament, the door of Christianity, a matriculation into the Church of Christ: yet the very desire of it in case of necessity, is sufficient to excuse from the want of actual Baptism. And is not the desire of Episcopacy sufficient to excuse from the actual want of Episcopacy, in like case of necessity? or should I censure these as schismatics?

Secondly, there are others, who though they do not long so much for Episcopacy, yet they approve it, and want it only out of invincible necessity. In some places the sovereign prince is of another communion; the Episcopal chairs are filled with Roman Bishops. If they should petition for Bishops of their own, it would not be granted. In other places the magistrates have taken away Bishops: whether out of policy, because they thought that regiment not so proper for their republics, or because they were ashamed to take away the revenues, and preserve the order, or out of a blind zeal; they have given an account to God: they owe none to me. Should I condemn all these as schismatics for want of Episcopacy, who want it out of invincible necessity?

Thirdly, there are others who have neither the same desires, nor the same esteem of Episcopacy, but condemn it as an Anti-christian innovation, and a rag of Popery. I conceive this to be most gross schism materially. It is ten times more schismatical to desert, nay, to take away (so much as lies in them) the whole order of Bishops, than to subtract obedience from one lawful Bishop. All that can be said to mitigate this fault is, that they do it ignorantly, as they have been mistaught and misinformed. And I hope that many of them are free from obstinacy, and hold the truth implicitly in the preparation of their minds, being ready to receive it when God shall reveal it to them. How far this may excuse (not the crime but) their persons from formal schism, either *a toto* or *a tanto*, I determine not, but leave them to stand or fall to their own Master.

But though these Protestants were worthy of this contumely, yet surely the Romanists are no fit persons to object it, whose *opinastrety* did hinder an uniform reformation of the Western Church. Who did invest Presbyters with Episcopal jurisdiction, and the power of ordaining and confirming, but the Court of Rome, by their commissions and delegations, for avaricious ends? And could they think that the world would believe, that neces-

sity is not as strong and effectual a dispensation, as their mercenary Bulls? It is not at all material, whether Episcopacy and Priesthood be two distinct orders, or distinct degrees of the same orders, the one subordinate to the other; whether Episcopal ordination do introduce a new character, or extend the old. For it is generally confessed by both parties, Protestants and Roman Catholics, that the same power and authority is necessary to the extension of a character, or grace given by ordination, which is required to the Institution of a Sacrament, that is not human but divine. These avaricious practices of that Court (though it be not commonly observed) were the first source of these present controversies about Episcopacy, and Ecclesiastical discipline, which do now so much disturb the peace of the Church.

Ibid.—*Vindication of Grotius.*—Discourse III.

Excuse me for telling the truth plainly; many who have had their education among Sectaries and Non-conformists have apostated to Rome, but few or no right Episcopal Divines. Hot water freezeth the soonest.

He addeth, that "Grotius himself assures him (whom he hath reason to believe) that there were not a few such among the prelatical men." How! not a few such as these, who have apostated from the Church of England? For ingenuity's sake let him tell us where Grotius saith any such thing. Grotius hath not one word to his purpose, when it is duly examined. But this it is to confute books in less time than wise or modest men would require to read them.

Hitherto, he is not able to show us any tolerable reason of his warning. But he showeth us the occasion, p. 82, "Those that unchurch either all or most of the Protestant Churches, and maintain the Roman Church and not theirs to be true, do call us to a moderate jealousy of them." This is far enough from proving his bold suggestion, that they have a design to introduce the Pope into England. So though all he say were true: yet he can conclude nothing from thence to make good his accusation or insinuation. I wish he would forbear these imperfect enthymematical forms of argument, which serve only to cover deceit, and set down both his propositions expressly. His assumption is wanting, which should be this: but a considerable party of Episcopal divines in England do unchurch all or most of the Protestant Churches, and maintain the Roman Church to be a true Church, and these to be no true Churches. I can assent to neither of his propositions, nor to any part of them, as true, *sub modo*, as they are alleged by him.

First, I cannot assent to his major proposition, that all those who make an ordinary personal uninterrupted succession of Pastors, to be of the integrity of a true Church, (which is the ground of his

exception) have, therefore, an intention, or can justly be suspected thereupon to have any intention, to introduce the Pope. The Eastern, Southern, and Northern Churches are all of them for such a personal succession, and yet all of them utter enemies to the Pope. Secondly, I cannot assent to his minor proposition, that either all or any considerable part of the Episcopal divines in England do unchurch either all or most part of the Protestant Churches. No man is hurt but by himself. They unchurch none at all, but leave them to stand or fall to their own Master. They do not unchurch the Swedish, Danish, Bohemian Churches, and many other Churches in Polonia, Hungaria, and those parts of the world, who have an ordinary uninterrupted succession of Pastors, some by the names of Bishops, others under the name of Seniors, unto this day. (I meddle not with the Socinians :) they unchurch not the Lutheran Churches in Germany, who both assert Episcopacy in their confessions, and have actual superintendents in their practice, and would have Bishops, name and thing, if it were in their power. Let him not mistake himself: those Churches which he is so tender of, though they be better known to us by reason of their vicinity, are so far from being "all or most part of the Protestant Churches," that being all put together, they amount not to so great a proportion as the Britannie Churches alone. And if one secluded out of them all those who want an ordinary succession without their own faults, out of invincible ignorance or necessity, and all those who desire to have an ordinary succession either explicitly or implicitly, they will be reduced to a little flock indeed.

But let him set his heart at rest. I will remove this scruple out of his mind, that he may sleep securely upon both ears. Episcopal divines do not deny those Churches to be true Churches, wherein salvation may be had. We advise them, as it is our duty, to be circumspect for themselves, and not to put it to more question, whether they have ordination or not, or desert the general practice of the universal Church for nothing, when they may clear it if they please. Their case is not the same with those who labour under invincible necessity. What mine own sense is of it, I have declared many years since to the world in print; and in the same way received thanks, and a public acknowledgment of my moderation from a French divine. And yet more particularly in my reply to the Bishop of Chalcedon, Pres. p. 144. and cap. i. p. 164. Episcopal divines will readily subscribe to the determination of the learned Bishop of Winchester, in his answer to the second epistle of Molineus. "Nevertheless, if our form (of Episcopacy) be of divine right, it doth not follow from thence, that there is not salvation without it, or that a Church cannot consist without it. He is blind who does not see churches consisting without it: he is hard-hearted who

denyeth them salvation. We are none of those hard-hearted persons, we put a great difference between these things. There may be something absent in the exterior regiment, which is of divine right, and yet salvation to be had." This mistake proceedeth from not distinguishing between the true nature and essence of a Church, which we do readily grant them, and the integrity or perfection of a Church, which we cannot grant them, without swerving from the judgment of the Catholic Church.

MEDE, PRESBYTER.—*Sermon on Urim and Thummin.* Works, Book 1. p. 186.

The Ministers of Christ must be *Lux Mundi*, the light of the world—*Vos estis Lux Mundi*, "Ye are the Light of the World : Ye are the World's Urim," saith Christ unto His Apostles. "For the lips of the priest should preserve knowledge, and they should learn the law at his mouth." This light of knowledge, this teaching knowledge, is the Urim of every Levite ; and therefore Christ, when He inspired His Apostles with knowledge of heavenly mysteries, He sent a new Urim from above, even fiery tongues of Urim from heaven. He sent no fiery heads, but fiery tongues ; for it is not sufficient for a Levite to have his head full of Urim, unless his tongue be a candle to show it to others. There came, indeed, no "Thummin" [integrity or perfection] "from heaven, as there came an Urim ; for though the Apostles were secured from errors, they were not freed from sin ; and yet we who are Levites must have such a Thummin as may be gotten upon earth ; for St. Paul bids Titus in all things to show himself an example of good works, and this is a Thummin of Integrity. But, besides this Thummin, the Ministers of the Gospel have received from God more especially another Thummin, like unto that which was proper to the High Priest ; namely, the power of binding and loosing, which is, as it were, a power of oracle, to declare unto the people the remission of their sins, by the acceptance of CHRIST'S sacrifice.

MASON, PRESBYTER.—*Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, i. 2.

Anglican. Our Ministry is agreeable to Divine Scripture, and therefore holy. Nor do we doubt, that, when the Chief Shepherd shall appear, they who turn many to righteousness shall shine as

the stars for ever and ever. However, what is your argument against our ministry?

Romanist. Can a man be a lawful minister without a lawful call?

Anglican. Of course not.

Romanist. If so, I pray tell me how the Anglican Church can defend her ministry. Surely I may address each of you in Harding's words to Jewel: "What say you, my master? You bear yourself as though Bishop of Salisbury; but how will you substantiate your call? What is your warrant for ministering in the Word and Sacraments? &c. &c." . . I ask thee, Is your call inward or outward?

Anglican. Both.

Romanist. An outward call, to be lawful, must be either immediately from CHRIST's mouth, as the Apostles were called, or mediately through the Church.

Anglican. Well; we are called by God through the Church; for it is He who gives "Pastors and Doctors for the perfecting of the Saints."

Romanist. They who are called by God through the Church, must derive their warrant and power by lawful succession from CHRIST and the Apostles. If you maintain you have proceeded from this origin, it is your business to prove it clearly to us; to set forth and trace your genealogy. . . .

Anglican. The Ministers of the Anglican Church derive their imposition of hands in a lawful way from lawful Bishops, possessed of a lawful authority; and therefore their call is ordinary [not extraordinary, by miracles.]

Romanist. But whence have these Bishops derived their power?

Anglican. From God, through the hands of Bishops before them, &c. &c.

SANDERSON, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Divine Right of Episcopacy.*

My opinion is, that Episcopal Government is not to be derived merely from Apostolical practice or institution, but that it is originally founded in the Person and Office of the Messiah, our blessed Lord JESUS CHRIST; who, being sent by our heavenly Father to be the Great Apostle (Heb. iii. 1,) Bishop, and Pastor (1 Peter ii. 25) of his Church, and anointed to that office immediately after His baptism by John, with power and the Holy Ghost (Acts x. 37, 38,) descending then upon Him in a bodily shape (Luke iii. 22,) did afterwards, before His ascension into

Heaven, send and empower His holy Apostles, in like manner as His Father had before sent him (John xx. 21,) to execute the same Apostolical, Episcopal, and Pastoral Office, for the ordering and governing of His Church, until His coming again; and so the same office to continue in them and their successors unto the end of the world. (Matt. xxviii. 18—20.) This I take to be so clear, from these and other like texts of Scripture, that if they shall be diligently compared together, both between themselves and with the following practice of the Churches of CHRIST, as well in the Apostles' times as in the purest and primitive times nearest thereunto, there will be left little cause why any man should doubt thereof.

HAMMOND, PRESBYTER, DOCTOR, AND CONFESSOR.—*On the Power of the Keys. Preface.*

That the prime act of power enstated by CHRIST on his Apostles, as for the governing of the Church, (and exercising or banishing all devils out of it,) so for the effectual performing that great act of charity to men's souls, reducing pertinacious sinners to repentance, should be so, either wholly dilapidated, or piteously deformed, as to continue in the Church, only under one of these two notions, either of an empty piece of formality, or of an engine of state and secular contrivance, (the true Christian use of shaming sinners into reformation, being well nigh vanished out of Christendom,) might by an alien, or an heathen, much more by the pondering Christian, be conceived very strange and unreasonable, were it not a little clear that we are fallen into those times, of which it was foretold by two Apostles, that in "these last days, there should come scoffers, walking after their own lusts," &c. . . . I shall design to infer no further conclusion, but only this, that they which live ill in the profession of a most holy faith . . . but especially they that discharge and banish out of the Church those means which might help to make the generality of Christians better, have the spirit of Antichrist working in them, even when they think themselves most zealously busied in beating down his kingdom. What those means are which might most effectually tend to the amending the lives of Christians, I shall need no farther to interpose my judgment, than, 1st, by submitting it to CHRIST, who put the keys into the Apostles' hands, on purpose as a means to exemplify the end of His coming. . . . 2nd, by minding myself and others what the Apostles say of this power, that it was given them *πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν*, to build up the Church of CHRIST, &c.

Chapter 3. The only difficulty remaining on the point, will be,

who are the Apostles' successors in that power; and when the question is asked of that power, I must be understood of the power of governing the Church peculiarly, (of which the power of the keys was and is a principal branch,) for it must again be remembered that the Apostles are to be considered under a double notion, first, as planters, then as governors, of the Church. . . . Which distinction being promised, the question will now more easily be satisfied, being proposed in these terms; who were the Apostles' successors in that power, which concerned the governing their Churches which they planted? and first, I answer, that it being a matter of fact, or story, later than that the Scripture can universally reach to, it cannot be fully satisfied or answered from thence . . . but will in the full latitude, through the universal Church in these times, be made clear from the recent evidences that we have, viz. from the consent of the Greek and Latin fathers, who generally resolve that Bishops are those successors.

TAYLOR, BISHOP, CONFESSOR, AND DOCTOR.—*On Episcopacy. Introduction.*

Antichrist must come at last, and the great apostasy foretold must be, and this not without means proportionable to the production of so great declensions of Christianity. "When ye hear of wars and rumours of wars, be not afraid," says our blessed Saviour, "the end is not yet." It is not war that will do "this great work of destruction;" for then it might have been done long ere now. What then will do it? We shall know when we see it. In the mean time, when we shall find a new device, of which, indeed, the platform was laid, in Aerius and the Acephali, brought to a good possibility of completing a thing, that whosoever shall hear, his ears shall tingle, "an abomination of desolation standing where it ought not," "*in sacris*," in holy persons, and places, and offices, it is too probable that this is preparatory for the Antichrist, and grand apostasy.

For if Antichrist shall exalt himself above all that is called God, and in Scripture none but kings and priests are such, "*dii vocati, dii facti*," I think we have great reason to be suspicious, that he that divests both of their power, (and they are, if the king be Christian, in very near conjunction,) does the work of Antichrist for him; especially if the men whom it most concerns will but call to mind, that if the discipline or government which Christ hath instituted is that kingdom by which He governs all Christendom, (so themselves have taught us,) when they (to use their own expressions) throw Christ out of His kingdom; and then either they leave the Church without a head, or else put Antichrist in substitution.

We all wish that our fears in this and all things else may be vain, that what we fear may not come upon us; but yet that the abolition of episcopacy is the forerunner, and preparatory to the great Apostasy, I have these reasons to show, at least, the probability. First, &c. * * *

Sections 2 and 3. This government was by immediate substitution delegated to the Apostles, by Christ Himself, "in traditione clavium, in spiratione Spiritus, in missione in Pentecosto." This power so delegated was not to expire with their persons; for when the great Shepherd had reduced His wandering sheep into a fold, He would not leave them without "guides to govern" them, so long as the wolf might possibly prey upon them, and that is, till the last separation of the sheep from the goats. And this Christ intimates in that promise, "Ero vobiscum (Apostolis) usque ad consummationem seculi." "Vobiscum;" not with your persons, for they died long ago: but "vobiscum et vestri similibus," with Apostles to the end of the world. And, therefore, that the Apostolate might be successive and perpetual, CHRIST gave them a power of Ordination, that by imposing hands on others, they might impart that power which they received from Christ.

HEYLIN, PRESBYTER AND CONFESSOR.—*On Episcopacy*, i. 6.

The Church, at his (St. John's) departure, he left firmly grounded in all the points of faith and doctrine, taught by CHRIST our Saviour, as well settled in the outward government, the polity and administration of the same, which had been framed by the Apostles, according to the pattern and example of their Lord and Master. For being that the Church was born of seed immortal, and they themselves, though excellent and divine, yet still mortal men, it did concern the Church, in a high degree, to be provided of a perpetuity, or, if you will, the immortality of overseers, both for the sowing of this seed, and for the ordering of the Church, or the field itself. This, since they could not do in person, they were to do it by successors, who by their office were to be the ordinary pastors of the Church, and the Vicars of Christ. Now, if you ask the Fathers who they were that were accounted in their times and ages the successors of the Apostles, they will with one accord make answer, that the Bishops were.

ALLESTRIE, PRESBYTER.—*Sermons*, No. 16.

The separateness of the functions of the Clergy, the incommunicableness of their offices to persons not separated for them, is so

express a doctrine both of the letter of the text and of the Holy Ghost, that sure I need not to say more, though several heads of probation offer themselves; as first the condition of the callings, which does divide from the community and sets them up above it. And here I might tell you of "bearing rule," of "thrones," of "stars," and "Angels," and other words of a high sense, and yet not go out of the Scripture bounds, although the dignity did not die with the Scripture age, or expire with the Apostles; the age as low as Photius words it thus, Τὸ ἀποστολικόν, κ. τ. λ. "That Apostolical and Divine dignity, which the Chief Priests are acknowledged to be possessed of by right of succession." Styles which I could derive yet lower, and they are of a prouder sound than those the modest humble ears of this our age are so offended with. But these heights, it may be, would give umbrages; although it is strange that men should envy them to those, who are only exalted to them, that they may with the more advantage take them by the hands and lift them up to heaven. Those nearnesses to things above do but more qualify them to draw near to God, on your behalf, that these your Angels also may see the face of your Father which is in heaven, and those stars are, therefore, set in Christ's right hand, that they may shed a blessing [blessed?] influence on you from thence. . . .

The censures of the Church, the burden of the keys, which (passing by the private use of them in voluntary penitences, and discipline upon the sick,) as they signify public exclusion out of the Church, for scandalous enormities, and re-admission into it upon repentance, have been sufficiently evinced to belong to the governors of the Church. The exercise of them is so much their work, that St. Paul calls them "the weapons of their spiritual warfare, by which they do cast down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ," (2 Cor. x. 4, 5,) a blessed victory, even for the conquered, and these the only weapons to achieve it with. If those who sin scandalously, and will not hear the admonition of the Church, were cast out of the Church, if not religion, reputation would restrain them somewhat; not to be thought fit company for Christians, would surely make them proud against their vices. Shame, the designed effect of their censures, hath great pungen-
cies; the fear of it does goad men into actions of the greatest hazard, and the most unacceptable; such as have nothing lovely in them, but are wholly distasteful. . . . Now, the infliction of these censures is so much the work to which Church governors are called by the Holy Ghost, that they are equally called by Him to it and to Himself; both are alike bestowed upon them. "Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye retain, they are retained." (John xx. 22.) And in the first derivations of this office,

it was performed with severities, such as this age, I doubt, will not believe; and when they had no temporal sword to be auxiliary to these spiritual weapons.

PEARSON, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—*On the Creed*, Article ix.

[After considering the Church as one, by reason of its one foundation, faith, ministry of sacrament, hope, and charity, he continues,—]

Lastly, all the Churches of GOD are united into one by the unity of discipline and government, by virtue whereof the same CHRIST ruleth in them all. For they have all the same pastoral guides appointed, authorized, sanctified, and set apart by the appointment of GOD, by the direction of the Spirit, to direct and lead the people of GOD in the same way of eternal salvation: as, therefore, there is no Church where there is no order, no ministry; so, where the same order and ministry is, there is the same Church. * * *

The necessity of believing the Holy Catholic Church appeareth first in this, that CHRIST hath appointed it as the only way unto eternal life. We read at the first, "The Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved;" and what was then daily done hath been done since continually. CHRIST never appointed two ways to Heaven; nor did He build a Church to save some, and make another institution for other men's salvation. "There is none other name under Heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved," but the name of JESUS; and that is no otherwise given under Heaven than in the Church. As none were saved from the Deluge but such as were within the ark of Noah, formed for their reception by the command of God; as none of the first-born of Egypt lived, but such as were within those habitations whose door-posts were sprinkled with blood by the appointment of God for their preservation; as none of the inhabitants of Jericho could escape the fire or sword, but such as were within the house of Rahab, for whose protection a covenant was made; so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of GOD, which belong not to the Church of GOD. This is the congregation of those persons here on earth which shall hereafter meet in heaven. These are the vessels of the tabernacle carried up and down, at last to be translated into and fixed in the Temple.

Next, it is necessary to believe the Church of CHRIST, which is but one, that, being in it, we may take care never to cast ourselves, or be ejected, out of it. There is a power within the Church to cast those out which do belong to it; for if any neglect to hear

the Church, saith our Saviour, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. By great and scandalous offences, by incorrigible misdemeanors, we may incur the censure of the Church of God; and while we are shut out by them, we stand excluded out of Heaven. For our Saviour said to His Apostles, upon whom He built His Church, "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." Again, a man may not only passively and involuntarily be ejected, but also may, by an act of his own, cast out or eject himself, not only by plain and complete apostasy, but by a defection from the unity of truth, falling into some damnable heresy; or by an active separation, deserting all which are in communion with the Catholic Church, and falling into an irrevocable schism.

FELL, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*On Ephesians, v. 9.*

Apostles, . . . Prophets, . . . Evangelists, . . . Pastors, . . . and Teachers. . . For the three first, some part of their function was temporary and extraordinary; in what was ordinary and perpetual, Bishops succeeded.

BULL, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—*Vindication of the English Church, § 24.*

We proceed, in the next place, to the constant visibility and succession of Pastors in our Church. . . . And here I make him this fair proposal: let him, or any one of his party, produce any one solid argument to demonstrate such a succession of Pastors in the Church of Rome, and I will undertake by the very same argument to prove a like succession in our Church. Indeed, . . . the Author of the Letter is concerned, no less than we are, to acknowledge such a succession of lawful pastors in our Church, till the time of the Reformation; and if we cannot derive our succession since, it is a hard case. But our records, faithfully kept and preserved, do evidence to all the world an uninterrupted succession of Bishops in our Church, canonically ordained, derived from such persons in whom a lawful power of ordination was seated by the confession of the Papists themselves. For the story of the Nag's Head Ordination is so putrid a fable, so often and so clearly refuted by the writers of our Church, that the more learned and ingenious Papists are now ashamed to make use of it.

STILLINGTON, BISHOP.—*Unreasonableness of Separation ;*
Preface.

..... Unthinking people are carried away with mere noise and pretences, and hope these will secure them most against the fears of Popery, who talk with most passion, and with least understanding, against it ; whereas no persons do really give them greater advantages than these do. For, where they meet only with intemperate railings, and gross misunderstandings of the state of the controversies between them and us (which commonly go together,) the most subtle priests let such alone to spend their rage and fury ; and when the heat is over, they will calmly endeavour to let them see how grossly they have been deceived in some things, and so will more easily make them believe, they are as much deceived in all the rest. And thus the East and West may meet at last, and the most furious antagonists may become some of the easiest converts. This I do really fear will be the case of many thousands among us, who now pass for most zealous Protestants ; if ever, which God forbid, that religion should come to be uppermost in England. It is, therefore, of mighty consequence for preventing the return of Popery, that men rightly understand what it is. For, when they are as much afraid of an innocent ceremony as of real idolatry, and think they can worship images and adore the Host on the same grounds that they may use the sign of the cross, or kneel at the Communion, when they are brought to see their mistake in one case, they will suspect themselves deceived in the other also. When they find undoubted practices of the Ancient Church condemned as Popish and Antichristian by their teachers, they must conclude Popery to be of much greater antiquity than really it is ; and when they can trace it so very near the Apostles' times, they will soon believe it settled by the Apostles themselves. For it will be very hard to persuade any considering men, that the Christian Church should degenerate so soon, so unanimously, so universally, as it must do, if Episcopal government, and the use of some significant ceremonies, were any parts of that apostasy. Three ways, Bishop Sanderson observes, our dissenting brethren, though not intentionally and purposely, yet really and eventually, have been the great promoters of the Roman interest among us ; (1) by putting to their helping hand to the pulling down of Episcopacy . . . (2) by opposing the interest of Rome with more violence than reason ; (3) by frequently mistaking the question, but especially through the necessity of some false principle or other, which having once imbibed, they think themselves bound to maintain, whatever becomes of the common cause of our Reformation.

KEN, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Exposition of the Church Catechism.*

I believe, O blessed and adorable Mediator, that the Church is a society of persons, founded by Thy love to sinners, united into one body of which Thou art the head, initiated by baptism, nourished by the Eucharist, governed by pastors commissioned by Thee, and endowed with the power of the keys, professing the doctrine taught by Thee and delivered to the saints, and devoted to praise and to love Thee.

I believe, O holy JESUS, that Thy Church is holy like Thee its Author; holy by the original design of its institution, holy by baptismal dedication, holy in all its administrations which tend to produce holiness; and, though there will be always a mixture of good and bad in it in this world, yet that it has always many real saints in it; and, therefore, all love, all glory, be to Thee. . . .

Glory be to Thee, O Lord my God, who hast made me a member of the particular Church of England, whose faith, government, and worship are Holy, and Catholic, and Apostolic, and free from the extremes of irreverence and superstition, and which I firmly believe to be a sound part of Thy Church universal, and which teaches me charity to those who dissent from me; and, therefore, all love, all glory be to Thee.

BEVERIDGE, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—*Sermon on Christ's Presence with His Ministers.*

In the first place, I observe, how much we are all bound to acknowledge the goodness, to praise, magnify, and adore the name of the most high God, in that we were born and bred, and still live in a Church, wherein the Apostolical line hath, through all ages, been preserved entire, there having been a constant succession of such Bishops in it, as were truly and properly successors to the Apostles, by virtue of that Apostolical imposition of hands, which, being begun by the Apostles, hath been continued from one to another, ever since their time, down to ours. By which means, the same Spirit which was breathed by our Lord into His Apostles is, together with their office, transmitted to their lawful successors, the pastors and governors of our Church at this time; and acts, moves, and assists at the administration of the several parts of the Apostolical office in our days, as much as ever. From whence it follows, that the means of grace which we now enjoy are in

themselves as powerful and effectual as they were in the Apostles' days, &c. . . .

And this, I verily believe, is the great reason why the devil has such a great spite at our Church, still stirring up adversaries of all sorts against it,—Papists on the one hand, and Sectaries on the other, and all, if possible, to destroy it; even because the Spirit which is ministered in it, is so contrary to his nature, and so destructive of his kingdom, that he can never expect to domineer and tyrannize over the people of the land, so long as such a Church is settled among them, and they continue firm to it. . . .

As for schism, they certainly hazard their salvation at a strange rate, who separate themselves from such a Church as ours is, wherein the Apostolical succession, the root of all Christian communion, hath been so entirely preserved, and the word and sacraments are so effectually administered; and all to go into such assemblies and meetings, as can have no pretence to the great promise in my text. For it is manifest, that this promise was made only to the Apostles and their successors to the end of the world. Whereas, in the private meetings, where their teachers have no Apostolical or Episcopal imposition of hands, they have no ground to succeed the Apostles, nor by consequence any right to the Spirit which our Lord hath; without which, although they preach their hearts out, I do not see what spiritual advantage can accrue to their hearers by it, &c. . . .

SHARP, ARCHBISHOP.—*Sermons*, Vol. vii. *Of the Church*.

"Go," He says, "and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them, &c." . . . This commission of our Saviour we may properly style the Charter of the Church; and mind, I pray, what is contained in it. Our Saviour here declares the extent of His Church, and of what persons He would have it constituted. It was to extend throughout all the world, and to be made up of all nations. He here declares by whom He would have it built and constituted, viz. the Apostles. He here declares upon what grounds He would have it constituted, or upon what conditions any person was to be received into it, viz. their becoming the disciples of JESUS CHRIST, and undertaking to observe all that He has commanded. He here likewise declares the form or the method by which persons were to be admitted into this Church, and that was by being baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And, lastly, He here promises the perpetual presence of His Holy Spirit, both to assist the apostles and their successors in the building and governing this Church, and to actuate and enliven all the members of it. . . .

Thus, I am sure, I have given the true notion of the Church, which the Scripture always intends, when it speaks of the Church as the Body of Christ, when it speaks of the Church which Christ purchased with His blood, when it speaks of the Church into which we are baptized, when it speaks of the Church to which all those glorious promises are made of the forgiveness of sins, of the perpetual presence and assistance of the Holy Spirit, of the gates of hell never prevailing against it, and of everlasting salvation in the world to come ; I say that Church is always meant of the whole company of Christians dispersed over all the world, that profess the common faith, (though perhaps none of them without mixture of error,) and enjoy the administration of the word and sacrament, under their lawful pastors and governors : all these people, wherever they live, or by what name soever they call themselves, make up together that one Body of Christ which we call the Catholic Church.

SCOTT, PRESBYTER.—*Christian Life*, Part ii. ch. 7.

Another thing wherein those particular Churches, into which the Catholic Church is distributed, do communicate with each other, is, in the essentials of Christian regiment and discipline : for though the particular modes and circumstances of Christian government and discipline are not determined by divine institution, but left for the most part free to the prudent ordering and disposal of the governors of particular churches, yet there is a standing form of government and discipline in the Church, instituted by our Saviour Himself, which, as I shall show hereafter, is this : that there should be an episcopacy, or order of men, authorized in a continual succession from the apostles, (who were authorized by Himself) to oversee and govern all those particular Churches into which the Church Catholic should be hereafter distributed ; to ordain, &c., &c. And this being the standing government and discipline of the Catholic Church, no particular Church or community of Christians can refuse to communicate in it, without dividing itself from the communion of the Church Catholic ; I say, "refuse to communicate in it," because it is possible for a Church to be without this government and discipline, which yet doth neither refuse it, nor the communion of any other Church for the sake of it. A church may be debarred of it by unavoidable necessities, in despite of its power and against its consent. . . . Though this instituted government is necessary to the perfection of a church, yet it doth not therefore follow, that it is necessary to the being of it. . . . But though a community of Christians *may* be a true part of the Catholic Church, and in

communion with it, though it hath no episcopacy; yet it is a plain case, that if it *rejects* episcopacy, and separates from the communion of it, it thereby wholly divides itself from the communion of the Catholic Church.

WAKE, ARCHBISHOP.—*Exposition of the Doctrine of the English Church.* Art. 15.

The imposition of hands in Holy Orders being accompanied with a blessing of the Holy Spirit, may, perhaps, upon that account, be called a kind of particular sacrament. Yet since that grace, which is thereby conferred, whatever it be, is not common to all Christians, nor by consequence any part of that federal blessing which our blessed Saviour has purchased for us, but only a separation of him who receives it to a special employ, we think it ought not to be esteemed a common sacrament of the whole Church, as Baptism and the Lord's Supper are. . . . We confess that no man ought to exercise the ministerial office till he be first consecrated to it. We believe that it is the Bishop's part only to ordain. We maintain the distinction of the several orders in the Church; and though we have none of them below a deacon, because we do not read that the Apostles had any, yet we acknowledge the rest to have been anciently received in the Church, and shall not therefore raise any controversy about them.

Ibid.—Art. 25.

Professing in our Creed a Holy Catholic Church, we profess to believe not only that there was a Church planted by our Saviour at the beginning, that has hitherto been preserved by Him, and ever shall be to the end of the world; but do in consequence undoubtedly believe too, that this universal Church is so secured by the promises of Christ, that there shall always be retained so much truth in it, the want of which would argue that there could be no such Church.

POTTER, ARCHBISHOP.—*On Church Government.* Chap. v.

First, then, it must be shown, that the office and character of all persons, who are admitted into holy orders, extends over the whole world, and it is manifest, in the first place, that the Apostles had a general commission to "teach and baptize," and to execute all other parts of their office in all nations. As the Bishops of the Church have been shown to succeed the Apostles in all the

parts of their office which are of standing and constant use in the Church, so we might reasonably conclude, though we have no farther proof of it, that the office and character of bishop, and consequently of inferior ministers, extends over all the world, because those of the Apostles, their predecessors, did so ; since there is scarce any reason why the Apostles' authority should be universal, which will not hold, at least in some degree, for the same extent of authority in the bishops, as will appear from some of the following considerations :—

There is but one Catholic Church, whereof all particular Churches are members, and therefore, when any spiritual privilege or character is conferred on any particular Church, it must be understood to extend over the whole Catholic Church : thus by Baptism, men are not only made members of the particular Church where they happen to be baptized, but of the Catholic Church over the world ; and therefore whoever has been lawfully baptized in one Church, has a right to partake of the Lord's Supper, and other Church privileges, in all other Churches, where he happens to come ; whereas if baptism only admitted men into some particular Church, they must be re-baptized, before they can lawfully be received to communion in any diocese where they have not been baptized already.

If it was not thus in holy orders, that they who have received them in one place, retain them in others, no minister could have authority to preach the Gospel or to administer the sacraments, or to exercise any other part of his functions beyond the particular district in which he was ordained ; the consequence whereas is manifestly this, that the Gospel of CHRIST must not be propagated, nor any churches erected, in countries where they had not stood even since the Apostles' times. For since there can be no ministers without ordination, as was before proved, so then they, who have been ordained in one country, may lawfully exercise their respective functions in others, where there are no ordained ministers already settled, or else those countries must remain for ever without ministers, and consequently without sacraments and other public offices of religion.

NELSON, CONFESSOR.—*Festivals and Fasts.*

The Church being a regular society founded by CHRIST, distinct from and independent of all other worldly societies, must naturally make us suppose that He instituted some Officers for the government of it. . . . [The] Powers peculiar to the superior Order being necessary for the good government of the Church, it is plain in fact they did not expire with the Apostles. But, as our Saviour “glorified not Himself to be made an High Priest,”

but had His commission from GOD the Father, so after His resurrection, He invested the Apostles with the same commission His Father had given unto Him: "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you: and He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the HOLY GHOST." In which commission is plainly contained the authority of ordaining others, and a power to transfer that commission upon others, and those upon others to the end of the world. And to show that it was not merely personal to the Apostles, our Saviour promises to be with them and their successors in the execution of this commission, "even unto the end of the world." . . . This commission the Apostles and their successors exercised in all places, and even in opposition to the Rulers that then were; so that the Church subsisted as a distinct society from the state, for above three hundred years, when the civil government was only concerned to suppress and destroy it. Indeed when the Church received the benefit of incorporation and protection from the state, she was content to suffer some limitation as to the exercise of these powers, and thought herself sufficiently recompensed by the advantages that accrued to her by the incorporation.

KETTLEWELL, PRESBYTER AND CONFESSOR.—*Practical Believer*, ii. 6.

Question. There remains yet one instance of the Communion of the Primitive Christians, mentioned by St. Luke, viz. their "continuing in the Apostles' fellowship." (Acts ii. 42.) I pray you what is meant by that?

Answer. Owning their authority and continuing under their government. They were appointed by CHRIST, as His deputies, to govern His CHURCH; and, therefore, to adhere to them, as the delegates of CHRIST, is called living "in their fellowship."

Q. But how can we live in their fellowship, and adhere to their government, now they are dead?

A. By adhering to and owning the authority of our own Bishops, who are their successors, and rule the Church in their stead.

HICKS, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Treatise on the Episcopal Order*, § 2.

Can you, Sir, when you consider that Bishops are appointed to succeed the Apostles, and, like them, to stand in CHRIST's place, and exercise their kingly, priestly, and prophetic office over their flocks; can you, when you consider this, think it novel, or

improper, or uncouth, to call them spiritual princes, and their dioceses principalities?—when they have every thing in their office which can denominate a prince? For what is a prince but the chief ruler of a society, that hath authority over the rest to make laws for it, to challenge the obedience of all the members, and all ranks of men in it, and power to coerce them, if they will not obey? And now, Sir, I pray you to attend to what follows, and then tell me, if the office of a Bishop contains not every thing that is in the definition of a chief or a prince. St. Ignatius, who was St. John's disciple, writes of the Bishop in his Epistle, &c.

LAW.—Second Letter to the Bishop of Bangor.

“The priests of the sons of Levi shall come near; for them hath the Lord thy God chosen to minister unto Him, and to bless in the name of the Lord.” (Deut. xxi. 5.) Now, my Lord, this is what we mean by the authoritative administration of the Christian clergy; whether they be by way of benediction, or of any other kind. We take them to be persons whom God has chosen to minister unto Him, and to bless in His name. We imagine that our Saviour was a greater priest and mediator than Aaron, or any of God's former ministers. We are assured that CHRIST sent His Apostles, as His Father had sent Him; and that, therefore, they were His true successors; and since they did commission others to succeed them in their office by the imposition of hands, as Moses commissioned Joshua to succeed him, the clergy who have succeeded the Apostles, have as divine a call and commission to their work, as those who were called by our Saviour; and are as truly His successors as the Apostles themselves were.

Ibid.—Postscript.

The third objection against this uninterrupted succession is this: that it is a popish doctrine, and “gives Papists advantage over us.” The objection proceeds thus: “We must not assert the necessity of this succession, because the Papists say it is only to be found in them.” I might add, because some mighty zealous Protestants say so too.

But if this be good argumentation, we ought not to tell the Jews, or Deists, &c., that there is any necessity of embracing Christianity, because the Papists say, Christians can only be saved in their Church. Again, we ought not to insist upon a true faith, because the Papists say, that a true faith is only in their communion. So that there is just as much Popery in teaching this doctrine, as in asserting the necessity of Christianity to a Jew, or the necessity of a right faith to a Socinian, &c.

JOHNSON, PRESBYTER.—*Unbloody Sacrifice*, Part II. Chap. 3.

The Eucharist is one, as offered by priests, who are one by their commission. It is very evident that it was not only our Saviour's intention, but His most passionate desire, that, as all His Apostles received their commission from Him, so they might execute it with such a harmony and consent of mind, that there might not be the least jarring between them; for thus He prays for them: "Keep through Thine own name those whom Thou hast given me, that they may be one, as We are." And the foundation of our Saviour's wishes and expectations for so perfect an union between His Apostles was this, as is expressed by Himself, "I have given them the Words which Thou gavest me," that is, He had committed to them the same treasures of Divine truth which the Father had before committed to him, &c. . . . After His resurrection, He does, with great solemnity, tell them, "As My Father sent me, even so send I you;" from which words it is evident, that the commission of all the Apostles was one and the same; that it was such a commission as CHRIST himself in His human nature, had received from His Father; and even they who were not of the same order with the Apostles, but only inferior Presbyters under them, yet by deriving their authority from the same fountain-head, and exercising it in conformity to the instructions which they received from them, they still kept the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." . . It was upon this account that Ignatius, Cyprian, and others, represent the whole college of Bishops throughout the whole world as one person, sitting in one chair, attending one altar; and that, therefore, is the one Eucharist which is celebrated by this one priesthood: and St. Clement of Rome allows nothing to be offered without the inspection of the high priest; and, therefore, when a new altar is erected, a new Bishop ordained in opposition to the former, then there is just occasion to ask that question, as St. Paul did, "Is CHRIST divided?" When two several pastors assume to themselves the privilege of offering and consecrating the Sacrament not only in two distinct places, but in contradiction to each other, and by two several inconsistent claims, then it is evident that one of them acts by no commission, for if the true Eucharist can be had in two opposite assemblies, then CHRIST's flesh ceases to be one.

DODWELL, CONFESSOR.—*Discourse on the one Priesthood, one Altar*. Ch. 12.

I observe that the Hierophanta, in their mysteries, represented a Divine person. The same, in all probability, were the thoughts of the primitive Christians, concerning their Bishops. This I take

to be the true design of that description of the Majestatic Presence in the Revelations, to represent the Divine Presence, and assistance in the Church, in as lively a way as possible, according to the ways of Mystical Representation received in those times. . . . St. John being particularly to affect the Churches he writes to, those of the Lydian or Proconsular Asia, with a very feeling sense of the Divine presence among them, (which might add the greater authority to his several exhortations respectively,) he represents our Saviour in a human visible shape; and that the rest of the scene might be suitable, (that is, sensible also as well as Himself,) he personates the Angels by their visible Bishops, that so Christ might be apprehended as present with the Bishops, as God was supposed to be wherever these Seven Spirits were, which were peculiarly deputed to represent the Majestatic Presence. This I take to be the reason why he confines his number, not that by any geographical distinction those seven cities were incorporated into a body, more than others of that province, but that he had a particular regard to that number of those Angels of the presence. Therefore he makes seven candlesticks, alluding, as I have said, to the like number of those in the Tabernacle, as emblems of those seven Churches. Therefore seven stars, alluding to the number of the Planets and the Angels who presided over them, as emblems of the Bishops of those Churches . . . Thus it appears plainly, that the Bishops are here represented in a mystical way; and how particularly suitable it was, in this way to personate them by the name of Angels. They were, indeed, to perform the same office under Christ, as a *visible* human person, which the Angels were under Him as the Logos, in reference to the restitution of souls to their original dignity. . . .

But because even His human nature, though visible in itself, is yet invisible to us, therefore another way was thought of for copying out that heavenly *τελεστη*, even in the ordinary external visible government of the Church. And here the Bishop was to personate Christ Himself, as the High Priest had, formerly, represented the Logos. The seven Deacons were to represent the Seven Mystical Angels, as I am very apt to think they were designed from the very original. I cannot think it casual that the number first pitched on was exactly *seven*. But, that which more confirms me in this opinion is the real suitableness of the office of the Deacon to the Bishops, as representing the Logos in a visible way, with that of those Angels to the same Logos, as He was invisible. The office of the Angels in general is thus described, by the Author of the Hebrews, that they are ["ministering spirits, sent out for a diaconate."] These are exactly the very terms by which the Church would have expressed the office of these Deacons, if she had been to have described the same office as vested in mortal men. . . . They (the Angels) were to stand

before the presence of God, in a posture of readiness to be sent on messages by Him ; and so were the Deacons to stand before the Bishop, to be sent by him on his messages. They were the "eyes of the Lord which ran to and fro through the whole earth." So also the Deacons are, in the language of the Ancient Church, called the *Oculi Episcopi*, for the same reason. . . . Now we may not wonder why the Bishops are called Angels, in the fore-mentioned mystical immediate relation to our Saviour Himself as the chief "Bishop of our souls ;" because, indeed, in regard of Him, they bear no higher office than that of Deacons. . . . Accordingly the Primitive Church were extremely vigorous in insisting on this very number of their Deacons, in all places, as I have elsewhere showed. The council of Neocæsarea imposed it as a universal rule, how great soever the Church were to which the Deacons were to serve ; . . . a canon, which, though it were at first designed only for their own province of Cappadocia, was, notwithstanding, afterwards extended, first, to the Eastern Empire. . . . afterwards to the Western. . . . Therefore, even then it is much more probable that this number was already received in more Churches than otherwise.

And now the comparisons of the Bishops in Ignatius cannot seem so strange, these things being considered, as they did to Blondell, who had considered none of them. They are generally designed to express the sacredness and excellency of the *persons* which the clergy bore in these mystical performances. Nor is there any thing in them that is really affected or strained, much less blasphemous, no, nor any extravagant flights of fancy. . . . If he were to compare them with the first invisible archetypes of unity, (as that is, indeed, his great design in those epistles, in opposition to the schisms then rising,) then it was very proper for him to take notice only of the two orders which were then immediately concerned in the office of ministration, and then to compare them with God the Father, and the Logos ; because as this unity consists in the unity of the Head, and the Scripture tells us that the Head of every man is Christ, so also the same Scripture tells us that the Head of Christ is God. . . . These things, therefore, being thus solidly laid down by the first fathers, in their disputes against their contemporary Heretics and Schismatics, all the inferences thence deduced against them will follow naturally and undeniably. . . . It will follow, that disunion from the Bishop was a disunion from Christ and the Father, and from all the invisible heavenly Priesthood, and sacrifice, and intercession. It will follow that disunion from any one ordinary, must consequently be a disunion from the whole Catholic Church, seeing it is impossible for any to continue a member of Christ's mystical body, who is disunited from the mystical head of it. It will follow that visible disunion from the external sacraments of the

Bishop, is in the consequence a disunion from the Bishop, and from the whole Catholic Church in communion with him, who ought to ratify each other's censures under pain of schism if they do not.

COLLIER, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Moral Essays*, Part III.

'Tis the bulk and serviceableness of business, and the use it has in the world, which makes an employment honorable. And can any thing compare with the Apostles in this particular? Were they not to form and instruct the Church, and to govern the most noble society upon earth? Were they not to publish the Mysteries of Redemption, the offers of the New Covenant, and the glories of the other world? . . . Fire in the figure of tongues sat upon the heads of each of them. This was an emblem of the gift of languages, and the miracle was as bright as the flame. . . . This was a glorious attestation, this must needs make their commission undisputed, and their character indelible. Should a Prince be proclaimed from the sky, anointed out of the Ampoul, and crowned by an Angel, his authority could not be more visible. . . . I can't help saying, that, in my opinion, a Prince made but a lean figure in comparison with an Apostle. What is the magnificence of palaces, the richness of furniture, the quality of attendance, what is all this to the pomp of miracles, and the grandeur of supernatural power? . . . A Prince can bestow marks of distinction, and posts of honour and authority; but he can't give the Holy Ghost, he can't register his favourites among the quality of heaven, nor entitle them to the bliss of eternity. No, —these powers were Apostolic privileges, and the enclosure of the Church. The prerogative royal cannot stretch thus far; these jewels are not to be found in the imperial crown. . . . I need not tell you how much they suffered through their progress, and how gloriously they went off into the other world. But before their departure, they took care to perpetuate their authority, and provide governors for the Church. Thus the jurisdiction was conveyed to Bishops and Priests; this succession has continued without interruption for above sixteen hundred years.

LESLIE, PRESBYTER AND CONFESSOR.—*Case of the Regale and Pontificale*.

When any constitution of civil government dissolves itself, another immediately succeeds; or, if a Monarchy be turned into a Commonwealth, or a Commonwealth into a Monarchy: and consequently that which was dissolved, is no more; but we can-

not say that the Church is no more. There is still a Church, though in servitude, and nothing succeeds to it; if it were dissolved, there would be no Church, but nothing would come in its room, unless you will say a privation, that is, the want of a Church. . . . The Church is a society spread over the earth; and, therefore, cannot be dissolved in any one kingdom or state; nor can the concessions of any national Church oblige the Church Catholic; no, nor oblige that national Church herself, otherwise than according to the rules of the Catholic Church; more than a Committee of the House of Lords or Commons can oblige the whole House, or govern themselves by any other rules than those which are prescribed by the House. . . .

The Church is laid as low and fenceless as the sand under their [Atheism, Deism, &c.] storms, which had long since overwhelmed the City of God, (after the change of her governors) if the Almighty promise (Matt. xvi. 18; xxviii. 20.) had not interposed to preserve some embers alive in the midst of these torrents. And they will be preserved till the time appointed by God shall come, when His breath shall put new life in them, to lick up that sea that now covers, but cannot drown them. . . . This is the city, the society, over which the temporal governments of the earth have assumed the dominion; and have said, "Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast away their cords from us." . . .

And let not so weak a thought arise in your minds, as if all this were only the self-seeking of the Clergy, out of pride to advance themselves. Alas! it must have the quite contrary effect with any of them who consider what a heavy charge they have undertaken, and what account will be exacted from them, for their faithful discharge of it! That the blood of all those souls who perish through their negligence or default, will be required at their hands! That they have to wrestle, not only with flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against wicked spirits that are set up in high places! And whoever opposes these with that truth and freedom that is necessary, instead of honour must expect reproach and persecution; of which it is not the least, that they cannot vindicate the honour of Christ's commission without being thought to seek their own glory. Yet that must not hinder; the successors of the Holy Apostles must be content to pass, as they did, "through evil report and good report, as deceivers, and yet true."

WILSON, BISHOP, CONFESSOR AND DOCTOR.—*Private Thoughts.*

"He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold," &c. A lawful entrance, upon motives which aim at the glory of God

and the good of souls ; an external call and mission, from the apostolic authority of Bishops.

"A stranger will they not follow ;" that is, they ought not to follow such as break Catholic Unity. . . .

Whoever is associated in the Priesthood of CHRIST, ought, in imitation of Him, to sacrifice himself for the advantage of His Church and for all the designs of God. . . .

"Bishops and Priests," saith St. Ambrose, "are honourable on account of the sacrifice they offer." The power of the keys and the exercise of that power, the due use of confirmation, and previous to that of examination . . . are matters of infinite and eternal concern . . . (*At the Lord's Supper. Before the Service begins.*) May it please Thee, O GOD, who has called us to this ministry, to make us worthy to offer unto Thee this sacrifice for our own sins and for the sins of the people. Accept our service and our persons, through our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, One GOD, world without end.—O reject not this people for me and for my sins. Amen.

(*Upon placing the Elements upon the Altar.*) Vouchsafe to receive these Thy creatures from the hands of us sinners, O Thou self-sufficient God !

(*Immediately after the Consecration.*) We offer unto Thee, our King and our GOD, this bread and this cup. We give Thee thanks for these and for all Thy mercies, beseeching Thee to send down Thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, that He may make this bread the Body of Thy CHRIST, and this cup the blood of Thy CHRIST ; and that all we, who are partakers thereof, may thereby obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His passion. And together with us, remember, O GOD, for good, the whole mystical body of Thy Son ; that such as are yet alive may finish their course with joy, and that we, with all such as are dead in the LORD, may rest in hope and rise in glory, for Thy Son's sake, whose death we now commemorate. Amen. May I adore Thee, O GOD, by offering to Thee the pure and unbloody sacrifice, which Thou hast ordained by JESUS CHRIST. Amen.

Whenever church discipline meets with discountenance, impieties of all kinds are sure to get head and abound. And impieties unpunished do always draw down judgments. The same JESUS CHRIST, who appointed baptism for the receiving men into His Church and family, has appointed excommunication, to shut such out as are judged unworthy to continue in it. . . . If baptism be a blessing, excommunication is a real punishment ; there being the same authority for excommunication as for baptism. And if men ridicule it, they do it at the peril of their souls.

BINGHAM, PRESBYTER.—*Sermons on Absolution.* No. 2.

In the first place, the commission of power to ministers to retain and remit other men's sins, in whatever sense we take it, is a great engagement on them to lead holy and pure lives themselves. For it looks like an absurdity in practice, and is too often really thought so, that men should be qualified to forgive other men's sins, who are loaded with guilt and impurity themselves. There is nothing so natural and obvious to us as, Physician, heal thyself; and, therefore, if it be not a real objection against their office, yet it is an unanswerable one against their persons. If it do not destroy the tenor of their commission in the nature of the thing, yet it certainly diminishes their authority and reputation in the opinion of men; when every profligate sinner can retort upon them and say, "Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law, dishonourest thou God?" It must needs take off very much from the veneration of the Sacrament of Baptism, to have a man pretend to wash away the sins of others, who is himself polluted and profane; and equally diminishes the reverence which is due to the tremendous mystery of the Eucharist, to have it ministered with unholy hands. It cannot relish well with men, to hear an unsanctified mouth giving blessing to others, who in effect is cursing himself; praying that the blood of CHRIST may preserve others to eternal life, while he himself is eating and drinking his own damnation, not discerning the LORD's body. But above all, such a man cannot with any tolerable decency or freedom, discharge the office of punishing and correcting others, who is himself more justly liable to rebuke and censure. With what face can he debar others from Baptism or the Eucharist, who is himself unqualified to receive either? or exclude others from the Church, who is himself unworthy to enter into it? Nothing can be a greater engagement upon Ministers to lead holy and pure lives, than the consideration of the commission which CHRIST has given them, to retain or remit other men's sins, whether in a sacramental way, or a declaratory way, or a precatory way, or a judicial way: because without purity, they can by no means answer the end of this office, and the nature of their trust; but their mal-administration will rise up in judgment against them and condemn them.

2. A second thing which this office of retaining and remitting sins requires of Ministers, is great diligence in their studies and labours, without which they can never be able sufficiently to discharge it. The Church, indeed, has made some part of this

work tolerably easy, by a prudent provision of many proper general forms of absolution : to which in her wisdom She may add proper forms of excommunication and judicial absolution. But when this is done, there still remains a great deal more belonging to the full discharge of this office, for which the Church can make no particular provision ; and, therefore, that must be left to the industry and diligence of Ministers, in their particular studies and labours. And this requires both a diffused knowledge, and great application ; to be able to understand the nature of all God's laws, and the bounds and distinctions betwixt every virtue and vice ; to be able to resolve all ordinary cases of conscience, and answer such doubts and scruples as are apt to arise in men's minds ; to know the qualifications of particular men, and the nature and degrees and sincerity of their repentance, in order to give them a satisfactory answer to their demands, and grant or refuse them the several sorts of absolution, as they shall think proper, upon an impartial view of their state and condition. He that thinks all this may be done without any great labour and study, and a diligent search of the Holy Scriptures, the rule and record of God's will, seems neither to understand the nature of his office, nor the needs of men ; nor what it is to stand in the place of CHRIST, and judge for Him between God and man. The Priest's lips should preserve knowledge : and a man that considers the large extent of that knowledge, together with the great variety of cases and persons to which he may have occasion to apply it, would rather be tempted to cry out with the Apostle, " Who is sufficient for these things ?" And if this be not an argument to engage a man to industry in the office of a spiritual physician, it is hard to say what is so.

SKELTON, PRESBYTER.—Discourse 71.

The next thing the Puritans took offence at, was the Hierarchy of the Church. They looked on the Bishops as the instruments of papal tyranny, and the corrupters of true religion. . . . They . . . were, it seems, so ignorant, as not to know that the Bishops, of all men, had most reason to oppose the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, who had made himself the only Bishop, and reduced all the rest to cyphers. Nor did they consider, whether it was in the power of man to abolish, at his discretion, an order of the Church, instituted by God Himself, merely because the men who filled this order had degenerated, together with all the rest of the Church, into superstition and luxury. Here again the scheme of our opposers was not to reform, but to destroy ; and what was equally bold, to begin a new ministry, with hardly any other mission than such as a number of men, and sometimes one man only,

wholly unauthorized, for aught that others could perceive, should assume. From men thus sending themselves, or sent by we know not whom, we are to receive the sacraments. . . . We must not forget, however, that these new orders lay claim to scriptural institution and primitive example. What, all of them? And without succession? Do we hear of any man in Scripture who ordained himself, or who presumed to take the ministry of God's word and sacraments upon him, without being sent either immediately or successively by CHRIST? Or, can an instance of this kind be assigned during the first fourteen centuries of the Church? So sacred a thing is the succession of ordination, that the HOLY GHOST, who had already enabled Barnabas and Saul to preach the word, ordered them to be "separated for the work whereunto He had called them, by fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands,"—that is, to be ordained: the SPIRIT of GOD hereby plainly showing, that He himself would not break the successive order of mission established in the Church.

SAMUEL JOHNSON.—ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι πρεσβεύων τὸν θεῖον λόγον.
Sermon 7.

With regard to the order and government of the Primitive Church, we may doubtless follow their [the ancients] authority with perfect security; they could not possibly be ignorant of laws executed, and customs practised, by themselves; nor would they, even supposing them corrupt, serve any interest of their own, by handing down false accounts to posterity. We are, therefore, to inquire from them the different Orders established in the Ministry from the Apostolic ages; the different employments of each, and their several ranks, subordinations, and degrees of authority. From their writings, we are to vindicate the establishment of our Church, and by the same writings are those who differ from us in these particulars to defend their conduct.

Nor is this the only, though perhaps the chief use of these writers; for, in matters of faith and points of doctrine, those at least who lived in the ages nearest to the times of the Apostles undoubtedly deserve to be consulted. The oral doctrines and occasional explications of the Apostles would not be immediately forgotten, in the Churches to which they had preached, and which had attended to them with the diligence and reverence which their mission and character demanded. Their solution of difficulties, and determinations of doubtful questions, must have been treasured up in the memory of their audiences, and transmitted for some time from father to son. Every thing, at least, that was declared by the inspired teachers to be necessary to salvation, must have been carefully recorded; and, therefore, what

we find no traces of in Scripture, or the early Fathers, as most of the peculiar tenets of the Romish Church, must certainly be concluded to be not necessary. Thus, by consulting first the Holy Scriptures, and next the writers of the Primitive Church, we shall make ourselves acquainted with the will of God; thus shall we discover the good way, and find that rest for our souls, which will amply recompense our studies and inquiries.

HORNE, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—*Charge at Primary Visitation of his Diocese.*

The Constitution and use of the Church of CHRIST is another subject, on which our principles, for some years past, have been very unsettled, and our knowledge precarious and superficial. Ignorance is dangerous here, because there are so many whose interest it is to flatter us in it, and take advantage of it. The definition of the Church, contained in our Articles, was purposely less definitive than it might have been, to avoid giving further offence to those whom we rather wished to reconcile; but it does not appear, that the Church hath gained any thing by its moderation: it hath rather lost; because in virtue of that moderation, it hath been pleaded against us, that Ecclesiastical Unity may be dispensed with, and that all our differences in this matter are only problematical and immaterial.

But salvation is a gift of grace; that is, it is a free gift, to which we have no natural claim. It is not to be conceived within ourselves, but to be received, in consequence of our Christian calling, from God Himself, through the means of His Ordinances. These can no man administer to effect, but by God's own appointment; at first, by His immediate appointment, and afterwards, by succession and derivation from thence to the end of the world. Without this rule we are open to imposture and can be sure of nothing; we cannot be sure that our ministry is effective, and that our Sacraments are realities. We are very sensible the spirit of division will never admit this doctrine; yet the spirit of charity must never part with it. Writers and teachers who make it a point to give no offence, treat these things very tenderly; but he who, in certain cases, gives men no offence, will for that reason give them no instruction. *Light itself is painful to weak eyes; but delightful to them when grown stronger, and reconciled to it with use; and he who was instrumental in bringing them to a more perfect state of vision, though less acceptable at first, may yet, for his real kindness, be more cordially thanked afterwards, than if he had made the ease and safety of his own person the measure of his duty.* It is by no means evident, that the Church hath ever recommended itself the more by re-

ceding from any of its just pretensions: generosity obliges and secures a friend; but an enemy construes it into weakness, and then it never does any good. Yet the adversaries of the Church of England have always been persuading her to make the experiment, and have promised great things from it; with what views, it cannot be difficult to discover. It was an unhappy circumstance, and had very ill effects, when some pious men,* of more zeal than discretion, who set out on the work of reforming this nation, opened an asylum for penitents, which took in people of all persuasions, without exception of any. It came to be inferred from hence, that souls might be saved as well without as with a Church; perhaps better; and when men have once begun to neglect rules, they go on to despise them, and know not where to stop, till all things are brought into confusion. . . .

The ancient Church is the standard by which all modern ones are to be examined; and unless a man knows what the Church was in centuries before the Reformation, he will see but darkly into the troubled waters of later times, in which faction and party have confounded things; and it hath become as much the interest of some, that the Church of CHRIST should be found every where, as it is the desire of others that it should be found no where. . . . If we would guard against popular mistakes in the subject at large, it will be necessary to examine first, what the Church was under the Old Testament; for there we find its original establishment, its form, its authority, its ministry, its unity and uniformity, its maintenance, its independence; which things being so particularly laid down, no new establishment is to be found in the Epistles or the Gospels of the New Testament, but the ancient constitution is referred to, to show as, in certain cases, what ought to be from what had been. . . . From the Scripture we should proceed next to observe, what the Church was in the first ages of the Gospel, before worldly policy, miscalled moderation, had any influence upon the opinions of Christians. There is an epistle of St. Clement, on Church unity and Church authority, with which all students in divinity should be acquainted. It will teach them what the Christian society then was, and what it ought to be. Ignatius and Cyprian, both of them martyrs, will give further instruction. The latter is so particular and copious, that a code of discipline might nearly be formed upon his authority. With these preparations, we shall be the better able to judge of what happened at the Reformation, when many things were right and many wrong; when the Church of England, by the singular blessing of God, preserved its constitution and its doctrines, while many of the reformed fell off by degrees, some into disorder, some into dissolution. What remains with us we must defend and preserve; trusting that the same God who hath raised

* Mr. Wesley, &c.

this Church, when trodden down to the dust, will never forsake us till we forsake Him.

But I must now hasten, in the last place, to a subject of more quietness or less suspicion [than the subject of civil government], in which wise men of all persuasions are more nearly of a mind ; I mean, the conduct of the Christian life. Modern times and new modes of education have given too great a latitude in the articles of dress, and dissipation, and self-indulgence. Every thing is to be avoided which tends to diminish that gravity and seriousness which God expects to find in all those who are flying from the wrath to come. It was observed of old, that when inconsiderate people are avoiding one extreme, they commonly fall into another, while reason and discretion keep the middle way. When Protestants laid aside the austerities of superstition, they began to see less harm in the liberties taken by the world. The kind of life to which the first Christians conformed, hath been considered as a sort of heroic piety, which had more of suffering and mortification than are now required of us ; as if the way to heaven could be easier, while the number of our temptations is probably increasing from the refinement of modern times, which, instead of giving us more liberty, call upon us for a greater degree of caution and reserve.

To us JESUS CHRIST is the pattern of holiness, the great exemplar of perfection, of whom we are first to learn, what no heathen ever professed, to be " meek and lowly in heart ;" and accordingly, one of the best books extant on the Spiritual life, is entitled, " The Imitation of JESUS CHRIST." Its language is barbarous, but its matter is divine and heavenly, and hath administered instruction and consolation to thousands of devout Christians. The way of true devotion must still be understood to be the same humble, secret, unaffected, unassuming practice of piety, as it used to be of old. The Cross, which JESUS CHRIST carried for our salvation, is still the true emblem of our profession, from our baptism to our departure out of this life, and is to be borne by us in our minds, as a daily admonition to patient suffering and self-denial.

To assist us in the great duties of prayer and meditation, books of devotion have their use ; but to us of the clergy, the liturgy of our Church is the best companion : and the daily use of it in our churches and families is required by the canons. It cannot be denied, that from various reasons prevailing amongst us, we are much fallen off, of late years, from the practice of weekly prayers in our churches. Wherever this has been neglected, we should exhort the people to the revival of it, if circumstances will possibly permit ; and alarm them against a mistake, to which they are all exposed, from a fanatical prejudice of baneful influence, namely, that they come to Church only to hear preaching ;

and hence they are indifferent, even on ■ Sunday, to the prayers of the Church, unless there is a sermon.

JONES OF NAYLAND, PRESBYTER.—*Lectures on Hebrews* iii.

The Church, in its nature, always was what it is now, a society comprehending the souls as well as the bodies of men ; and, therefore, consisting of two parts, the one spiritual, answering to the soul, and the other outward, answering to the body. Hence, some have written much upon a visible Church and an invisible, as if they were two things ; but they are more properly one, as the soul and body make a single person.

In the twelfth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apostle gives such a description of that society, into which Christians are admitted, as will show us the nature of it. "Ye are come," says he, "unto Mount Zion," &c. . . . The terms here used give us a true prospect of the Church. . . . This is that Zion of the Holy One of Israel, to which the forces of the Gentiles were to flow from all parts of the world . . . the city of the living God, distinguished from the cities of the world, as Jerusalem was from the cities of the heathens, who dedicated their cities not to the living God, but to the names of their dead idols. . . . This, being the city of the living God, must be an immortal society, for the living God does not preside over dead citizens ; He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living, and all the members of this society live unto Him. . . . It is, therefore, called the Heavenly Jerusalem, because it is of a heavenly nature ; and it is called the Jerusalem which is above, which is free, and is the mother of us all. . . Its spiritual nature is further declared, in that it is said to comprehend an innumerable company of angels. . . . In the communion of the Church the spirits of just men made perfect are also included. It is a society which admits only the spirits of the living, and as such cannot exclude the spirits of the dead ; and this confirms what we said above, that the Church is a spiritual community, comprehending the dead as well as the living. . . .

But it is now to be shown, secondly, that as the Church of God hath always been the same in its nature, it hath likewise preserved the same form in its external economy ; the wisdom of God having so ordained, that the Christian Church under the Gospel should not depart from the model of the Church under the Law. For as the congregation of Israel was divided into twelve tribes, under the twelve Patriarchs, so is the Church of CHRIST founded on the twelve Apostles, who raised to themselves a spiritual seed amongst all the nations of the world. . . . There were then three orders of priests in the Jewish Church : there was the high priest

and the sons of Aaron and the Levites. In the Church of CHRIST, there was the order of the Apostles, besides whom there were the seventy Disciples sent out after them; and, last of all, the Deacons were ordained to serve under both in the lower offices of the Church. The same form is still preserved in every regular Church of the world, which derives its succession and authority from the Church of the Apostles: after whom the Bishops succeeded by their appointment, such as Timothy and Titus, in their respective churches. This authority has been opposed to the Christian as it was in the Jewish Church: Corah and his company rose up against Moses and Aaron for usurping a lordly authority over the people; so, in the later ages of the Christian Church, a leveling principle hath prevailed, which has appeared in many different shapes. . . .

The Church has also been remarkably conformable to itself in its sufferings. There never was a time, so far as we can learn, when the true Church of God, with its doctrines and institutions, was not hated and opposed by the world; either persecuted and oppressed by powerful tyrants, or traduced and insulted by lying historians.

HORSLEY, BISHOP.—*Sermon on Matt. xvi. 18, 19.*

The keys of the kingdom of Heaven here promised to St. Peter . . . must be something quite distinct from that with which it hath generally been confounded, the power of remission and retention of sins, conferred by our LORD, after His resurrection, upon the apostles in general, and transmitted through them to the perpetual succession of the priesthood. *This* is the discretionary power lodged in the priesthood, of dispensing the sacraments, and of granting to the penitent and refusing to the obdurate the benefit and comfort of absolution. The object of this power is the individual upon whom it is exercised, according to the particular circumstances of each man's case. It was exercised by the apostles in many striking instances. It is exercised now by every priest, when he administers or withholds the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, or, upon just grounds, pronounces or refuses to pronounce upon an individual the sentence of absolution.

HEBER, BISHOP.—*Sermons in England, No. xii.*

We must return then, after all, (in ordinary cases, and where an immediate and supernatural commission from the Holy Ghost is neither proved nor pretended,) to the appointment and ordina-

tion of those among our fellow-creatures who exercise a legitimate authority in the Church of CHRIST, and who, as being appointed by God, are placed in God's stead, and commissioned by Him to dispense those graces which are necessary for the feeding of His flock, and to designate those labourers who are henceforth to work in His harvest.

And having arrived at this point of the discussion, even if that discussion were to proceed no further, and if the Scriptures had given us no information as to the persons by whom this authority was to be exercised, the validity of our ordinations would still be sufficiently plain, and the danger of separation from, or rebellion against, our Church, would be sufficiently great and alarming; inasmuch as, where no distinct religious officer was instituted by God, the appointment of such officers must necessarily have devolved on the collective Christian Church, and on those supreme magistrates who, in every Christian country, are the recognized organs of the public will and wisdom. . . . It happens, however, to be in our power to show (if not an explicit direction of CHRIST for the form of our Church government, and the manner of appointing our spiritual guides,) yet a precedent so clear and a pattern so definite, as to leave little doubt of the intentions of our Divine Master, or of the manner in which those intentions were fulfilled by His immediate and inspired Disciples. Nor will the force of such precedent and example on the practice of succeeding Christians be regarded as trifling by those who consider that it is on such grounds as these that the obligation rests of many observances which are allowed by all parties to be essential; among which may be classed the baptism of infants, the observance of the Lord's Day, and our participation in the Lord's Supper.

But, without entering into the question of the absolute necessity of this rule, and without judging those other national Churches which have departed from it, it is evident that those Churches are most wise and most fortunate, who have continued in the path which CHRIST and His Apostles have trodden before; and that religious insubordination is then most unreasonable and most dangerous, when exerted against a form of polity which the majority of our fellow-Christians, the wisdom of our civil governors, and the full stream of precedent, from the time of the Apostles themselves, combine to recommend to our reverence.

We find, accordingly, that our LORD, on His own departure from the world, committed, in most solemn terms, the government of His Church to His Apostles. We find these Apostles, in the exercise of the authority thus received, appointing Elders in every city, as dispensers of the word and the sacraments of religion; and we find them also appointing other Ecclesiastical Officers, who were to have the oversight of these Elders themselves;

and who, in addition to the powers which they enjoyed in common with them, had the privilege, which the others had not, of admitting, by the imposition of hands, those whom they thought fit to the ministerial office. . . .

And it is not too much to say, that we may challenge those who differ from us, to point out any single period at which the Church has been destitute of such a body of officers, laying claim to an authority derived by the imposition of hands from the Apostles themselves; or any single instance of a Church without this form of government, till the Church of Geneva, at first from necessity, and afterwards from a mistaken exposition of Scripture, supplied the place of a single Bishop by the rule of an oligarchial presbytery.

JEBB, BISHOP.—*Pastoral Instructions*, Discourse i.

“And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world;”—a promise not occasional or temporary, like that of miraculous powers, but conveying an assurance, that CHRIST Himself will, in spirit and in power, be continually present with His Catholic and Apostolic Church; with the Bishops of that Church, who derive from the Apostles by uninterrupted succession, and with those inferior, but essential orders of the Church, which are constituted by the same authority, and dedicated to the same service.

VAN MILDERT, BISHOP.—*Bampton Lectures*. Sermon viii.

The system, of which the Apostles had laid the foundation, was to be carried on through succeeding generations; but with a gradual diminution of that extraordinary aid, which the circumstances of the case rendered no longer necessary. . . . Yet since the object to be attained was not temporary, but to continue from age to age, the mode, the form, and the instrument to be employed, were still to be conformable to the primitive institution. Accordingly, the Apostles ordained successors to themselves, and took measures for perpetuating in the Church a standing ministry of diverse orders and gradations. In so doing, they showed in what sense we are to interpret our LORD’S assurance, that He would “be with them always, even unto the end of the world.”

The evidences, from the best historical records, to the simple fact that a visible Church of this description has actually subsisted from the time of our LORD and His Apostles to this moment, are too well known to require a detail. Nor is there

any defect of similar evidence, to show that, whatever errors or corruptions may have occasionally found admittance into it, the Church itself has proved a successful instrument in the hands of Providence, both of transmitting the unadulterated Word of God from generation to generation, and also of promulgating and maintaining all its great fundamental truths ; nay, perhaps, of preserving even the very name as well as substance of Christianity, which, humanly speaking, would probably have been long since extinct, had it not been nurtured and cherished by this its appointed guardian and protector. . . .

Let us take, for instance, those articles of faith which have already been shown to be essential to the Christian Covenant :—the doctrines of the Trinity, of our Lord's Divinity and Incarnation, of His Atonement and Intercession, of our sanctification by the Holy Spirit, of the terms of acceptance, and the ordinances of the Christian Sacraments and Priesthood. At what period of the Church have these doctrines, or either of them, been by any public act disowned or called in question ! We are speaking now, it will be recollected, of what in the language of Ecclesiastical history, is emphatically called **THE CHURCH** ; that, which has from age to age borne rule, upon the ground of its pretensions to Apostolical succession. And to this our inquiry is necessarily restricted. . . .

Surely, here is something to arrest attention ; something to awaken reflection ; something which they who sincerely profess Christianity, and are tenacious of the inviolability of its doctrines, must contemplate with sentiments of awe and veneration. For, though a sceptic may contend that this species of evidence does not amount to a direct and demonstrative proof of the truth of the doctrines ; yet if they be not true, how shall we account for their having been so uninterruptedly transmitted to these latter times ? How they have withstood the assaults of continued opponents ? opponents, wanting neither talents nor inclination to effect their overthrow ? If these considerations be deemed insufficient, let the adversary point out by what surer tokens we shall discover any Christian community duly answering the Apostle's description, that it is "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, **JESUS CHRIST** Himself being the chief Corner-Stone !"

MANT, BISHOP.—*Parochial Sermons*, xxvii.

Nor had He in this appointment a view to those times only, in which the appointment was made ; but He designed that it should be extended to all future ages ; for so we must understand the words which He pronounced immediately after giving His apostles their authority to baptize : "Lo, I am with you always, even

unto the end of the world." A promise this which cannot be supposed to have respect to the persons of the Apostles alone, who in the common course of nature were soon to be taken from the world, to the end of which the promise itself was to extend. . . . In conformity with this meaning, the Apostles, who were themselves holy men and full of the Holy Ghost, did send other persons ; to whom again, they gave power and authority to send others, through whom the office of ministers of the Gospel has been handed down in regular and uninterrupted succession from the Apostles to the present time.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

No. 75.

(*Ad Clerum.*)

ON THE ROMAN BREVIARY, AS EMBODYING THE SUBSTANCE OF
THE DEVOTIONAL SERVICES OF THE CHURCH CATHOLIC.

Teach her to know and love her hour of prayer,
And evermore,
As faith grows rare,
Unlock her heart, and offer all its store,
In holier love and humbler vows,
As suits a lost returning spouse.

THERE is so much of excellence and beauty in the services of the Breviary, that were it skilfully set before the Protestant by Roman controversialists as the book of devotions received in their communion, it would undoubtedly raise a prejudice in their favour, if he were ignorant of the circumstances of the case, and but ordinarily candid and unprejudiced. To meet this danger is one principal object of the following pages ; in which, whatever is good and true in those Devotions will be claimed, and on reasonable grounds, for the Church Catholic in opposition to the Roman Church, whose only real claim above other Churches is that of having, on the one hand, preserved the Service with less of mutilation or abridgment, and, on the other, having adopted into it certain additions and novelties, ascertainable to be such in history, as well as being corruptions doctrinally. In a word, it will be attempted to wrest a weapon out of our adversaries' hands ; who have in this, as in many other instances, appropriated to themselves a treasure which was ours as much as theirs ; and then, on our attempting to recover it, accuse us of borrowing what we have but lost through inadvertence. The publication then of the selections, which it is proposed presently to give from these Services, is, as it were, an act of re-appropriation. Were however the Breviary ever so much the property of the Romanists, by retaining it in its ancient Latin form, they have defrauded the Church of that benefit which, in the vernacular tongue, it might have afforded to the people at large.

Another reason for the selections which are to follow, lies in the circumstance, that our own daily Service is confessedly formed

upon the Breviary; so that an inspection of the latter will be found materially to illustrate and explain our own Prayer-Book.

It may suggest, moreover, character and matter for our *private* devotions, over and above what our Reformers have thought fit to adopt into our public Services; a use of it which will be but carrying out and completing what they have begun.

And there is a further benefit which, it is hoped, will result from an acquaintance with the Breviary Services, viz. that the adaptation and arrangement of the Psalms therein made, will impress many persons with a truer sense of the excellence and profitableness of those inspired compositions than it is the fashion of this age to entertain.

Lastly, if it can be shown, as was above intimated, that the corruptions, whatever they be, are of a late date, another fact will have been ascertained, in addition to those which are ordinarily insisted on, discriminating and separating off the Roman from the primitive Church.

With these views a sketch shall first be given of the history of the Breviary; then the selections from it shall follow.

INTRODUCTION.

*On the history of the Breviary.**

The word *Breviarium* first occurs in the work of an author of the eleventh century, and is used to denote a compendium or systematic arrangement of the devotional offices of the Church. Till that time they were contained in several independent volumes, according to the nature of each. Such, for instance, were the *Psalteria*, *Homilaria*, *Hymnaria*, and the like, to be used in the service in due course. But at this memorable era, and under the auspices of the Pontiff who makes it memorable, Gregory VII., an Order was drawn up, for the use of the Roman Church, containing in one all these different collections, introducing the separate members of each in its proper place, and harmonizing them together by the use of rubrics. Indeed, some have been led to conclude that in its first origin the word *Breviary* was appropriated to a mere collection of rubrics, not to the offices connected by them. But even taking it in its present sense, it will be obvious to any one who inspects the Breviary how well it answers to its name. Yet even thus digested, it occupies four thick volumes of duodecimo size.

Gregory VII. did but restore and harmonize these offices; which seem to have existed more or less the same in their constituent parts, though not in order and system, from Apostolic times. In their present shape they are appointed for seven distinct seasons

* The authorities used in this account are Gavanti's *Thesaurus Rituum*, cum notis Merari; Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Ritualis*; and Mr. Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*.

in the twenty-four hours, and consist of prayers, praises, and thanksgivings of various forms ; and, as regards both contents and hours, are the continuation of a system of worship observed by the Apostles and their converts. As to *contents*, the Breviary Services consist of the Psalms ; of Hymns, and Canticles ; of Lessons and Texts from inspired and ecclesiastical authors ; of Antiphons, Verses and Responses, and Sentences ; and of Collects. And analogous to this seems to have been the usage of the Corinthian Christians, whom St. Paul blames for refusing to agree in some *common* order of worship ; when they came together, *every one of them* having a Psalm, a doctrine, a tongue, a revelation, an interpretation.* On the other hand, the Catholic *seasons* of devotions are certainly derived from Apostolic usage. The Jewish observance of the third, sixth, and ninth hours for prayer, was continued by the inspired founders of the Christian Church. What Daniel had practised even when the decree was signed forbidding it, “kneeling on his knees three times a day, and praying, and giving thanks unto his God,” St. Peter and the other Apostles were solicitous in preserving. It was when “they were all with one accord in one place,” at “the *third* hour of the day,” that the HOLY GHOST came down upon them at Pentecost. It was at the *sixth* hour that St. Peter “went up upon the house-top to pray,” and saw the vision revealing to him the admission of the Gentiles into the Church. And it was at the *ninth* hour that “Peter and John went up together into the temple,” being “the hour of prayer.” But though these were the more remarkable seasons of devotions, there certainly were others besides them, in that first age of the Church. After our SAVIOUR’S departure, the Apostles, we are informed, “all *continued* with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with His brethren :” and with this accords the repeated exhortation to pray together without ceasing, which occurs in St. Paul’s Epistles. It will be observed that he insists in one passage on prayer to the abridgment of sleep ;† and one recorded passage of his life exemplifies his precept : “And at midnight Paul and Silas prayed, and sang praises unto God, and the prisoners heard them.” Surely it is more natural to suppose that this act of worship came in course, according to their wont, and was only not omitted because of their imprisonment, somewhat after Daniel’s pattern, than that they should have gone aside to bear this sort of indirect testimony to the Gospel.

Such was the Apostolic worship as far as Scripture happens to have preserved it ; that it was as systematic, and as apportioned to particular times of the day, as in the aftertimes of peace and prosperity, is not to be supposed ; yet it seems to have been, under

* 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

† Eph. vi. 18.

ordinary circumstances, as ample and extended as then. If St. Paul thought a prison and a prison's inmates no impediment to vocal prayer, we may believe it was no common difficulty which ever kept him from it.

In subsequent times the Hours of prayer were gradually developed from the three, or (with midnight) the four seasons, above enumerated, to seven, viz. by the addition of Prime (the first hour,) Vespers (the evening,) and Compline (bed-time;) according to the words of the Psalm, "Seven times a day do I praise Thee, because of Thy righteous judgments." Other pious and instructive reasons existed, or have since been perceived, for this number. It was a memorial of the seven days of creation; it was an honour done to the seven petitions given us by our LORD in His prayer; it was a mode of pleading for the influence of that Spirit who is revealed to us as sevenfold; on the other hand, it was a preservative against those seven evil spirits which are apt to return to the exorcised soul more wicked than he who has been driven out of it; and it was a fit remedy of those seven successive falls, which the Scripture says happen to "the just man" daily.

And, as the particular number of their Services admitted of various pious meanings, so did each in its turn suggest separate events in our Saviour's history. He was born, and He rose again at midnight. At Prime, (or 7 A. M. according to our reckoning;) He was brought before Pilate. At the third, (or 9 A. M.) He was devoted to crucifixion by the Jews, and scourged. At the sixth, (or noon,) He was crucified. At the ninth, (or 3 P. M.) He expired. At Vespers He was taken down from the cross; at which hour He had the day before eat the Passover, washed His Apostles' feet, and consecrated the Eucharist. At Completorium, or Compline, He endured the agony in the garden.

These separate Hours, however, require a more distinct notice. The night Service was intended for the end of the night, when it was still dark, but drawing towards day; and, considering that the hour for rest was placed soon after sunset, it did not infringe upon the time necessary for repose. Supposing the time of sleep to extend from 8 or 9 P. M. to 3 or 4 in the morning, the worshipper might then rise without inconvenience to perform the service which was called variously by the name of Nocturns, or Matins, as we still indifferently describe the hours in which it took place, as night or morning. It consists, when full, of three parts, or Nocturns, each made up of Psalms and Lessons; and it ended in a Service, supposed to be used shortly before sunrise, and called Lauds, or Praises. This termination of the Nocturn Service is sometimes considered distinct from it, so as to make eight instead of seven Hours in the day; as if in accordance

with the text, "Give a portion to seven, and also to eight." Accordingly it is sometimes called by the name of Matins, instead of the Nocturns; and sometimes both together are so called.

This subdivision of the night service has the effect of dividing the course of worship into two distinct parts, of similar structure with each other; the three Nocturns, Lauds, and Prime, corresponding respectively to the three day hours (of the 3d, 6th, and 9th) Vespers and Compline. Of these the three day hours are made up of Psalms, Hymns, and Sentences. These are the simplest of the Services, and differ very little from each other through the year. Lauds answer to Vespers, the sun being about to rise or about to set in, the one or the other respectively. Each contains five Psalms, a Text, Hymn, Evangelical Canticle, Collect, and Commemoration of Saints. These hours are the most ornate of the Services, and are considered to answer to the morning and evening sacrifices of the Jews.

Prime and Compline were introduced at the same time (the fifth century,) and are placed respectively at the beginning of day and the beginning of night. In each there is a Confession, four Psalms, a Hymn, Text, and Sentences.

The ecclesiastical day is considered to begin with the evening or Vesper Service; according to the Jewish reckoning, as alluded to in the text, "In the evening, and morning, and at noon-day, will I pray, and that instantly." The ancient Vespers are regarded by some to be the most solemn hour of the day. They were sometimes called the *Officium Lucernarum*.* Prayers were in some places offered while the lamps were lighting; and this rite was called *lumen offerre*.† The Mozarabic service supplies an instance of this, in which the Office ran as follows:

"Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster, &c. In nomine Domini Jesu Christi, lumen cum pace. R. Amen. Hoc est lumen oblatum. R. Deo gratias."

On Festivals, the appropriate Services, beginning on the evening of the preceding day, are continued over the evening of the day itself; so that there are in such cases two Vespers, called the First and the Second, of which the First are the more solemn.

This is the stated succession of the sacred offices through the day, but the observance of the precise hours has not been generally insisted on at any time, but has varied with local usages or individual convenience. Thus the Matin and Laud Services may be celebrated on the preceding evening, as is done (for instance) in the Sistine Chapel at Rome during Passion week,

* Vid. Socr. Hist. 22. Vide also *Lyra Apostolica*, xv.

† This ceremony must not be confused with the *Lucernarium*, or prayers at lighting the lamps; which took place before the evening.

the celebrated *Miserere* being one of the Psalms in Lauds. Prime may be used just before or after sunrise; the Third, soon after; and soon after, the Sixth; the Ninth, near dinner; Vespers and Compline, after dinner. Or Prime, the Third, Sixth, and Ninth may come together two or three hours after sunrise. Noon, which in most ages has been the hour for the meal of the day, is made to divide the Services; there is a rule, for instance, against Compline coming before dinner.

Such is the present order and use of the Breviary Services, as derived more or less directly from Apostolic practice. Impressed with their antiquity, our Reformers did not venture to write a Prayer-Book of their own, but availed themselves of what was ready to their hands: in consequence, our Daily Service is a compound of portions of this primitive ritual, Matins being made up of the Catholic Matins, Lauds, and Prime, and Even-song of Vespers and Compline. The reason why these changes were brought about will be seen in the following sketch of the history of the Breviary from the time of Gregory VII.

The word has been already explained to mean something between a directory and an harmony of offices; but it is to be feared there was another, and not so satisfactory reason for the use of it. It implied an abridgment or curtailment of Services, and so in particular of the Scripture readings, whether Psalms, or Lessons, at least in practice. Of course there is no reason why the Church might not, in the use of her discretion, limit, as well as select, the portions of the inspired volume, which were to be introduced into her devotions; but there were serious reasons why she should not defraud her children of "their portion of meat in due season;" and it would seem as if the eleventh, or at least the twelfth century, a time fertile in other false steps in religion, must be charged also, as far as concerns Rome and its more intimate dependencies, with a partial removal of the light of the written Word from the Sanctuary. Whatsoever benefit attended the adjustment of the offices in other respects, so far as the reading of Scripture was omitted, it was productive of evil, at least in prospect. An impulse was given, however slight in itself, which was followed up in the centuries which succeeded, and in all those churches which either then, or in the course of time, adopted the usage of Rome.

Even now that usage is not universally received in the Latin Communion, and it was in no sense enjoined on the whole Communion till after the Council of Trent; but from the influence of the Papal see and of the monastic orders, it seems to have affected other countries from a much earlier date. This influence would naturally be increased by the circumstance that the old Roman Breviary had long before Gregory's time been received in various parts of Europe: in England, since the time of Gregory the

Great, who, after the pattern of Leo, and Gelasius before him, had been a Reformer of it; in Basle, since the ninth century; in France and Germany, by means of Pepin and Charlemagne; while Gregory VII. himself effected its reception in Spain. Other Breviaries, however, still were in use, as they are at this day. The Ambrosian Breviary used in the Church of Milan, derives its name from the great St. Ambrose; and in the ninth century, Charles the Bald, while sanctioning the use of the Roman, speaks also of the usage of Jerusalem, of Constantinople, of Gaul, of Italy, and of Toledo.

In Gregory's Breviary there are no symptoms of a neglect of Scripture. It contains the offices for festival-days, Sundays, and week-days; Matins on festivals having nine Psalms and nine Lessons, and on Sundays eighteen Psalms and nine Lessons, as at present. The course of the Scripture Lessons was the same as it had been before his time; as it is preserved in a manuscript of the thirteenth century. It will be found to agree in great measure both with the order of the present Breviary and with our own. From Advent to Christmas were read portions of the prophet Isaiah; from the Octave of the Epiphany to Septuagesima, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; from Septuagesima to the third Sunday in Lent, the book of Genesis, the i. xii. and xxvii. on the Sundays to which they are allotted in our own offices; on the fourth in Lent to Wednesday in Passion Week, Jeremiah; from Easter to the third Sunday after, the Apocalypse; from the third to the fifth, St. James; from the Octave of the Ascension to Pentecost, the Acts; after the Octave of Trinity to the last Sunday in July, the books of Kings; in August, Proverbs; in September, Job, Tobit, Judith, and Esther; in October, Maccabees; and in November, Ezekiel, Daniel, and other prophets.

Well would it have been if this laudable usage, received from the first ages, and confirmed by Pope Gregory VII., had been observed, according to his design, in the Roman Church; but his own successors were the first to depart from it. The example was set in the Pope's chapel of curtailing the sacred Services, and by the end of the twelfth century it had been followed in all the churches in Rome, except that of St. John Lateran. The *Fratres Minores* (Minorists or Franciscans) adopted the new usage, and their Breviaries were in consequence remarkable for the title "*secundum consuetudinem Romanæ Curie*," contrary to the usage of such countries as conformed to the Roman Ritual, which were guided by the custom of the churches in the city. Haymo, the chief of this order, had the sanction of Gregory X. in the middle of the thirteenth century, to correct and complete a change, which, as having begun in irregularity, was little likely to have fallen of itself into an orderly system; and his arrangements,

which were conducted on the pattern of the Franciscan Devotions, nearly correspond to the Breviary, as it at present stands.

Haymo's edition, which was introduced into the Roman Church by Nicholas III. A. D. 1278, is memorable for another and still more serious fault. Graver and sounder matter being excluded, apocryphal legends of Saints were used to stimulate and occupy the popular mind; and a way was made for the use of those Invocations to the Virgin and other Saints, which heretofore were unknown in public worship. The addresses to the Blessed Mary in the Breviary, as it is at present constituted, are such as the following: the Ave Mary, before commencing every office through the day and at the end of Compline; at the end of Lauds and Vespers, an Antiphon invocatory of the Virgin; the Officium B. Mariæ, on the Sabbath or Saturday, and sundry other offices, containing Hymns and Antiphons in her honour. These portions of the Breviary carry with them their own plain condemnation, in the judgment of an English Christian; no commendation of the general structure and matter of the Breviary itself will have any tendency to reconcile him to them; and it has been the strong feeling that this is really the case, that has led the writer of these pages fearlessly and securely to admit the real excellences, and to dwell upon the antiquity, of the Roman Ritual. He has felt that, since the Romanists required an unqualified assent to the *whole* of the Breviary, and that there were passages which no Anglican ever could admit, praise the true Catholic portion of it as much as he might, he did not in the slightest degree approximate to a recommendation of Romanism. But to return;—these Invocations and Services to the Blessed Virgin have been above enumerated, with a view of observing that, on the very face of them, they do not enter into the *structure* of the Breviary; they are really, as they are placed, additions, and might easily have been added at some late period, as (e. g.) was the case with our own Thanksgiving, or the Prayer for the Parliament. This remark seems to apply to all the intrinsically exceptionable Addresses in the Breviary; for as to the Confession at Prime and Compline, in which is introduced the name of the Blessed Virgin and other Saints, this practice stands on a different ground. It is not a simple gratuitous Invocation made to them, but it is an address to Almighty God *in His heavenly court*, as surrounded by His Saints and Angels, answering to St. Paul's charge to Timothy, "before God and the LORD JESUS CHRIST and the elect Angels," and to Daniel and St. John's address to the Angels who were sent to them. The same may even be said of the Invocation "Holy Mary and all Saints,"* &c. in the Prime.

* It is observable that the words "Holy Mary" do not occur in the ancient Monastic Breviaries. The Confession at Prime and Compline does not occur in the Paris Breviary, 1735.

Service, which Gavanti describes as being of very great antiquity. These usages certainly *now* do but sanction and encourage that direct worship of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, which is the great practical offence of the Latin Church, and so are a serious evil; but it is worth pointing out, that, as on the one hand they have more claim to be considered an integral part of the service, so on the other, more can be said towards their justification than for those addresses which are now especially under our consideration.

This is what occurs to observe on the first sight of these Invocations; but we are not left to draw a conjectural judgment about them. Their history is actually known, and their recent introduction into the Church Services is distinctly confessed by Roman ritualists.

The Ave Mary, for instance, is made up of the Angel's salutation, "Hail, thou," &c. Elizabeth's "Blessed art thou among women," &c. and the words, "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now and in the hour of our death." The last clause "now and," &c. was confessedly added by the Franciscans in the beginning of the sixteenth century; and the words preceding it, "Holy Mary," &c. which, Gavanti, after Baronius, wishes to attribute to the Council of Ephesus (A. D. 431), are acknowledged by the later critics, Grancelas and Merari, to have had no place in any form of prayer till the year 1508. Even the Scripture portion of the Ave Mary, which, as Merari observes, is an Antiphon rather than Prayer, and which occurs as such in the lesser office of the Blessed Virgin, and in St. Gregory's Sacramentary in the Mass Service for the fourth Sunday in Advent, is not mentioned by any devotional writer, nor by Councils, nor Fathers, up to the eleventh century, though they do enjoin the universal and daily use of the Creed and Lord's Prayer, which are in the present Breviary used with it. It first occurs among forms of prayer prescribed for the people in the statutes of Otho, Bishop of Paris, A. D. 1195, who was followed after the interval of a hundred years, by the regulations of Councils at Oxford and elsewhere. Another space of at least fifty years intervenes before the introduction of rosaries and crowns in honour of the Virgin. As to the Roman Breviary, it did not contain any part of the Ave Mary, till the promulgation of it by Pope Pius V., after the Tridentine Council, A. D. 1550.

The four Antiphons to the Blessed Virgin, used at the termination of the offices, are known respectively by their first words; the *Alma Redemptoris*, the *Ave Regina*, the *Regina cæli*, and the *Salve Regina*. Gavanti and Merari plainly tell us that they are not to be found in ancient authors. The *Alma Redemptoris* is the composition of Hermannus Contractus, who died A. D. 1054. The author of the *Ave Regina* is unknown, as is that of the *Re-*

gina cæli. The *Salve Regina* is to be attributed either to Hermannus, or to Peter of Compostella. Gavanti would ascribe the last words "O clemens, O pia, O dulcis," &c. to St. Bernard, but Merari corrects him, the work in which they are contained being supposititious. These Antiphons seem to have been used by the Franciscans after Compline from the thirteenth century; but are found in no Breviary before A. D. 1520.

The Saturday or Sabbath office of the Blessed Virgin was introduced, according to Baronius, by the monks of the Western church, about A. D. 1056.

The Officium Parvum B. V. M. was instituted by the celebrated Peter Damiani at the same date. It is said indeed to have been the restoration of a practice three hundred years old, and observed by John Damascene; which it may well have been: but there is nothing to show the identity of the Service itself with the ancient one, and that is the only point on which evidence would be important. Thirty years after its introduction by Damiani, it was made part of the daily worship by decree of Urban II.

The Breviary then, as it is now received, is pretty nearly what the Services became *in practice* in Rome, and among the Franciscans by the middle of the thirteenth century; the two chief points of difference between it and the ancient Catholic Devotions, being on the one hand its diminished allowance of Scripture reading, on the other its adoption of uncertain legends, and of Hymns and Prayers to the Virgin. However, the more grievous of these changes were not formally made in the Breviary itself, till the Pontificate of Pius V., after the Tridentine Council; at which time also it was imposed in its new form upon all the Churches in communion with Rome, except such as had used some other Ritual for above two hundred years. Not even at the present day, however, is this Roman novelty, as it may be called, in universal reception; the Paris Breviary, as corrected by the Archbishop of that city, A. D. 1735, differs from it considerably in detail, though still disfigured by the Invocations.

Before concluding this account of the Roman Breviary, it is necessary to notice one attempt which was made in the first part of the sixteenth century to restore it to a more primitive form. In the year 1536, Quignonius, Cardinal of Santa Crux, compiled a Breviary under the sanction of Clement VII., and published it under his successor, Paul III. This Ritual, the use of which was permitted, but not formally enjoined by the Holy See, was extensively adopted for forty years, when it was superseded by the Franciscan Breviary, as the now authorized one may be called, in consequence of a Bull of Pius V. The Cardinal's Breviary was drawn up on principles far more agreeable to those on which the Reformation was conducted, and apparently with the same

mixture of right and wrong in the execution. With a desire of promoting the knowledge of Scripture, it showed somewhat of a rude dealing with received usages, and but a deficient sense of what is improperly called the *imaginative* part of religion. His object was to adapt the Devotions of the Church for private reading, rather than chanting in choir, and so to encourage something higher than that almost theatrical style of worship, which, when reverence is away, will prevail, alternately with a slovenly and hurried performance, in the performance of Church Music. Accordingly he left out the Versicles, Responses, and Texts, which, however suitable in Church, yet in private took more time, as he says, to find out in the existing formularies than to read when found. He speaks in his preface expressly of the "perplexus ordo," on which the offices were framed. But his great reform was as regards the reading of Scripture. He complains that, whereas it was the ancient rule that the Psalms should be read through weekly and the Bible yearly, both practices had been omitted. The Ferial or week-day service had been superseded by the Service for feast-days, as being shorter : and for that reason every day, even through Lent, was turned into a festival. To obviate the temptation which led to this irregularity, he made the Ferial service about the length of that of the old feast-day ; and he found space in these contracted limits for the reading of the Psalms and the whole Bible, except part of the Apocalypse, in the week and the year respectively, by omitting the popular legends of the Saints which had been substituted for them. He observes, that these compositions had been sometimes introduced without any public authority, or sanction of the Popes, merely at the will of individuals. Those which he retained, he selected from authors of weight, whether of the Greek or Latin Church. Besides, he omitted the *Officium Parvum* B. M. V., on the ground that there were sufficient services in her honour independently of it. In all his reforms he professes to be returning to the practice of antiquity ; and he made use of the assistance of men versed "in Latin and Greek, in divinity, and the *jus pontificium*."

This Breviary was published in Rome, A. D. 1536, under the sanction, as has been said, of Paul III. However, it was not of a nature to please the divines of an age which had been brought up in the practice of the depraved Catholicism then prevalent ; and its real faults, as they would appear to be, even enabled them to oppose it with justice. The Doctors of the Sorbonne proceeded to censure it as running counter in its structure to antiquity and the Fathers ; and though they seem at length to have got over their objections to it, and various editions at Venice, Antwerp, Lyons, and Paris, showed that it was not displeasing to numbers in the Roman Communion, it was at length superseded by the Bull of Pius V. establishing the Franciscan Breviary, which had

more or less grown into use in the course of the preceding three hundred years.

This account of Cardinal Quignonius's Breviary, and the circumstances under which it was compiled, will remind the English reader of the introductory remarks concerning the Service of the Church, prefixed to our Ritual ; which he may read more profitably than heretofore, after the above illustrations of their meaning. For this reason they shall be here cited :

“ There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so sure established, which in continuance of time hath not been corrupted ; as, among other things, it may plainly appear by the Common Prayers in the Church, commonly called Divine Service. The first original and ground whereof, if a man would search out by the Ancient Fathers, he shall find that the same was not ordained but of a good purpose, and for a great advancement of godliness. For they so ordered the matter, that all the whole Bible, (or the greatest part thereof,) should be read over once every year ; intending thereby that the Clergy, and especially such as were Ministers in the Congregation, should (by often reading and meditating on God's Word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, not to confute them that were adversaries to the truth ; and further, that the people (by daily hearing of Holy Scripture read in the Church,) might continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of His true religion.

“ But these many years past, this godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain Stories and Legends, with multitude of Responds, Verses, vain Repetitions, Commemorations, and Synodals, that commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread. And in this sort the book of Isaiah was begun in Advent, and the book of Genesis in Septuagesima ; but they were only begun, and never read through. After like sort were other books of Holy Scripture used. And furthermore, notwithstanding that the ancient Fathers have divided the Psalms into seven portions, whereof every one was called a Nocturn, now of late time a few of them have been daily said, and the rest utterly omitted. Moreover, the number and hardness of the rules called the Pie, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, that, to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out.

“ These inconveniences therefore considered, here is set forth such an Order, whereby the same shall be redressed. And for

a readiness in this matter, here is drawn out a Calendar for that purpose, which is plain and easy to be understood ; wherein (so much as may be) the reading of Holy Scripture is so set forth, that all things shall be done in order, without breaking one piece from another. For this cause be cut off Anthems, Responds, Invitatories, and such like things as did break the continual course of the reading of the Scripture."

It remains but to enumerate the selections from the Breviary which follow. First has been drawn out, an Analysis of the Weekly Service, as well for Sunday as other days. This is followed by an ordinary Sunday Service at length, as it runs when unaffected by the occurrence of special feast or season, in order to ground the reader, who chooses to pursue the subject, in the course of daily worship as a whole. With the same object a Week-day Service has also been drawn out. Two portions of extraordinary Services are then added, one from the Service for the Transfiguration, the other for the Festival of St. Lawrence, with a view of supplying specimens of a more elevated and impressive character. Next follows a design for a Service for March 21st, the day on which Bishop Ken was taken from the Church below, and another for a Service of thanksgiving and commemoration for the anniversaries of the days of death of friends or relations. These have been added, to suggest to individual Christians a means of carrying out in private the principle and spirit of those inestimable forms of devotion which are contained in our authorized Prayer-Book. The series is closed with an abstract of the Services for every day in Advent, fitting on to sections 2 and 3, which contain respectfully the types of the Sunday and Week-day Service. Except by means of some such extended portion, it is impossible for the reader to understand the general structure, and appreciate the harmony of the Breviary.

Lastly, the writer of these pages feels he shall have to ask indulgence for such chance mistakes, in the detail of the following Services, as are sure to occur when an intricate system is drawn out and set in order, with no other knowledge of it than is supplied by the necessarily insufficient directions of a Rubric.

§ 1. *Analysis of the Seven Daily Services of the Church Catholic, as preserved in the Breviary.*

EVERY Service but Compline is commenced with privately saying the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Mary, to which the Creed is added before Matins and Prime. In like manner, after

Compline, all three are repeated. Every other Service ends with the Lord's Prayer in private, unless another Service immediately follows. Concerning the introduction of the Ave Mary, *vid. supra*, p. 183. This use of the Lord's Prayer in private before the beginning of the Service seems to have led the compilers of King Edward's First Book to open with the Lord's Prayer, only said aloud, not in private; but a pious custom has brought in again the private prayer, as before, though without prescribing any particular form. The compilers of King Edward's Second Book prefixed to the Lord's Prayer, the Sentences, and an Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution of their own. *After* these follows, "O Lord, open thou our lips," &c. which stands *first* in the Breviary Service.

1. "MATINS, or *Night Service*, (after One, A. M.)

Introduction.

Verse. O Lord, open Thou my lips.

Resp. And my mouth shall show forth Thy praise.

(*Each person to sign his lips with the Cross.*)

Verse. O God, make speed to save me.

Resp. O Lord, make haste to help me.

(*Each person to sign himself from the forehead to the breast.*)

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was, &c. Amen."

(*Ordinarily added*) Hallelujah. (*i. e.* Praise ye the Lord.)

Psalms 95.—"O come let us sing," &c. with a verse called an Invitatory, "Let us worship the Lord: our Maker," divided into two parts, the whole being used before the 1st, 3rd, and 8th verse, and at the end, and again after the *Gloria Patri*, and the latter part after the 4th and 9th, and between the *Gloria* and the whole. This Invitatory varies with the season, but its general character is always preserved; e. g. in Advent, "O come let us worship: the Lord, the King to come;" or "the Lord is at hand: O come let us worship;" again in Lent, "It is not to you lost labour that ye haste to rise up early: for the Lord hath promised a crown to those who wait for Him." At Pentecost, "Hallelujah, the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the round world: O come let us worship, Hallelujah."

A Hymn follows according to the day, and terminates the Introduction; then follow Psalms and Lessons, in one or three Nocturns, according as the Service is for Weekday or Sunday.

On Sunday, Eighteen Psalms with Nine Lessons: viz.

Psalms 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 & 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

A passage from Scripture, in three parts—(*according to the time of the Year.*)

Psalms 16, 17, 18.

A passage from some Father of the Church, in three parts.
Psalms 19, 20, 21.

A comment on some passage of the Gospel, in three parts.

On Weekdays, Twelve Psalms with Three Lessons, viz.

On Monday—Psalms 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.

A passage in three parts from Scripture or the Fathers.

On Tuesday—Psalms 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52.

A passage in three parts, &c. as on *Monday*.

On Wednesday—Psalms 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 68.

A passage, &c.

On Thursday—Psalms 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80.

A passage, &c.

On Friday—Psalms 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 94, 96, 97.

A passage, &c.

On Saturday—Psalms 98, 99, 100, or 92, (*according to the day*)
101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109.

A passage, &c.

Then on every day of the week follows the

Te Deum Laudamus.

This noble Hymn follows in this place with especial propriety on Sundays and other Festivals; viz. after the reading the words of Prophets and Apostles, and the writings and histories of Saints and Martyrs, all of whom are commemorated in it. On all days it impressively winds up the Service which precedes.

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LAUDS;—(*appended to the Matins towards the first twilight.*)

Verse. "O God, make speed, &c.

Resp. O Lord, make haste," &c.

Glory be, &c.

As it was, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

Then five Psalms, viz:

On Sunday—Psalms 93, 100, 63, and 67. The Song of the Three Children. Psalm 148—150.

On Monday—Psalms 51, 5, 63. Song of Isaiah. (Is. xii.) Psalm 148.

On Tuesday—Psalms 51, 43, 63. Song of Hezekiah. (Is. xxxviii.) Psalm 148.

On Wednesday—Psalms 51, 65, 63. Song of Hannah. (1 Sam. ii.) Psalm 148.

On Thursday—Psalms 51, 90, 63. Song of Moses. (Ex. xv.) Psalm 148.

On Friday—Psalms 51, 143, 63. Song of Habakkuk. (Hab. iii.) Psalm 148.

On Saturday—Psalms 51, 92, 63. Song of Moses. (Deut. xxxii.) Psalm 148.

The Service ends on all days with a Text (Capitulum), a Hymn and a Collect (Oratio), varying with the day and season; the Song of Zacharias (Benedictus) being interposed between the Hymn and Collect, and several stated Collects, Invocations, and Sentences following.

2. PRIME, on the Rising of the Sun.

Verse. "O God, make speed, &c.

Resp. O Lord, make haste, &c. and the *Gloria Patri*," &c. as before.

A Hymn, the same every day in the year. Then four Psalms (except Saturday, when there are three,) viz :

Psalm 54;—

Sunday—Psalm 118, or (sometimes) 93.

Monday—Psalm 24.

Tuesday—Psalm 25.

Wednesday—Psalm 26.

Thursday—Psalm 23.

Friday—Psalm 22.

Saturday—Psalm is omitted.

Then throughout the week,—

Psalm 119, v. 1.—32. in two parts.

Then, on *Saturday* only, follows the Psalm *Quicumque*, commonly called the Athanasian Creed. It is a far truer view of this venerable composition, to consider it a Psalm or Hymn of praise, and of concurrence in God's appointments, as Psalm 118 or 139, or the *Te Deum*, than as a formal Creed; and by using it weekly, its living character and spirit are incorporated into the Christian's devotions. and its influence on the heart, as far as may be, secured. The time, too, should be observed. The dawn of the first day of the week.

The Service concludes with a Text (Capitulum;) with the Lord's Prayer, privately: a Confession of Priest to People, and in turn of People to Priest, and a corresponding Absolution; Sentences; Collect, the Third, for grace in our own Morning Service, a Lesson from the Book of Martyrs; an Invocation of St. Mary and All Saints; Sentences, with the Lord's Prayer, privately; Collect, the Second, at the end of our Communion Service; a Short Lesson; and Sentences.

3. The THIRD (Nine A. M.) 4. SIXTH (noon.) 5. NINTH
(Three P. M.)

"O God, make speed," &c. as before.

A Hymn, the same throughout the year, at the same hours respectively: then,—

*At the Third—*Psalm 119, v. 33—80. in three parts.

*At the Sixth—*Psalm 119, v. 81—128. in three parts.

*At the Ninth—*Psalm 119, v. 129—176. in three parts.

Thus the whole of the 119th Psalm is gone through every day in the year.

Then a Text (Capitulum) and Sentences, with the Lord's Prayer, privately, varying with the time of the year. Then the Collect for the day or week.

6. VESPERS. (*Evening.*)

"O God, make speed," &c. as before; then Five Psalms, viz: on

*Sunday—*Psalms 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, and 115.

*Monday—*Psalms 116, in two parts, 117, 120, 121.

*Tuesday—*Psalms 122, 123, 124, 125, 126.

*Wednesday—*Psalms 127, 128, 129, 130, 131.

*Thursday—*Psalms 132, 133, 135, 136, 137.

*Friday—*Psalms 138, 139, 140, 141, 142.

*Saturday—*Psalms 144, 145, 146, 147, in two parts.

Then on every day a Text (Capitulum,) a Hymn and the Collect, all varying with the day and season; between the Hymn and Collect always is interposed the Magnificat, sometimes with Sentences after it. The service ends, as Lauds, with Collects and Invocations.

7. COMPLINE. (*Bed-time.*)

This Service is almost invariable throughout the year.

It begins with a Blessing for the ensuing night; a Short Lesson; the Confession and Absolution as at Prime; Sentences; then four Psalms, viz:

Psalms 4, 31, down to v. 6. 91. 134.

A Hymn: Text (Capitulum;) Sentences; Song of Simeon (Luke ii. ;) Sentences with the Lord's Prayer and Creed, privately; Collect for safety during the night. The service ends with an Antiphon in praise of the Virgin, and Collect upon it.

To this Sketch of the Services must be added a few words concerning the Antiphons and Benedictions which occur throughout them, but have not been noticed in their places.

The Antiphons or Anthems are sentences preceding and suc-

ceeding the Separate Psalms and Songs, and are ordinarily verses taken from the particular compositions to which they are attached. They seem to answer the purpose of calling attention to what is coming, of interpreting it, or of pointing out the particular part of it which is intended to bear on the Service of the day ; in all respects answering the place of what is called by musicians a key note. They are repeated at the end, as if to fix the impression or the lesson intended.

Antiphons are introduced in other connexions, as before Collects ; such are those, for instance, in the Commemorations of the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles in Vespers and Lauds. Such, too, are the Antiphons to the Blessed Virgin placed at the end of Compline, to which especial attention was above directed (p. 183), on the ground of their objectionable nature. They shall be here given, in order to show clearly, as a simple inspection of them will suffice to do, the utter contrariety between the Roman system, as actually existing, and our own ; which, however similar in certain respects, are in others so at variance, as to make any attempt to reconcile them together in their present state perfectly nugatory. Till Rome moves towards us, it is quite impossible that we should move towards Rome ; however closely we may approximate to her in particular doctrines, principles, or views. In reading the following, it should be recollected, indeed, that Antiphons are not, strictly speaking, Prayers, but Sentences applied to the particular purpose of meditation, thanksgiving, &c. ; yet the following, taken together, are quite beyond the power of any defence which might thence be available for less explicit compositions.

From Advent to the Purification.

Alma Redemptoris Mater quæ	Kindly Mother of the Redeemer,
pervia cœli	who art ever of heaven
Porta manes, et stella maris, succurre cadenti,	The open gate, and the star of the sea, aid a fallen people,
Surgere qui curat, populo ; tu quæ genuisti,	Which is trying to rise again ; thou who didst give birth,
Naturâ mirante, tuum sanctum Genitorem,	While Nature marvelled how, to thy Holy Creator,
Virgo prius ac posterius, Gabrielis ab ore	Virgin both before and after, from Gabriel's mouth,
Sumens illud Ave, peccatorum miserere.	Accepting the All hail, be merciful towards sinners.

From the Purification to Good Friday.

Ave, Regina cœlorum !	Hail, O Queen of the heavens !
Ave, Domina Angelorum !	Hail, Lady of Angels !
Salve radix, salve porta !	Hail, the root ! hail, the gate !
Ex quâ mundo lux est orta.	Whence to the world light is risen.

Gaude, Virgo gloriosa,
Super omnes speciosa ;
Vale, o valde decora,
Et pro nobis Christum exora.

Rejoice, O glorious Virgin,
Beautiful above all ;
Farewell, O thou most comely,
And prevail on Christ for us by
thy prayer.

From Easter to the First Week complete after Pentecost.

Regina cœli, lætare,
Alleluia.

Rejoice, O queen of heaven,
Hallelujah.

Quia quem meruisti portare,
Alleluia.

For He, whom for thy obedience'
sake thou didst bear,
Hallelujah.

Resurrexit, sicut dixit,
Alleluia.

Is risen, as he said,
Hallelujah.

Ora pro nobis Deum.
Alleluia.

Pray thou God for us.
Hallelujah.

From Trinity tide to Advent.

Salve Regina, mater misericor-
diæ, vita, dulcedo et spes nostra,
salve. Ad te clamamus exules,
filii Hevæ. Ad te suspiramus,
geméntes et flentes in hac lachry-
marum valle. Eja ergo advocata
nostra, illos tuos misericordes
oculos ad nos converte, et Jesum
benedictum fructum ventris tui,
nobis post hoc exilium ostende.
O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo
Maria.

Hail O Queen, the mother of
mercy, our life, sweetness, and
hope, hail. To thee we exiles cry
out, the sons of Eve. To thee we
sigh, groaning and weeping in
this valley of tears. Come then
O our Patroness, turn thou on us
those merciful eyes of thine, and
show to us, after this exile, Jesus
the blessed fruit of thy womb. O
gracious, O pitiful, O sweet Vir-
gin Mary.

These Antiphons have already been shown to be of compara-
tively modern origin ; which indeed is sufficiently clear from
their composition, independently of the question of doctrine.
The Absolutions and Benedictions on the other hand seem, from
their doctrinal character, to come from high antiquity. Wheatley
remarks that the precise *indicative* Absolution, such as it occurs
in our Visitation for the Sick, though altogether justifiable and
edifying, did not come into use till the twelfth century ; that
is, about the time of the above innovations in commemorating
the Blessed Virgin. Now, the Absolutions and Benedictions in
the Breviary happen, on the contrary, to be of a remarkably
simple character ; they are uniformly in the shape of *petitions* to
Almighty God, and they include the Minister using them, being
worded in the first, not the second person. Again, in the *quasi*
Absolution, after the stated Confession at Prime and Compline,
it is to be noticed, that the People absolve the Priest, before,
and in the same words in which, the Priest absolves the People,

as if vindicating to the *body* of Christians that sacramental power, (whatever may be its degree,) which might have seemed inconsistent with the special stress laid by Romanism on Sacerdotal gifts. An Absolution occurs in each Nocturn between the Psalms and Lessons : a short Benediction is pronounced before the reading of each of the latter, being first asked for by the Reader.

§ 2. SERVICE FOR SUNDAY, JUNE 21, 1801.

Fourth Sunday after Pentecost.

1. MATIN SERVICE.

O LORD, open Thou my lips.

And my mouth shall shew forth Thy praise.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be, &c. Amen.

Praise ye the Lord. (Hallelujah.)

(a) *Invitatory.* Let us worship the Lord : our Maker.
Let us worship, &c.

Psalm 95. O come, let us sing unto the Lord ; let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation.

Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving : and shew ourselves glad in him with psalms.

Let us worship the Lord our Maker.

For the Lord is a great God : and a great King above all gods.

In his hand are all the corners of the earth : and the strength of the hills is his also.

Our Maker.

The sea is his, and he made it : and his hands prepared the dry land.

O come, let us worship and fall down : and kneel before the Lord our Maker ;

For he is the Lord our God : and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand.

Let us worship the Lord our Maker.

To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts : as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness.

When your fathers tempted me : proved me, and saw my works.

Our Maker.

Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said : It is a people that do err in their hearts ; for they have not known my ways.

Unto whom I swear in my wrath ; that they should not enter into my rest.

Let us worship the Lord our Maker.

Glory be, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c. *Amen.*

Our Maker.

Let us worship the Lord our Maker.

(b.) *Hymn.*

Let us arise, and watch by night,

And meditate always ;

[*Nocte Surgentes.*]

And chant, as in our Maker's sight,

United hymns of praise.

So, singing with the Saints in bliss,

With them we may attain

Life everlasting after this,

And heaven for earthly pain.

Grant it to us, O Father, Son,

And Spirit, God of grace,

To whom all worship shall be done

In every time and place. *Amen.*

NOCTURN I.

(c.) *Antiphon.* Serve ye the Lord.

Psalm 1. (1) Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners ; and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful ;

But his delight is in the law of the Lord : and in his law will he exercise himself day and night.

And he shall be like a tree planted by the water-side : that will bring forth his fruit in due season.

His leaf also shall not wither : and look, whatsoever he doeth, it shall prosper.

As for the ungodly, it is not so with them : but they are like the chaff, which the wind scattereth away from the face of the earth.

Therefore the ungodly shall not be able to stand in the judgment : neither the sinners in the congregation of the righteous.

But the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous : and the way of the ungodly shall perish. *Glory be, &c.*

Psalm 2. (2) Why do the heathen so furiously rage together : and why do the people imagine a vain thing ?

The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together : against the Lord, and against his Anointed.

Let us break their bonds asunder : and cast away their cords from us.

He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn : the Lord shall have them in derision.

Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath : and vex them in his sore displeasure.

Yet have I set my King: upon my holy hill of Sion.

I will preach the law, whereof the Lord hath said unto me;
Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

Desire of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance: and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession.

Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron: and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.

Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be learned, ye that are judges of the earth.

Serve the Lord in fear: and rejoice unto him with reverence.

Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and so ye perish from the right way: if his wrath be kindled, (yea, but a little) blessed are all they that put their trust in him. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 3. (3) Lord, how are they increased that trouble me: many are they that rise against me.

Many one there be that say of my soul: There is no help for him in his God.

But thou, O Lord, art my defender: thou art my worship, and the lifter up of my head.

I did call upon the Lord with my voice: and he heard me out of his holy hill.

I laid me down and slept, and rose up again: for the Lord sustained me.

I will not be afraid for ten thousands of the people: that have set themselves against me round about.

Up, Lord, and help me, O my God: for thou smitest all mine enemies upon the cheek-bone; thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly.

Salvation belongeth unto the Lord: and thy blessing is upon thy people. Glory be, &c,

Psalm 6. (4) O Lord, rebuke me not in thine indignation; neither chasten me in thy displeasure.

Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak; O Lord, heal me, for my bones are vexed.

My soul also is sore troubled: but, Lord, how long wilt thou punish me?

Turn thee, O Lord, and deliver my soul: O save me for thy mercies' sake.

For in death no man remembereth thee: and who will give thee thanks in the pit.

I am weary of my groaning; every night wash I my bed: and water my couch with my tears.

My beauty is gone for very trouble: and worn away because of all mine enemies.

Away from me, all ye that work vanity: for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping.

The Lord hath heard my petition; the Lord will receive my prayer.

All mine enemies shall be confounded, and sore vexed: they shall be turned back, and put to shame suddenly. Glory be, &c.

(c.) *Antiphon.* Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto him with reverence.

(d.) *Antiphon.* God is a righteous judge.

Psalm 7. (5) O Lord my God, in thee have I put my trust : save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me

Lest he devour my soul like a lion, and tear it in pieces : while there is none to help.

O Lord my God, if I have done any such thing : or if there be any wickedness in my hands ;

If I have rewarded evil unto him that dealt friendly with me : yea, I have delivered him that without any cause is mine enemy ;

Then let mine enemy persecute my soul, and take me : yea, let him tread my life down upon the earth, and lay mine honour in the dust.

Stand up, O Lord, in thy wrath, and lift up thyself, because of the indignation of mine enemies : arise up for me in the judgment that thou hast commanded.

And so shall the congregation of the people come about thee : for their sakes therefore lift up thyself again.

The Lord shall judge the people ; give sentence with me, O Lord : according to my righteousness, and according to the innocency that is in me.

O let the wickedness of the ungodly come to an end : but guide thou the just.

For the righteous God : trieth the very hearts and reins.

My help cometh of God : who preserveth them that are true of heart.

God is a righteous judge, strong and patient : and God is provoked every day.

If a man will not turn, he will whet his sword : he hath bent his bow, and made it ready.

He hath prepared for him the instruments of death : he ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors.

Behold, he travelleth with mischief : he hath conceived sorrow, and brought forth ungodliness.

He hath graven and digged up a pit : and is fallen himself into the destruction that he made for other.

For his travail shall come upon his own head : and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate.

I will give thanks unto the Lord, according to his righteousness ; and I will praise the name of the Lord most High. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 8. (6) O Lord our Governor, how excellent is thy Name in all the world : thou that hast set thy glory above the heavens !

Out of the mouth of very babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies : that thou mightest still the enemy, and the avenger.

For I will consider thy heavens, even the works of thy fingers : the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained.

What is man, that thou art mindful of him : and the son of man, that thou visitest him ?

Thou madest him lower than the angels; to crown him with glory and worship.

Thou makest him to have dominion of the works of thy hands: and thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet;

All sheep and oxen; yea, and the beasts of the field;

The fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea: and whatsoever walketh through the paths of the seas.

O Lord our Governor: how excellent is thy Name in all the world! Glory be, &c.

Psalms 9 & 10. (7) I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, with my whole heart: I will speak of all thy marvellous works.

I will be glad and rejoice in thee: yea, my songs will I make of thy name, O thou most Highest.

While mine enemies are driven back: they shall fall and perish at thy presence.

For thou hast maintained my right and my cause: thou art set in the throne that judgest right.

Thou hast rebuked the heathen, and destroyed the ungodly: thou hast put out their name for ever and ever.

O thou enemy, destructions are come to a perpetual end: even as the cities which thou hast destroyed; their memorial is perished with them.

But the Lord shall endure for ever: he hath also prepared his seat for judgment.

For he shall judge the world in righteousness: and minister true judgment unto the people.

The Lord also will be a defence for the oppressed: even a refuge in due time of trouble.

And they that know thy Name will put their trust in thee: for thou, Lord, hast never failed them that seek thee.

O praise the Lord which dwelleth in Sion: shew the people of his doings.

For when he maketh inquisition for blood, he remembereth them: and forgetteth not the complaint of the poor.

Have mercy upon me, O Lord; consider the trouble which I suffer of them that hate me: thou that liftest me up from the gates of death.

That I may show all thy praises within the ports of the daughter of Sion: I will rejoice in thy salvation.

The heathen are sunk down in the pit that they made: in the same net which they hid privily, is their foot taken.

The Lord is known to execute judgment: the ungodly is trapped in the work of his own hands.

The wicked shall be turned into hell: and all the people that forget God.

For the poor shall not alway be forgotten: the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever.

Up, Lord, and let not man have the upper hand: let the heathen be judged in thy sight.

Put them in fear, O Lord: that the heathen may know themselves to be but men.

Why standest thou so far off, O Lord : and hidest thy face in the needful time of trouble ?

The ungodly for his own lust doth persecute the poor : let them be taken in the crafty wiliness that they have imagined.

For the ungodly hath made boast of his own heart's desire : and speaketh good of the covetous, whom God abhorreth.

The ungodly is so proud, that he careth not for God : neither is God in all his thoughts.

His ways are always grievous : thy judgments are far above out of his sight, and therefore defieth he all his enemies.

For he hath said in his heart, 'Tush, I shall never be cast down : there shall no harm happen unto me.

His mouth is full of cursing, deceit, and fraud : under his tongue is ungodliness and vanity.

He sitteth lurking in the thievish corners of the streets : and privily in his lurking dens doth he murder the innocent : his eyes are set against the poor.

For he lieth waiting secretly, even as a lion lurketh he in his den : that he may ravish the poor.

He doth ravish the poor : when he getteth him into his net.

He falleth down, and humbleth himself : that the congregation of the poor may fall into the hands of his captains.

He hath said in his heart, 'Tush, God hath forgotten : he hideth away his face, and he will never see it.

Arise, O Lord God, and lift up thine hand : forget not the poor.

Wherefore should the wicked blaspheme God : while he doth say in heart, 'Tush, thou God carest not for it.

Surely thou hast seen it : for thou beholdest ungodliness and wrong.

That thou mayest take the matter into thy hand : the poor committeth himself unto thee ; for thou art the helper of the friendless.

Break thou the power of the ungodly and malicious : take away his ungodliness, and thou shalt find none.

The Lord is King for ever and ever : and the heathen are perished out of the land.

Lord, thou hast heard the desire of the poor : thou preparest their heart, and thine ear hearkeneth thereto.

To help the fatherless and poor unto their right : that the man of the earth be no more exalted against them. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 11. (8) In the Lord put I my trust : how say ye then to my soul, that she should flee as a bird unto the hill ?

For lo, the ungodly bend their bow, and make ready their arrows within the quiver : that they may privily shoot at them which are true of heart.

For the foundations will be cast down : and what hath the righteous done ?

The Lord is in his holy temple : the Lord's seat is in heaven.

His eyes consider the poor : and his eyelids try the children of men.

The Lord alloweth the righteous : but the ungodly, and him that delighteth in wickedness, doth his soul abhor.

Upon the ungodly he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, storm and tempest : this shall be their portion to drink.

For the righteous Lord loveth righteousness : his countenance will behold the thing that is just. Glory be, &c.

(d) *Antiphon.* God is a righteous judge, strong and patient : shall God be angry every day ?

(e) *Antiphon.* Thou shalt keep them, O Lord.

Psalm 12. (9) Help me, Lord, for there is not one godly man left : for the faithful are diminished from among the children of men.

They talk of vanity every one with his neighbour : they do but flatter with their lips, and dissemble in their double heart.

The Lord shall root out all deceitful lips : and the tongue that speaketh proud things.

Which have said, with our tongue will we prevail : we are they that ought to speak ; who is Lord over us ?

Now for the comfortless troubles' sake of the needy : and because of the deep sighing of the poor ;

I will up, saith the Lord : and will help every one from him that swelleth against him, and will set him at rest.

The words of the Lord are pure words : even as the silver which from the earth is tried, and purified seven times in the fire.

Thou shalt keep them, O Lord : thou shalt preserve him from this generation for ever.

The ungodly walk on every side : when they are exalted, the children of men are put to rebuke. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 13. (10) How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord, for ever : how long wilt thou hide thy face from me ?

How long shall I seek counsel in my soul, and be so vexed in my heart : how long shall mine enemies triumph over me ?

Consider and hear me, O Lord my God : lighten mine eyes that I sleep not in death ;

Lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him : for if I be cast down, they that trouble me will rejoice at it.

But my trust is in thy mercy : and my heart is joyful in thy salvation.

I will sing of the Lord, because he hath dealt so lovingly with me : yea, I will praise the Name of the Lord most Highest. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 14. (11) The fool hath said in his heart : There is no God.

They are corrupt, and become abominable in their doings : there is none that doeth good, no, not one.

The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men : to see if there were any that would understand, and seek after God.

But they are all gone out of the way, they are altogether become abominable : there is none that doeth good, no, not one.

Their throat is an open sepulchre ; with their tongues have they deceived : the poison of asps is under their lips.

Their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood.

Destruction and unhappiness is in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes.

Have they no knowledge, that they are all such workers of mischief: eating up my people as it were bread, and call not upon the Lord?

There were they brought in great fear, even where no fear was: for God is in the generation of the righteous.

As for you, ye have made a mock at the counsel of the poor: because he putteth his trust in the Lord.

Who shall give salvation unto Israel out of Sion! when the Lord turneth the captivity of his people: then shall Jacob rejoice, and Israel shall be glad. *Glory be, &c.*

Psalm 15. (12) Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle: or who shall rest upon thy holy hill?

Even he that leadeth an uncorrupt life: and doeth the thing which is right, and speaketh the truth from his heart.

He that hath used no deceit in his tongue, nor done evil to his neighbour: and hath not slandered his neighbour.

He that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his own eyes; and maketh much of them that fear the Lord.

He that sweareth unto his neighbour, and disappointeth him not: though it were to his own hindrance.

He that hath not given his money upon usury: nor taken reward against the innocent.

Whoso doeth these things shall never fall. *Glory be, &c.*

(e) *Antiphon.* Thou shalt keep them, O Lord: thou shalt preserve him.

(f) *Verse and Response.* I have thought upon thy Name, O Lord, in the night season.

And have kept thy law.

The Lord's Prayer. (Privately till the last two petitions.) Our Father, &c.
And lead us not into temptation,
But deliver us from evil.

Absolution. O Lord Jesu Christ, hear the prayers of thy servants, and have mercy upon us, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest world without end. *Amen.*

[Jube, Domine, benedicere.] *Reader.*—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 1. Minister.—The Father everlasting, bless us with a perpetual blessing. *Amen.*

Lesson 1. 1 Sam. xvii. 1—7. Now the Philistines gathered together their armies to battle, and were gathered together at Shochoh, which *belongeth* to Judah, and pitched between Shochoh and Azekah, in Ephesdammim.

And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together and pitched by the valley of Elah, and set the battle in array against the Philistines.

And the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side : and *there was* a valley between them.

And there went out a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath, of Gath, whose height *was* six cubits and a span.

And *he had* an helmet of brass upon his head, and he *was* armed with a coat of mail ; and the weight of the coat *was* five thousand shekels of brass.

And *he had* greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders.

And the staff of his spear *was* like a weaver's beam ; and his spear's head *weighed* six hundred shekels of iron : and one bearing a shield went before him.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 1. Prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve Him only ; and He will deliver you out of the hand of the Philistines.

If ye do return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the strange gods from among you.

And He will deliver you out of the hands of the Philistines.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 2. Minister.—The only-begotten Son of God, vouchsafe to bless and succour us. *Amen.*

Lesson 2. 1 Sam. xvii. 8—11. And he stood and cried unto the armies of Israel, and said unto them, Why are ye come out to set *your* battle in array ? *am* not I a Philistine, and ye servants to Saul ? choose you a man for you, and let him come down to me.

If he be able to fight with me, and to kill me, then will we be your servants : but if I prevail against him, and kill him, then shall ye be our servants, and serve us.

And the Philistine said, I defy the armies of Israel this day : give me a man that we may fight together.

When Saul and all Israel heard those words of the Philistine, they were dismayed, and greatly afraid.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 2. God is the avenger of all men. He hath sent His angel, and taken me from my Father's sheep ; and hath anointed me with the oil of His mercy.

The Lord hath delivered me out of the mouth of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear.

And hath anointed me with the oil of His mercy.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

The Benediction. 3. Minister.—The grace of the Holy Ghost illuminate our minds and hearts. *Amen.*

Lesson 3. 1 Sam. xvii. 12—16. Now David *was* the son of that Ephrathite of Beth-lehem-judah, whose name *was* Jesse; and he had eight sons: and the man went among men *for* an old man in the days of Saul.

And the three eldest sons of Jesse went, *and* followed Saul to the battle: and the *names* of his three sons that went to the battle *were* Eliab the first-born; and next unto him, Abinadab; and the third, Shammah.

And David *was* the youngest; and the three eldest followed Saul.

But David went and returned from Saul, to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem.

And the Philistine drew near, morning and evening, and presented himself forty days.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 3. The Lord, who delivered me out of the mouth of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, He shall deliver me from the hands of mine enemies.

God hath sent forth His mercy and truth; my soul is among lions.

He shall deliver me from the hands of mine enemies.

Glory be, &c.

He shall deliver me from the hands of mine enemies.

NOCTURN II.

(g) *Antiphon.* My goods.

Psalm 16. (13) Preserve me, O God: for in thee I have put my trust.

O my soul, thou hast said unto the Lord: thou art my God, my goods are nothing unto thee.

All my delight is upon the saints, that are in the earth: and upon such as excel in virtue.

But they that run after another god: shall have great trouble.

Their drink-offerings of blood will I not offer: neither make mention of their names within my lips.

The Lord himself is the portion of mine inheritance, and of my cup: thou shalt maintain my lot.

The lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground: yea, I have a goodly heritage.

I will thank the Lord for giving me warning: my reins also chasten me in the night-season.

I have set God always before me: for he is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall.

Wherefore my heart was glad, and my glory rejoiced: my flesh also shall rest in hope.

For why? thou shalt not leave my soul in hell: neither shalt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption.

Thou shalt show me the path of life; in thy presence is the fullness of joy: and at thy right hand there is pleasure for evermore. Glory be, &c.

(g) *Antiphon.* My goods are nothing unto Thee; in Thee have I put my trust, preserve me, O God.

(h) *Antiphon.* Because of the words of Thy lips.

Psalm 17. (14) Hear the right, O Lord, consider my complaint: and hearken unto my prayer, that goeth not out of feigned lips.

Let my sentence come forth from thy presence; and let thine eyes look upon the thing that is equal.

Thou hast proved and visited mine heart in the night season; thou hast tried me, and shalt find no wickedness in me: for I am utterly purposed that my mouth shall not offend.

Because of men's works that are done against the words of thy lips: I have kept me from the ways of the destroyer.

O hold thou up my goings in thy paths: that my footsteps slip not.

I have called upon thee, O God, for thou shalt hear me: incline thine ear to me, and hearken unto my words.

Show thy marvellous loving-kindness, thou that art the Saviour of them which put their trust in thee; from such as resist thy right hand.

Keep me as the apple of an eye: hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

From the ungodly that trouble me: mine enemies compass me round about to take away my soul.

They are inclosed in their own fat: and their mouth speaketh proud things.

They lie waiting in our way on every side: turning their eyes down to the ground;

Like as a lion that is greedy of his prey: and as it were a lion's whelp lurking in secret places.

Up, Lord, disappoint him, and cast him down: deliver my soul from the ungodly, which is a sword of thine;

From the men of thy hand, O Lord, from the men, I say, and from the evil world: which have their portion in this life, whose bellies thou fillest with thy hid treasure.

They have children at their desire: and leave the rest of their substance for their babes.

But as for me, I will behold thy presence in righteousness: and when I awake up after thy likeness, I shall be satisfied with it. Glory be, &c.

(h) *Antiphon.* Because of the words of Thy lips, I have kept me from the ways of the destroyer.

(i) *Antiphon.* I will love Thee.

Psalm 18. (15) . . . O Lord, my strength ; the Lord is my stony rock, and my defence : my Saviour, my God, and my might, in whom I will trust : my buckler, the horn also of my salvation, and my refuge.

I will call upon the Lord, which is worthy to be praised : so shall I be safe from mine enemies.

The sorrows of death compassed me : and the overflowings of godliness made me afraid.

The pains of hell came about me : the snares of death overtook me.

In my trouble I will call upon the Lord : and complain unto my God.

So shall he hear my voice out of his holy temple : and my complaint shall come before him, it shall enter even into his ears.

The earth trembled and quaked : the very foundations also of the hills shook, and were removed, because he was wroth.

There went a smoke out in his presence ; and a consuming fire out of his mouth, so that coals were kindled at it.

He bowed the heavens also, and came down : and it was dark under his feet.

He rode upon the cherubims, and did fly : he came flying upon the wings of the wind.

He made darkness his secret place : his pavilion round about him with dark water, and thick clouds to cover him.

At the brightness of his presence his clouds removed : hail-stones, and coals of fire.

The Lord also thundered out of heaven, and the Highest gave his thunder : hail-stones, and coals of fire.

He sent out his arrows, and scattered them : he cast forth lightnings, and destroyed them.

The springs of waters were seen, and the foundations of the round world were discovered, at thy chiding, O Lord ; at the blasting of the breath of thy displeasure.

He shall send down from on high to fetch me : and shall take me out of many waters.

He shall deliver me from my strongest enemy, and from them which hate me : for they are too mighty for me.

They prevented me in the day of my trouble : but the Lord was my upholder.

He brought me forth also into a place of liberty : he brought me forth, even because he had a favour unto me.

The Lord shall reward me after my righteous dealing : according to the cleanness of my hands shall he recompense me.

Because I have kept the ways of the Lord : and have not forsaken my God, as the wicked doeth.

For I have an eye unto all his laws : and will not cast out his commandments from me.

I was also uncorrupt before him : and eschewed mine own wickedness.

Therefore shall the Lord reward me after my righteous dealing : and according unto the cleanness of my hands in his eye-sight.

With the holy thou shalt be holy : and with a perfect man thou shalt be perfect.

With the clean thou shalt be clean ; and with the froward thou shalt learn frowardness.

For thou shalt save the people that are in adversity : and shalt bring down the high looks of the proud.

Thou also shalt light my candle : the Lord my God shall make my darkness to be light.

For in thee I shall discomfit an host of men : and with the help of my God I shall leap over the wall.

The way of God is an undefiled way : the word of the Lord also is tried in the fire ; he is the defender of all them that put their trust in him.

For who is God, but the Lord : or who hath any strength, except our God ?

It is God that girdeth me with strength of war ; and maketh my way perfect.

He maketh my feet like harts' feet : and setteth me up on high.

He teacheth mine hands to fight : and mine arms shall break even a bow of steel.

Thou hast given me the defence of thy salvation : thy right hand also shall hold me up, and thy loving correction shall make me great.

Thou shalt make room enough under me for to go : that my footsteps shall not slide.

I will follow upon mine enemies, and overtake them : neither will I turn again till I have destroyed them.

I will smite them, that they shall not be able to stand : but fall under my feet.

Thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle : thou shalt throw down mine enemies under me.

Thou hast made mine enemies also to turn their backs upon me : and I shall destroy them that hate me.

They shall cry, but there shall be none to help them : yea, even unto the Lord shall they cry, but he shall not hear them.

I will beat them as small as the dust before the wind : I will cast them out as the clay in the streets.

Thou shalt deliver me from the strivings of the people : and thou shalt make me the head of the heathen.

A people whom I have not known : shall serve me.

As soon as they hear of me, they shall obey me : but the strange children shall dissemble with me.

The strange children shall fail : and be afraid out of their prisons.

The Lord liveth, and blessed be my strong helper : and praised be the God of my salvation.

Even the God that seeth that I be avenged : and subdueth the people unto me.

It is he that delivereth me from my cruel enemies, and setteth me up above mine adversaries : thou shalt rid me from the wicked man.

For this cause will I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the Gentiles: and sing praises unto thy Name.

Great prosperity giveth he unto his king: and sheweth loving-kindness unto David his Anointed, and unto his seed for evermore. Glory be, &c.

(i) *Antiphon.* I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength.

(i) *Verse and* Thou also, O Lord, shalt light my candle.

Response. The Lord my God shall make my darkness to be light.

The Lord's Prayer. (Privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 2. His pity and mercy succour us, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth world without end. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 4. Minister.—God the Father Almighty, be favourable and gracious to us. *Amen.*

Lesson 4. (Sermon of St. Augustin, Bishop.) The children of Israel presented themselves against their adversaries forty days. Which signifieth the present world having four seasons and four parts of the earth, and in which the Christian people ceaseth not to war against Goliath and his host, that is, with the devil and his angels. Yet they could not conquer, except that Christ, the true David, had descended with his staff, even the mystery of His Cross. For before the coming of Christ, dearly beloved brethren, the devil was at liberty; but when Christ came, He did towards him what the Gospel speaketh of, "No man can enter into a strong man's house and spoil his goods, unless first he bind the strong man." Christ therefore came, and bound the devil.

Thou then, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 4. Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands; for the hand of the Lord was with him, and he slew the Philistines, and took away the reproach from Israel.

Is not this he of whom they sang in the dance, saying Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands.

For the hand of the Lord was with him, and he slew the Philistines, and took away the reproach from Israel.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 5. Minister.—Christ grant to us the joys of endless life. *Amen.*

Lesson 5. (Sermon continued.) But some one will say, If the devil be bound, how hath he still such dominion? It is true, dearly beloved, that he had much dominion, but it is over the lukewarm and careless,

and those who fear not the Lord in truth. For he is bound, as a dog that is chained, able to bite none but such as are led by a fatal recklessness to close with him. Ye know, my brethren, the foolishness of him whom a chained dog biteth. Only beware thou of closing with him in the likings and lusts of this world, and he will not dare to come to thee. He can bark, he can vex; he can in no wise bite except those that be willing. Not his violence, but his blandishments, hurt us; he doth not extort, he winneth our consent.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 5. Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you; for there the mighty men of Israel are fallen.

All ye mountains which are in his border, the Lord shall visit you, and ye shall pass from Gilboa.

For there the mighty men of Israel are fallen.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 6. Minister.—God kindle the fire of his love in our hearts.

Amen.

Lesson 6. (Sermon continued.) Therefore David came, and found the Jewish people fighting against the devil; and when there was no one to undertake the single combat, he, bearing the figure of Christ, proceeded to the battle, with a staff in his hand, and went out against Goliath. And then was shadowed out in him, what was fulfilled in the Lord Jesus Christ. For Christ, the true David, came, who, being to fight against the spiritual Goliath, that is, the devil, bare his own Cross. Ye see, my brethren, where David struck the Philistine, in the forehead, which had not been signed by the sign of the Cross. For as the staff was a type of the Cross, so also the stone wherewith he was struck, was a type of the Lord Christ.

Thou therefore, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 6. I took thee from the sheepcote, saith the Lord, to be Shepherd over my people, and I was with thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies out of thy sight.

And I have made thee a great name, like unto the name of the great men that are in the earth, and have caused thee to rest from all thine enemies.

And I was with thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies out of Thy sight.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

And I was with thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies out of Thy sight.

NOCTURN III.

(k) *Antiphon.* There is no speech.

Psalm 19. (16) The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handy-work.

One day telleth another: and one night certifieth another.

There is neither speech nor language: but their voices are heard among them.

Their sound is gone out into all lands: and their words into the ends of the world.

In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun: which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a giant to run his course.

It goeth from the uttermost part of the heaven, and runneth about unto the end of it again: and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.

The law of the Lord is an undefiled law, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple.

The statutes of the Lord are right, and rejoice the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth light unto the eyes.

The fear of the Lord is clean, and endureth forever: the judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether.

More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold: sweeter also than honey, and the honeycomb.

Moreover by them is thy servant taught: and in keeping of them there is great reward.

Who can tell how oft he offendeth: O cleanse thou me from my secret faults!

Keep thy servant also from presumptuous sins, lest they get the dominion over me: so shall I be undefiled, and innocent from the great offence.

Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart: be always acceptable in thy sight.

O Lord: my strength, and my redeemer. Glory be, &c.

(k) *Antiphon.* There is neither speech nor language, but their voices are heard among them.

(l) *Antiphon.* The Lord hear thee.

Psalm 20. (17) in the day of trouble: the Name of the God of Jacob defend thee.

Send thee help from the sanctuary: and strengthen thee out of Sion.

Remember all thy offerings: and accept thy burnt sacrifice.

Grant thee thy heart's desire: and fulfil all thy mind.

We will rejoice in thy salvation, and triumph in the Name of the Lord our God: the Lord perform all thy petitions.

Now know I that the Lord helpeth his Anointed, and will hear

him from his holy heaven : even with the wholesome strength of his right hand.

Some put their trust in chariots, and some in horses : but we will remember the Name of the Lord our God.

They are brought down, and fallen : but we are risen, and stand upright.

Save, Lord, and hear us, O King of heaven : when we call upon thee. Glory be, &c.

(l) *Antiphon.* The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble.

(m) *Antiphon.* The King.

Psalm 21. (18) shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord : exceeding glad shall he be of thy salvation.

Thou hast given him his heart's desire : and hast not denied him the request of his lips.

For thou shalt prevent him with the blessings of goodness : and shalt set a crown of pure gold upon his head.

He asked life of thee, and thou gavest him a long life : even for ever and ever.

His honour is great in thy salvation : glory and great worship shalt thou lay upon him.

For thou shalt give him everlasting felicity : and make him glad with the joy of thy countenance.

And why ? because the king putteth his trust in the Lord : and in the mercy of the Most Highest he shall not miscarry.

All thine enemies shall feel thy hand : thy right hand shall find out them that hate thee.

Thou shalt make them like a fiery oven in time of thy wrath : the Lord shall destroy them in his displeasure, and the fire shall consume them.

Their fruit shalt thou root out of the earth : and their seed from among the children of men.

For they intended mischief against thee : and imagined such a device as they are not able to perform.

Therefore shalt thou put them to flight : and the strings of thy bow shalt thou make ready against the face of them.

Be thou exalted, Lord, in thine own strength : so will we sing, and praise thy power. Glory be, &c.

(m) *Antiphon.* The King shall rejoice in Thy strength, O Lord.

(n) *Verse and Response.* Be Thou exalted, Lord, in thine own strength.
So will we sing and praise Thy power.

The Lord's Prayer. (Privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation,

But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 3. The Almighty and merciful Lord absolve us from the bonds of our sins. Amen.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 7. Minister.—The reading of the Gospel be to us salvation and defence. *Amen.*

Lesson 7. (Luke v.) At that time, as the people pressed upon Jesus to hear the word of God, he stood by the lake of Gennesareth.

And saw two ships standing by the lake; but the fishermen were gone out of them, and were washing their nets.

And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land. And he sat down and taught the people out of the ship.

Now when he had left speaking, He said unto Simon, Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught.

And Simon answering, said unto him, Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing: nevertheless, at thy word I will let down the net.

And when they had this done, they enclosed a great multitude of fishes: and their net brake.

And they beckoned unto *their* partners which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. And they came, and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink.

When Simon Peter saw *it*, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord, &c.

Homily of St. Ambrose, Bishop. When the Lord wrought His various kinds of healing among many, the multitude could not be restrained, either by time or place, from their eagerness to be healed. The evening fell on them; they followed. The water met them; they pressed on. Therefore he entered into the ship of Peter. This is that ship, which according to St. Matthew ever tosseth, according to St. Luke is filled with fishes, as an emblem of the Church labouring in its beginning, overflowing in its latter time; for by fishes are meant those who escape the surge of this life. Christ still sleeps in the one amid His disciples, and still directs them in the other; for He sleeps to the fearful, but He watches over the perfect.

Thou then, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 7. My transgressions are more in number than the sands of the sea, and my sins have multiplied; and I am not worthy to look up to the height of heaven for the multitude of mine iniquities, for I have provoked Thine anger; and done evil in Thy sight.

For I acknowledge my faults, and my sin is ever before thee, for against Thee only have I sinned.

And done evil in Thy sight.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 8. Minister.—The help of God abide with us for ever. *Amen.*

Lesson 8. (Homily continued.) No distress befalls this ship, in which

wisdom is pilot, misbelief is unknown, faith fills the sails. For how can she be in distress, being governed by Him who is the very stay of the Church? Therefore distress is only there where there is scanty faith; where love is perfect, there is security. Though others were told to let down their nets, to Peter alone He said, Launch out into the deep, that is, the depth of contemplation. For what is so deep as to see the depth of His riches, to know the Son of God, to confess His Divine Generation? Which, though man's understanding cannot compass fully by searching out, the full assurance of faith embraceth.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 8 (used on the Sundays after Trinity.) The two Seraphims cried one to the other, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts; all the earth is full of His glory.

There are Three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these Three are One.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, all the earth is full of His glory.

Glorify be, &c.

All the earth is full of His glory.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 9. Minister.—The King of Angels lead us on to the society of the inhabitants of heaven. *Amen.*

Lesson 9. (Homily continued.) For though I may not know how He was born, yet I may not be ignorant that He was born. The mode of His generation I know not, the Author of it I confess. We were not witnesses of it, but we are witnesses of its revelation. If we believe not God, whom shall we believe? For all belief comes from sight or hearing. Sight is often deceived, hearing is of faith.

Te Deum. We praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship thee: the Father everlasting.

To thee all Angels cry aloud: the Heavens, and all the Powers therein.

To thee Cherubin and Seraphin: continually do cry,

Holy, Holy, Holy: Lord God of Sabaoth;

Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty: of thy Glory.

The glorious company of the Apostles: praise thee.

The goodly fellowship of the Prophets: praise thee.

The noble army of Martyrs: praise thee.

The holy Church throughout all the world: doth acknowledge thee;

The Father: of an infinite Majesty;

Thine honourable, true: and only Son;

Also the Holy Ghost: The Comforter.

Thou art the King of Glory: O Christ.

Thou art the everlasting Son : of the Father.

When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man : thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.

When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death : thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.

Thou sittest at the right hand of God : in the Glory of the Father.

We believe that thou shalt come : to be our Judge.

We therefore pray thee, help thy servants : whom thou hast re-deemed with thy precious blood.

Make them to be numbered with thy Saints : in glory everlasting.

O Lord, save thy people : and bless thine heritage.

Govern them : and lift them up for ever.

Day by day : we magnify thee ;

And we worship thy Name : ever world without end.

Vouchsafe, O Lord : to keep us this day without sin.

O Lord, have mercy upon us : have mercy upon us.

O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us : as our trust is in thee.

O Lord, in thee have I trusted : let me never be confounded.

LAUDS SERVICE.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

(o) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord.

Psalm 93. (1) The Lord is King, and hath put on glorious apparel : the Lord hath put on his apparel, and girded himself with strength.

He hath made the round world so sure : that it cannot be moved.

Ever since the world began, hath thy seat been prepared : thou art from everlasting.

The floods are risen, O Lord, the floods have lift up their voice : the floods lift up their waves.

The waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly : but yet the Lord, who dwelleth on high, is mightier.

Thy testimonies, O Lord, are very sure : holiness becometh thine house for ever. Glory be, &c.

(o) *Ant.*

(p) *Ant.*

Psalm 100. (2.) O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands : serve the Lord with gladness, and come before his presence with a song.

Be ye sure that the Lord he is God : it is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves ; we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture.

O go your way into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise : be thankful unto him, and speak good of his Name.

For the Lord is gracious, his mercy is everlasting : and his truth endureth from generation to generation. Glory be, &c.

(p) *Ant.*

(q) *Ant.*

Psalm 63. and 67. (3) O God, thou art my God : early will I seek thee.

My soul thirsteth for thee : my flesh also longeth after thee : in a barren and dry land, where no water is.

Thus have I looked for thee in holiness : that I might behold thy power and glory.

For thy loving-kindness is better than the life itself : my lips shall praise thee.

As long as I live, will I magnify thee on this manner : and lift up my hands in thy name.

My soul shall be satisfied, even as it were with marrow and fatness ; when my mouth praiseth thee with joyful lips.

Have I not remembered thee in my bed : and thought upon thee when I was waking ?

Because thou hast been my helper : therefore under the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice.

My soul hangeth upon thee : thy right hand hath upholden me.

These also that seek the hurt of my soul : they shall go under the earth.

Let them fall upon the edge of the sword : that they may be a portion for foxes.

But the King shall rejoice in God ; all they also that swear by him, shall be commended ; for the mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped.

God be merciful unto us, and bless us : and shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us.

That thy way may be known upon earth : thy saving health among all nations.

Let the people praise thee, O God : yea, let all the people praise thee.

O let the nations rejoice and be glad : for thou shalt judge the folk righteously, and govern the nations upon earth.

Let the people praise thee, O God : let all the people praise thee.

Then shall the earth bring forth her increase ; and God, even our own God, shall give us his blessing.

God shall bless us : and all the ends of the world shall fear him. Glory be, &c.

(q) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord. Praise ye the Lord.

(r) *Antiphon.* The three children.

Song of the Three Children. (4) O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Heavens, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Waters, that be above the firmament, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O all ye Powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Sun and Moon, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Stars of Heaven, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Showers and Dew, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Winds of God, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Fire and Heat, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Winter and Summer, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Dews and Frosts, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Frost and Cold, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Ice and Snow, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Nights and Days, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Light and Darkness, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Lightnings and Clouds, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O let the Earth bless the Lord : yea, let it praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Mountains and Hills, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O all ye Green Things upon the Earth, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Wells, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Seas and Floods, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Whales, and all that move in the waters, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O all ye Fowls of the air, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O all ye Beasts and Cattle, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye children of Men, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O let Israel bless the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Priests of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Spirits and Souls of the Righteous, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye holy and humble Men of heart, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord : praise him, and magnify him for ever.

- (r) *Antiphon.* The three children, by command of the King, were thrown into the furnace, not fearing the flame of the fire, but saying, Blessed be God.

- (s) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord.

Psalm 148, 149, and 150. (5) O praise the Lord of heaven : praise him in the height.

Praise him, all ye angels of his : praise him, all his host.

Praise him, sun and moon ; praise him, all ye stars and light.

Praise him, all ye heavens : and ye waters that are above the heavens.

Let them praise the Name of the Lord : for he spake the word, and they were made ; he commanded, and they were created.

He hath made them fast for ever and ever : he hath given them a law, which shall not be broken.

Praise the Lord upon earth : ye dragons, and all deeps ;

Fire and hail, snow and vapours : wind and storm fulfilling his word.

Mountains and all hills : fruitful trees and all cedars ;

Beasts and all cattle : worms and feathered fowl ;

Kings of the earth and all people : princes and all judges of the world ;

Young men and maidens, old men and children, praise the Name of the Lord : for his Name only is excellent, and his praise above heaven and earth.

He shall exalt the horn of his people ; all his saints shall praise him : even the children of Israel, even the people that serveth him.

O sing unto the Lord a new song : let the congregation of saints praise him.

Let Israel rejoice in him that made him : and let the children of Sion be joyful in their king.

Let them praise his Name in the dance : let them sing praises unto him with tabret and harp.

For the Lord hath pleasure in his people : and helpeth the meek-hearted.

Let the saints be joyful with glory : let them rejoice in their beds.

Let the praises of God be in their mouth : and a two-edged sword in their hands ;

To be avenged of the heathen : and to rebuke the people ;

To bind their kings in chains : and their nobles with links of iron.

That they may be avenged of them, as it is written: Such honour have all his saints.

O praise God in his holiness: praise him in the firmament of his power.

Praise him in his noble acts: praise him according to his excellent greatness.

Praise him in the sound of the trumpet: praise him upon the lute and harp.

Praise him in the cymbals and dances: praise him upon the strings and pipe.

Praise him upon the well-tuned cymbals: praise him upon the loud cymbals.

Let every thing that hath breath: praise the Lord.

(s) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord. Praise ye the Lord. Praise ye the Lord.

(t) *Text. (Capitulum.)* Rev. vii. 12. *Minister.*—Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Thanks be to God.

(u) *Hymn.* Paler have grown the shades of night,
[Ecce jam noctis.] And nearer draws the day,
Checkering the sky with streaks of light,
Since we began to pray;

To pray for mercy when we sin,
For cleansing and release,
For ghostly safety, and within
For everlasting peace.

Grant this to us, O Father, Son,
And Spirit, God of grace,
To whom all worship shall be done
In every time and place. *Amen.*

(v) *Verse and Response.* The Lord is king, and hath put on glorious apparel.

The Lord hath put on his apparel, and girded Himself with strength.

(w) *Antiphon.* Jesus entered into the ship.

Benedictus. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel: for he hath visited, and redeemed his people:

And hath raised up a mighty salvation for us: in the house of his servant David.

As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets: which have been since the world began;

That we should be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us;

To perform the mercy promised to our forefathers: and to remember his holy covenant.

To perform the oath which he sware to our forefather Abraham :
that he would give us ;

That we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies : might
serve him without fear,

In holiness and righteousness before him : all the days of our
life.

And thou, Child, shall be called the prophet of the Highest : for
thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways ;

To give knowledge of salvation unto his people : for the remis-
sion of their sins,

Through the tender mercy of our God : whereby the Dayspring
from on high hath visited us ;

To give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow
of death : and to guide our feet into the way of peace.

(w) *Antiphon.* Jesus entered into the ship, and when he was set down
He taught the multitudes.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

(x) *Collect (for the day and week.)* Grant to us, Lord, we beseech Thee,
that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by Thy
governance, that Thy church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly
quietness through the Lord. *Amen.*

Antiphon. (The following Commemorations are read at Vespers also.) Holy Ma-
ry, succour the wretched, help the weak-hearted, comfort the
mourners, pray for the people, interpose for the Clergy, intercede
for the devoted females ; let all feel thy assistance, who observe
thy holy commemoration.

Pray for us, Holy Mother of God,

That we may be made worthy of the promise of Christ.

Let us pray.

Collect. Grant, O Lord God, we beseech Thee, that we Thy servants
may ever prosper in perpetual health of body and mind, and by
the glorious intercession of the Blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, may
be delivered from present sadness, and enjoy eternal bliss.

Antiphon. Glorious rulers of the earth, as they loved each other in
this life, so in death they were not divided.

Their sound is gone out into all lands,

And their words unto the ends of the world.

Let us pray.

Collect. O God, who, when thy Apostle Peter walked on the waves,
savedst him from drowning with Thy right hand, and delivered his
fellow Apostle Paul the third day from shipwreck on the open sea,
favourably hear us, and grant that, by the deserts of both of them,
we may obtain everlasting glory.

Antiphon. Give peace in our time, O Lord, because there is none
other that fighteth for us but only Thou, O God.

Peace be within Thy walls.
And plenteousness within Thy palaces.

Let us pray.

Collect. O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, give unto Thy servants that peace which the world cannot give; that both our hearts may be set to obey Thy commandments, and also that by Thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

The Lord be with you
And with thy spirit.

(y) Let us bless the Lord.
Thanks be to God.

(3) May the souls of the faithful, through God's mercy, rest in peace. *Amen.*

2. PRIME SERVICE.

O God, make speed to save me.
O Lord, make haste to help me.
 Glory be, &c. *Amen.* Hallelujah.

(aa) *Hymn.* The star of morn to night succeeds,
 [Jam lucis orto.] We therefore meekly pray,
 May God in all our words and deeds
 Keep us from harm this day.
 May He in love restrain us still
 From tones of strife and words of ill,
 And wrap around and close our eyes
 To earth's absorbing vanities.
 May wrath and thoughts that gender shame
 Ne'er in our breasts abide,
 And painful abstinences tame
 Of wanton flesh the pride:
 So when the weary day is o'er
 And night and stillness come once more,
 Blameless and clean from spot of earth,
 We may repeat, with reverent mirth,
 Praise to the Father, as is meet,
 Praise to the only Son,
 Praise to the Holy Paraclete,
 While endless ages run. *Amen.*

(bb) *Antiphon*, Praise ye the Lord.

Psalm 54. (1) Save me, O God, for thy Name's sake : and avenge me in thy strength.

Hear my prayer, O God : and hearken unto the words of my mouth.

For strangers are risen up against me : and tyrants, which have not God before their eyes, seek after my soul.

Behold, God is my helper : the Lord is with them that uphold my soul.

He shall reward evil unto mine enemies : destroy thou them in thy truth.

An offering of a free heart will I give thee, and praise thy Name, O Lord : because it is so comfortable.

For he hath delivered me out of all my trouble : and mine eye hath seen his desire upon mine enemies. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 118. (2) O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious : because his mercy endureth for ever.

Let Israel now confess, that he is gracious : and that his mercy endureth for ever.

Let the house of Aaron now confess : that his mercy endureth for ever.

Yea, let them now that fear the Lord confess : that his mercy endureth for ever.

I called upon the Lord in trouble : and the Lord heard me at large.

The Lord is on my side : I will not fear what man doeth unto me.

The Lord taketh my part with them that help me : therefore shall I see my desire upon mine enemies.

It is better to trust in the Lord : than to put any confidence in man.

It is better to trust in the Lord : than to put any confidence in princes.

All nations compassed me round about : but in the Name of the Lord will I destroy them.

They kept me in on every side, they kept me in, I say, on every side : but in the Name of the Lord will I destroy them.

They came about me like bees, and are extinct even as the fire among the thorns : for in the name of the Lord I will destroy them.

Thou hast thrust sore at me, that I might fall : but the Lord was my help.

The Lord is my strength, and my song : and is become my salvation.

The voice of joy and health is in the dwellings of the righteous ; the right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass.

The right hand of the Lord hath the pre-eminence : the right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass.

I shall not die, but live : and declare the works of the Lord.

The Lord hath chastened and corrected me : but he hath not given me over unto death.

Open me the gates of righteousness : that I may go into them, and give thanks unto the Lord.

This is the gate of the Lord : the righteous shall enter into it.

I will thank thee, for thou hast heard me : and art become my salvation.

The same stone which the builders refused : is become the head-stone in the corner.

This is the Lord's doing : and it is marvellous in our eyes.

This is the day which the Lord hath made : we will rejoice and be glad in it.

Help me now, O Lord : O Lord, send us now prosperity.

Blessed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord : we have wished you good luck, ye that are of the house of the Lord.

God is the Lord who hath showed us light ; bind the sacrifice with cords, yea, even unto the horns of the altar.

Thou art my God, and I will thank thee : thou art my God, and I will praise thee.

O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious : and his mercy endureth for ever. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 119. (3) 1—16. Blessed are those that are undefiled in the way : and walk in the law of the Lord.

Blessed are they that keep his testimonies : and seek him with their whole heart.

For they who do no wickedness : walk in his ways.

Thou hast charged : that we shall diligently keep thy commandments.

O that my ways were made so direct : that I might keep thy statutes!

So shall I not be confounded : while I have respect unto all thy commandments.

I will thank thee with an unfeigned heart : when I shall have learned the judgments of thy righteousness.

I will keep thy ceremonies : O forsake me not utterly.

Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way : even by ruling himself after thy word.

With my whole heart have I sought thee : O let me not go wrong out of thy commandments.

Thy words have I hid within my heart : that I should not sin against thee.

Blessed art thou, O Lord : O teach me thy statutes.

With my lips have I been telling : of all the judgments of thy mouth.

I have had as great delight in the way of thy testimonies, as in all manner of riches.

I will talk of thy commandments : and have respect unto thy ways.

My delight shall be in thy statutes : and I will not forget thy word. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 119. (4) 17—32. O do well unto thy servant : that I may live and keep thy word.

Open thou mine eyes : that I may see the wondrous things of thy law.

I am a stranger upon earth : O hide not thy commandments from me.

My soul breaketh out for the very fervent desire : that it hath alway unto thy judgment.

Thou hast rebuked the proud : and cursed are they that do err from thy commandments.

O turn from me shame and rebuke : for I have kept thy testimonies.

Princes also did sit and speak against me : but thy servant is occupied in thy statutes.

For thy testimonies are my delight : and my counsellors.

My soul cleaveth to the dust : O quicken thou me, according to thy word.

I have acknowledged my ways, and thou heardest me : O teach me thy statutes.

Make me to understand the way of thy commandments : and so shall I talk of thy wondrous works.

My soul melteth away for very heaviness : comfort thou me according unto thy word.

Take from me the way of lying : and cause thou me to make much of thy law.

I have chosen the way of truth : and thy judgments have I laid before me.

I have stuck unto thy testimonies : O Lord, confound me not.

I will run the way of thy commandments : when thou hast set my heart at liberty. Glory be, &c.

The Creed of St. Athanasius. Whosoever will be saved : before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.

Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled : without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

And the Catholic Faith is this ; That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity ;

Neither confounding the Persons : nor dividing the substance.

For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son : and another of the Holy Ghost.

But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one : the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.

Such as the Father is, such is the Son : and such is the Holy Ghost.

The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate : and the Holy Ghost uncreate.

The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible : and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.

The Father eternal, the Son eternal : and the Holy Ghost eternal.

And yet they are not three eternal : but one eternal.

And also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated : but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible.

So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty : and the Holy Ghost Almighty.

And yet they are not three Almighty : but one Almighty.

So the Father is God, the Son is God : and the Holy Ghost is God.

And yet they are not three Gods : but one God.

So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord : and the Holy Ghost Lord ;

And yet not three Lords : but one Lord.

For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity : to acknowledge every person by himself to be God and Lord ;

So we are forbidden by the Catholic Religion : to say, There be three Gods, or three Lords.

The Father is made of none : neither created, nor begotten.

The Son is of the Father alone : not made, nor created, but begotten.

The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son : neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

So there is one Father, not three Fathers ; one Son, not three Sons : one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other ; none is greater, or less than another.

But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together : and co-equal.

So that in all things, as is aforesaid : the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshipped.

He therefore that will be saved : must thus think of the Trinity,

Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation : that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess : that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man.

God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds : and Man, of the Substance of his Mother, born in the world.

Perfect God, and perfect Man : of a reasonable soul, and human flesh subsisting ;

Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead : and inferior to the Father, as touching his Manhood.

Who although he be God and Man ; yet he is not two, but one Christ.

One ; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh ; but by taking of the Manhood into God ;

One altogether ; not by confusion of substance : but by unity of Person.

For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man ; so God and Man is one Christ.

Who suffered for our salvation ; descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead ;

He ascended into heaven ; he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty ; from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies ;
and shall give account of their own works.

And they that have done good, shall go into life everlasting ;
and they that have done evil, into everlasting fire.

This is the Catholic Faith ; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved. Glory be, &c.

(bb) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord, Hallelujah. Praise ye the Lord.

(cc) *Text. Capitulum.* 1 Tim. i. 17. *Minister.*—To the King, eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Thanks be to God.

(dd) *Short Response.* O Christ, the Son of the living God : have mercy upon us.

O Christ, &c.

(ee) Thou who sittest at the right hand of the Father,

Have mercy upon us.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

O Christ, the Son of the living God : have mercy upon us.

O Christ, arise, help us.

And deliver us for thy Name's sake.

(ff)

Lord have mercy,

Christ have mercy.

Lord have mercy.

The Lord's Prayer, (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation,

But deliver us from evil.

The Creed, (privately.) I believe, &c.

The resurrection of the body.

And the life everlasting. *Amen.*

(In days of the I have cried unto Thee, O Lord.

double office, such as And early shall my prayer come before Thee.

Christmas Day and O let my mouth be filled with Thy praise.

the Apostles' days, That I may sing of Thy glory and honour all the
&c. &c. from ff to hh day long.

is omitted.)

Lord, turn Thy face from my sins.

And blot out all my iniquities.

Make me a clean heart, O God.

And renew a right spirit within me.

Cast me not away from Thy presence.

And take not thy Holy Spirit from me.

O give me the comfort of Thy help again,

And stablish me with Thy free Spirit.

(gg)

Our help is in the Name of the Lord.

(Here is sometimes
an insertion, vide § 3.)

Who hath made heaven and earth.

Confession.

Minister.—I confess before God Almighty, be-

(*This confession is not found in the Paris Breviary, 1735. Ob- servations are made upon it above, pp. 183 and 190. It is repeated at Complin; that is, at the end of the day, as, Prime is the beginning.*)

fore the Blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael Archangel, the blessed John Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, before all Saints, and you, my Brethren, that I have sinned too much in thought, word, and deed. It is my fault, my fault, my grievous fault. Therefore, I beseech thee, blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael Archangel, the blessed John Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, all Saints, and you, my Brethren, to pray the Lord our God for me.

People.—God Almighty have mercy upon thee, absolve thee from thy sins, and bring thee safe to life everlasting. *Amen.*

People.—I confess before God Almighty, before the blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael Archangel, the blessed John Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, before all Saints, and thee, my Father, that I have sinned too much in thought, word, and deed. It is my fault, my fault, my grievous fault. Therefore, I beseech thee, blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael Archangel, the blessed John Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, all Saints, and thee, my Father, to pray the Lord our God for me.

Minister.—God Almighty have mercy upon you, absolve you from your sins, and bring you safe to everlasting life. *Amen.*

The Almighty and Merciful Lord grant to us pardon, absolution, and remission of all our sins. *Amen.*

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us :

This day without sin.

O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Have mercy upon us.

O Lord, let Thy mercy be showed upon us,

As we do put our trust in Thee.

Lord, hear our prayer,

And let our cry come unto Thee.

(hh)

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Collect. O Lord God Almighty, who hast brought us to the beginning of this day, defend us in the same with Thy mighty power, that we fall into no sin to-day, but all our words, thoughts, and works may be ordered according to Thy righteousness, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end. *Amen.*

The Lord be with you,

And with thy spirit.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

Here the Martyrology is read.

* * * * *

Right dear in the sight of the Lord.
Is the death of his saints.

Collect. Holy Mary and all the saints intercede for us to the
 (The words "*Holy Lord*, that we may be worthy of His help and salva-
Mary" are not in the tion, who liveth and reigneth world without end.
Monastic Breviaries.) *Amen.*

O God, make speed to save me.
Repeated thrice. O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be, &c.
As it was, &c.
 Lord, have mercy.
Christ, have mercy.
 Lord, have mercy.

The Lord's Prayer, (privately.) Our Father, &c.
 And lead us not into temptation,
But deliver us from evil.

O Lord, show thy Servants Thy work, and their children Thy
 glory.

*And the Glorious Majesty of the Lord our God be upon us :
 prosper Thou the work of our hands upon us, O prosper
 Thou our handy-work.*

Glory be, &c.
As it was, &c.
 The Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Collect. O Lord God, King of heaven and earth, vouchsafe this day to
 direct and sanctify, to rule and govern our hearts and bodies, our
 thoughts, words, and deeds in thy law, and in the works of thy
 commandments, that through Thy most mighty protection, both
 here and ever, we may obtain safety and freedom, O Saviour of
 the world, who livest and reignest for ever. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction. Minister.—The Lord Almighty order our lives and doings
 in His peace. *Amen.*

(ii) *Short Lesson.* 2 *Thess.* iii. 5. *Reader.*—The Lord direct our hearts
 and bodies in the love of God, and the patient waiting for Christ.
 Thou, then, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Our help is in the name of the Lord.
Who hath made heaven and earth.
 Bless ye.

Benediction. Reader.—May God.

Minister.—The Lord bless us and defend us from all evil, and
 bring us to everlasting life; and may the souls of the faithful,
 through God's mercy, rest in peace. *Amen.*

3. THIRD HOUR SERVICE.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to save me.

Glory be, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

(jj) *Hymn.*

[Nunc Sancte nobis]

Come, Holy Ghost, who ever One

Art with the Father and the Son ;

Come, Holy Ghost, our souls possess,

With Thy full flood of Holiness.

Let mouth, and heart, and flesh combine

To herald forth our Creed divine,

And love so wrap our mortal frame,

Others may catch the living flame.

This grace on Thy redeemed confer,

Father, Co-equal Son,

And Holy Ghost, the Comforter,

Eternal Three in One. *Amen.*

(kk) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord.

Psalm 119 (1) 33—48. Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes : and I shall keep it unto the end.

Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy law : yea, I shall keep it with my whole heart.

Make me to go in the path of thy commandments : for therein is my desire.

Incline my heart unto thy testimonies : and not to covetousness.

O turn away mine eyes lest they behold vanity : and quicken thou me in thy way.

O stablish thy word in thy servant : that I may fear thee.

Take away the rebuke that I am afraid of : for thy judgments are good.

Behold, my delight is in thy commandments : O quicken me in thy righteousness.

Let thy loving mercy come also unto me, O Lord : even thy salvation, according unto thy word.

So shall I make answer unto my blasphemers : for my trust is in thy word.

O take not the word of thy truth utterly out of my mouth : for my hope is in thy judgments.

So shall I alway keep thy law : yea, for ever and ever.

And I will walk at liberty : for I seek thy commandments.

I will speak of thy testimonies also, even before kings : and will not be ashamed.

And my delight shall be in thy commandments : which I have loved.

My hands also will I lift up unto thy commandments, which I have loved : and my study shall be in thy statutes. *Glory, &c.*

Psalm 119. (2) 49—64. O think upon thy servant, as concerning thy word : wherein thou hast caused me to put my trust.

The same is my comfort in my trouble : for thy word hath quickened me.

The proud have had me exceedingly in derision : yet have I not shrunk from thy law.

For I remembered thine everlasting judgments, O Lord : and received comfort.

I am horribly afraid : for the ungodly that forsake thy law.

Thy statutes have been my songs : in the house of my pilgrimage.

I have thought upon thy Name, O Lord, in the night-season : and have kept thy law.

This I had : because I kept thy commandments.

Thou art my portion, O Lord : I have promised to keep thy law.

I made my humble petition in thy presence with my whole heart : O be merciful unto me, according to thy word.

I called mine own ways to remembrance : and turned my feet unto thy testimonies.

I made haste, and prolonged not the time : to keep thy commandments.

The congregations of the ungodly have robbed me ; but I have not forgotten thy law.

At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee : because of thy righteous judgments.

I am a companion of all them that fear thee : and keep thy commandments.

The earth, O Lord, is full of thy mercy : O teach me thy statutes. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 119. (3) 65—80. O Lord, thou hast dealt graciously with thy servant : according unto thy word.

O learn me true understanding and knowledge : for I have believed thy commandments.

Before I was troubled, I went wrong : but now have I kept thy word.

Thou art good and gracious : O teach me thy statutes.

The proud have imagined a lie against me : but I will keep thy commandments with my whole heart.

Their heart is as fat as brawn : but my delight hath been in thy law.

It is good for me that I have been in trouble : that I may learn thy statutes.

The law of thy mouth is dearer unto me : than thousands of gold and silver.

Thy hands have made me and fashioned me : O give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments.

They that fear thee will be glad when they see me : because I have put my trust in thy word.

I know, O Lord, that thy judgments are right : and that thou of very faithfulness hast caused me to be troubled.

O let thy merciful kindness be my comfort : according to thy word unto thy servant.

O let thy loving mercies come unto me, that I may live : for thy law is my delight.

Let the proud be confounded, for they go wickedly about to destroy me : but I will be occupied in thy commandments.

Let such as fear thee, and have known thy testimonies : be turned unto me.

O let my heart be sound in thy statutes : that I be not ashamed. Glory be, &c.

(kk) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord. Praise ye the Lord. Praise ye the Lord.

(ll) *Text (Capitulum.)* 1 John iv. 16. *Minister.*—God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him.

Thanks be to God.

(mm) *Short Response.* *Incline my heart, O God : to Thy testimonies.*
Incline, &c.

Turn away mine eyes, lest they behold vanity, and quicken Thou me in Thy way.

To Thy testimonies.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Incline my heart, O God : to Thy testimonies.

I said, Lord, have mercy upon me.

Heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee.

Lord, have mercy.

Christ, have mercy.

Lord, have mercy.

The Lord's Prayer, (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation,

But deliver us from evil.

Turn us again, Lord God of hosts.

Show us the light of Thy countenance and we shall be whole.

O Christ, arise, help us.

And deliver us for Thy name's sake.

Lord, hear my prayer.

And let my cry come unto Thee.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

(nn) *Collect (for the day and week.)* Grant to us, Lord, we beseech Thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by Thy providence, that Thy Church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly quietness, through the Lord.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

May the souls of the faithful through God's mercy rest in peace. *Amen.*

4. SIXTH HOUR SERVICE.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be, &c. *Amen. Hallelujah.*

(oo) *Hymn.*

[Rector potens,
verax Deus.]

O God, the Lord of place and time,

Who orderest all things prudently,

Brightening with beams the opening prime,

And burning in the mid-day sky.

Quench Thou the fires of hate and strife,

The wasting fever of the heart :

From perils guard our feeble life,

And to our souls Thy peace impart.

This grace on Thy redeemed confer,

Father, co-equal Son,

And Holy Ghost, the Comforter,

Eternal Three in one. *Amen.*

(pp) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord.

Psalm 119. (1) 81—96. My soul hath longed for thy salvation : and I have a good hope, because of thy word.

Mine eyes long sore for thy word : saying, O when wilt thou comfort me ?

For I am become like a bottle in the smoke : yet do I not forget thy statutes.

How many are the days of thy servant : when wilt thou be avenged of them that persecute me ?

The proud have digged pits for me : which are not after thy law.

All thy commandments are true : They persecute me falsely ; O be thou my help.

They had almost made an end of me upon earth : but I forsook not thy commandments.

O quicken me after thy loving-kindness : and so shall I keep the testimonies of thy mouth.

O Lord, thy word : endureth for ever in heaven.

Thy truth also remaineth from one generation to another ; thou hast laid the foundation of the earth, and it abideth.

They continue this day according to thine ordinance : for all things serve thee.

If my delight had not been in thy law : I should have perished in my trouble.

I will never forget thy commandments : for with them thou hast quickened me.

I am thine, O save me : for I have sought thy commandments.

The ungodly laid wait for me, to destroy me : but I will consider thy testimonies.

I see that all things come to an end : but thy commandment is exceeding broad. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 119. (2) 97—112. Lord, what love have I unto thy law : all the day long is my study in it !

Thou, through thy commandments, hast made me wiser than mine enemies : for they are ever with me.

I have more understanding than my teachers : for thy testimonies are my study.

I am wiser than the aged : because I keep thy commandments.

I have refrained my feet from every evil way : that I may keep thy word.

I have not shrunk from thy judgments : for thou teachest me.

O how sweet are thy words unto my throat : yea, sweeter than honey unto my mouth !

Through thy commandments I get understanding : therefore I hate all evil ways.

Thy word is a lantern unto my feet : and a light unto my paths.

I have sworn, and am stedfastly purposed : to keep thy righteous judgments.

I am troubled above measure : quicken me, O Lord, according to thy word.

Let the free-will offerings of my mouth please thee, O Lord : and teach me thy judgments.

My soul is always in my hand : yet do I not forget thy law.

The ungodly have laid a snare for me : but yet I swerved not from thy commandments.

Thy testimonies have I claimed as mine heritage for ever : and why ? they are the very joy of my heart.

I have applied my heart to fulfil thy statutes always : even unto the end. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 119. (3) 113—128. I hate them that imagine evil things : but thy law do I love.

Thou art my defence and shield : and my trust is in thy word.

Away from me, ye wicked : I will keep the commandments of my God.

O establish me according to thy word, that I may live : and let me not be disappointed of my hope.

Hold thou me up, and I shall be safe : yea, my delight shall be ever in thy statutes.

Thou hast trodden down all them that depart from thy statutes : for they imagine but deceit.

Thou puttest away all the ungodly of the earth like dross ; therefore I love thy testimonies.

My flesh trembleth for fear of thee : and I am afraid of thy judgments.

I deal with the thing that is lawful and right : O give me not over unto mine oppressors.

Make thou thy servant to delight in that which is good : that the proud do me no wrong.

Mine eyes are wasted away with looking for thy health : and for the word of thy righteousness.

O deal with thy servant according unto thy loving-mercy : and teach me thy statutes.

I am thy servant ; O grant me understanding : that I may know thy testimonies.

It is time for thee, Lord, to lay to thine hand : for they have destroyed thy law.

For I love thy commandments : above gold and precious stone.

Therefore hold I straight all thy commandments : and all false ways I utterly abhor. Glory be, &c.

(pp) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord. Hallelujah. Praise ye the Lord.

(qq) *Text. (Capitulum.)* Gal. vi. 2. *Minister.*—Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.

Thanks be to God.

(rr) *Short Response.* O Lord, Thy word endureth : for ever in heaven.

O Lord, &c.

Thy truth also remaineth from one generation to another.

For ever in heaven.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

O Lord, Thy word endureth : for ever in heaven.

The Lord is my shepherd, therefore can I lack nothing.

He shall feed me in a green pasture.

Lord have mercy.

Christ have mercy.

Lord have mercy.

The Lord's Prayer, (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil.

Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts.

Show the light of Thy countenance, and we shall be whole.

O Christ, arise, help us.

And deliver us for Thy name-sake.

O Lord, hear my prayer.

And let my crying come unto Thee.

The Lord be with you.

And with Thy spirit.

Let us pray.

(ss) *Collect (for the day, &c.)* Grant to us, we beseech Thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by Thy governance, that Thy Church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly quietness, through the Lord.

The Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
 Let us bless the Lord.
Thanks be to God.

May the souls of the faithful, through God's mercy, rest in peace. *Amen.*

5. NINTH HOUR SERVICE.

O God, make speed to save me.
O Lord, make haste to help me.
 Glory be, &c. *Amen.* Hallelujah.

(tt) *Hymn.*
 [Rerum Deus
 tenax vigor.]

O God, unchangeable and true,
 Of all the Life and Power,
 Dispensing light and silence through
 Every successive hour.

Lord, brighten our declining day,
 That it may never wane,
 Till death, when all things round decay,
 Brings back the morn again.

This grace on thy redeemed confer,
 Father, Co-equal Son,
 And Holy Ghost, the Comforter,
 Eternal Three in One. *Amen.*

(uu) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord.

Psalm 119. (1) 129—144. Thy testimonies are wonderful : therefore doth my soul keep them.

When thy word goeth forth : it giveth light and understanding unto the simple.

I opened my mouth, and drew in my breath : for my delight was in thy commandments.

O look thou upon me, and be merciful unto me ; as thou usest to do unto those that love thy Name.

Order my steps in thy word : and so shall no wickedness have dominion over me.

O deliver me from the wrongful dealings of men : and so shall I keep thy commandments.

Shew the light of thy countenance upon thy servant : and teach me thy statutes.

Mine eyes gush out with water : because men keep not thy law. Righteous art thou, O Lord : and true is thy judgment !

The testimonies that thou hast commanded : are exceeding righteous and true.

My zeal hath even consumed me : because mine enemies have forgotten thy words.

Thy word is tried to the uttermost : and thy servant loveth it.

I am small and of no reputation : yet do I not forget thy commandments.

Thy righteousness is an everlasting righteousness : and thy law is the truth.

Trouble and heaviness have taken hold upon me : yet is my delight in thy commandments.

The righteousness of thy testimonies is everlasting : O grant me understanding, and I shall live. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 119. (2) 145—160. I call with my whole heart : hear me, O Lord, I will keep thy statutes.

Yea, even unto thee do I call : help me, and I shall keep thy testimonies.

Early in the morning do I cry unto thee : for in thy word is my trust.

Mine eyes prevent the night-watches : that I might be occupied in thy words.

Hear my voice, O Lord, according unto thy loving-kindness : quicken me according as thou art wont.

They draw nigh that of malice persecute me : and are far from thy law.

Be thou nigh at hand, O Lord, for all thy commandments are true.

As concerning thy testimonies I have known long since : that thou hast grounded them for ever.

O consider mine adversity, and deliver me : for I do not forget thy law.

Avenge thou my cause, and deliver me : quicken me according to thy word.

Health is far from the ungodly : for they regard not thy statutes.

Great is thy mercy, O Lord : quicken me, as thou art wont.

Many there are that trouble me, and persecute me : yet do I not swerve from thy testimonies.

It grieveth me, when I see the transgressors : because they keep not thy law.

Consider, O Lord, how I love thy commandments : O quicken me according to thy loving-kindness.

Thy word is true from everlasting : all the judgments of thy righteousness endure for evermore. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 119. (3) 161—176. Princes have persecuted me without a cause : but my heart standeth in awe of thy word.

I am as glad of thy word : as one that findeth great spoils.

As for lies, I hate and abhor them : but thy law do I love.

Seven times a day do I praise thee : because of thy righteous judgments.

Great is the peace that they have who love thy law : and they are not offended at it.

Lord, I have looked for thy saving health : and done after thy commandments.

My soul hath kept thy testimonies : and loved them exceedingly.
I have kept thy commandments and testimonies : for all my ways are before thee.

Let my complaint come before thee, O Lord : give me understanding according to thy word.

Let my supplication come before thee : deliver me according to thy word.

My lips shall speak of thy praise : when thou hast taught me thy statutes.

Yea, my tongue shall sing of thy word : for all thy commandments are righteous.

Let thine hand help me : for I have chosen thy commandments.

I have longed for thy saving health, O Lord : and in thy law is my delight.

O let my soul live, and it shall praise thee : and thy judgments shall help me.

I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost : O seek thy servant ; for I do not forget thy commandments. Glory be, &c.

(uu) *Antiphon.* Praise ye the Lord. Hallelujah. Praise ye the Lord.

(vv) *Text. (Capitulum.) Minister.*—For ye are bought with a price. Therefore glorify God in your body.

Thanks be to God.

(ww) *Short Response.* I call with my whole heart : hear me, O Lord.

I call, &c.

I will keep Thy statutes.

Hear me, O Lord.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

I call with my whole heart : hear me, O Lord.

Cleanse Thou me, O Lord, from my secret faults.

Keep back Thy servant also from presumptuous sins.

Lord have mercy.

Christ have mercy.

Lord have mercy.

The Lord's Prayer, (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil.

Turn us again, Lord God of hosts.

Show us the light of Thy countenance and we shall be whole.

O Christ, arise, help us.

And deliver us for thy name's sake.

Lord, hear my prayer.

And let my cry come unto Thee.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

(xx) *Collect, (for the day, &c.)* Grant to us, Lord, we beseech Thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by Thy

providence, that Thy Church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly quietness, through the Lord.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

May the souls of the faithful, through God's mercy, rest in peace. *Amen.*

6. VESPER SERVICE.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

(yy) *Antiphon* (1) The Lord said

Psalm 110. (1) . . . unto my Lord : Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

The Lord shall send the rod of thy power out of Sion : be thou ruler, even in the midst among thine enemies.

In the day of thy power shall the people offer thee free-will offerings with an holy worship : the dew of thy birth is of the womb of the morning.

The Lord sware, and will not repent : Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.

The Lord upon thy right hand : shall wound even kings in the day of his wrath.

He shall judge among the heathen ; he shall fill the places with the dead bodies : and smite in sunder the heads over divers countries.

He shall drink of the brook in the way : therefore shall he lift up his head. Glory be, &c.

(yy) *Antiphon*. (1) The Lord said unto my Lord : Sit Thou on my right hand.

(zz) *Antiphon*. (2) All His commandments.

Psalm 111. (2) I will give thanks unto the Lord with my whole heart : secretly among the faithful, and in the congregation.

The works of the Lord are great : sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.

His work is worthy to be praised, and had in honour : and his righteousness endureth for ever.

The merciful and gracious Lord hath so done his marvellous works : that they ought to be had in remembrance.

He hath given meat unto them that fear him : he shall ever be mindful of his covenant.

He hath shewed his people the power of his works : that he may give them the heritage of the heathens.

The works of his hands are verity and judgment : all his commandments are true.

They stand fast for ever and ever : and are done in truth and equity.

He sent redemption unto his people : he hath commanded his covenant for ever ; holy and reverend is his Name.

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom : a good understanding have all they that do thereafter ; the praise of it endureth for ever. Glory be, &c.

(zz) *Antiphon.* (2) All his commandments are true, they stand fast for ever and ever.

(aaa) *Antiphon.* (3) He hath great delight.

Psalm 122. (3) Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord : he hath great delight in his commandments.

His seed shall be mighty upon earth : the generation of the faithful shall be blessed.

Riches and plenteousness shall be in his house : and his righteousness endureth for ever.

Unto the godly there ariseth up light in the darkness : he is merciful, loving, and righteous.

A good man is merciful, and lendeth : and will guide his words with discretion.

For he shall never be moved : and the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

He will not be afraid of any evil tidings : for his heart standeth fast, and believeth in the Lord.

His heart is established, and will not shrink : until he see his desire upon his enemies.

He hath dispersed abroad, and given to the poor : and his righteousness remaineth for ever ; his horn shall be exalted with honour.

The ungodly shall see it, and it shall grieve him : he shall gnash with his teeth, and consume away : the desire of the ungodly shall perish. Glory be, &c.

(aaa) *Antiphon.* (3) He hath great delight in his commandments.

(bbb) *Antiphon.* (4) The name of the Lord.

Psalm 113. (4) Praise the Lord, ye servants : O praise the name of the Lord.

Blessed be the name of the Lord : from this time forth for evermore.

The Lord's name is praised : from the rising up of the sun, unto the going down of the same.

The Lord is high above all heathen : and his glory above the heavens.

Who is like unto the Lord our God, that hath his dwelling so high : and yet humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven and earth ?

He taketh up the simple out of the dust : and lifteth the poor out of the mire.

That he may set him with the princes : even with the princes of his people.

He maketh the barren woman to keep house : and to be a joyful mother of children. Glory be, &c.

(bbb) *Antiphon.* (4) Blessed be the name of the Lord for evermore.

(ccc) *Antiphon.* (5) We who live.

Psalm 114 and 115. (5) When Israel came out of Egypt : and the house of Jacob from among the strange people,

Judah was his sanctuary : and Israel his dominion.

The sea saw that, and fled : Jordan was driven back.

The mountains skipped like rams : and the little hills like young sheep.

What aileth thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest : and thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back ?

Ye mountains, that ye skipped like rams : and ye little hills like young sheep !

Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of the Lord : at the presence of the God of Jacob ;

Who turned the hard rock into a standing water : and the flint stone into a springing well.

Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name, give the praise : for thy loving mercy, and for thy truth's sake.

Wherefore shall the heathen say : Where is now their God ?

As for our God, he is in heaven : he hath done whatsoever pleased him.

Their idols are silver and gold : even the work of men's hands.

They have mouths and speak not : eyes have they, and see not.

They have ears and hear not : noses have they and smell not.

They have hands, and handle not ; feet have they, and walk not : neither speak they through their throat.

They that make them are like unto them : and so are all such as put their trust in them.

But thou, house of Israel, trust thou in the Lord : he is their succour and defence.

Ye house of Aaron, put your trust in the Lord : he is their helper and defender.

Ye that fear the Lord, put your trust in the Lord : he is their helper and defender.

The Lord hath been mindful of us, and he shall bless us : even he shall bless the house of Israel, he shall bless the house of Aaron.

He shall bless them that fear the Lord : both small and great.

The Lord shall increase you more and more : you and your children.

Ye are the blessed of the Lord : who made heaven and earth.

All the whole heavens are the Lord's: the earth hath he given to the children of men.

The dead praise not thee, O Lord: neither all they that go down into silence.

But we will praise the Lord: from this time forth for evermore.

Praise the Lord. Glory be, &c.

(ccc) *Antiphon.* (5) We who live will praise the Lord.

(ddd) *Text. (Capitulum.)* 2 Cor. i. 3, 4. *Minister.*—Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort, who comforteth us in all our tribulation.

Thanks be to God.

(eee) *Hymn.*

(Lucis creator
optime.)

Father of Lights, hy whom each day

Is kindled out of night;

Who, when the heavens were made, didst lay

Their rudiments in light:

Thou, who didst bind and blend in one,

The glistening morn and evening pale,

Hear Thou our plaint, when light is gone

And lawlessness and strife prevail.

Hear, lest the whelming weight of crime

Wreck us with life in view;

Lest thoughts and schemes of sense and time

Earn us a sinner's due.

So may we knock at heaven's door,

And strive the prize of life to win:

Continually and evermore

Guarded without and pure within.

This grace on Thy redeemed

Father, Co-equal Son,

And Holy Ghost the Comforter,

Eternal Three in One. *Amen.*

(fff) *Verse and Response.* Let my prayer be set forth

In thy sight as the incense.

(ggg) Master, we have toiled all the night.

Ant. Magnificat. My soul doth magnify the Lord: and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.

For he hath regarded: the lowliness of his handmaiden.

For, behold, from henceforth: all generations shall call me blessed.

For he that is mighty hath magnified me: and holy is his Name.

And his mercy is on them that fear him: throughout all generations.

He hath shewed strength with his arm: he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.

He hath put down the mighty from their seat : and hath exalted the humble and meek.

He hath filled the hungry with good things : and the rich he hath sent empty away.

He remembering his mercy, hath holpen his servant Israel : as he promised to our forefathers, Abraham and his seed for ever. Glory be, &c.

(ggg) *Antiphon.* Master, we have toiled all the night and have taken nothing ; nevertheless, at Thy word I will let down the net.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

(hhh) *Collect (for the day, &c.)* Grant to us, Lord, we beseech Thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by Thy providence, that Thy Church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly quietness through the Lord. *Amen.*

The following Commemorations are read at Lauds also.

Antiphon. Holy Mary, succour the wretched, help the weak-hearted, comfort the mourners, pray for the people, interpose for the clergy intercede for the devoted women : let all feel thy help, whoso celebrate thy holy commemoration.

Pray for us, Holy Mother of God.

That we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.

Let us pray.

Collect. Grant, O Lord God, we beseech Thee, that we thy servants may enjoy perpetual health of mind and body, and, by the glorious intercession of the Ever-Virgin Mary, may be delivered from present sorrow, and so have the fruition of everlasting joy.

Antiphon. Peter the Apostle, and Paul the teacher of the Gentiles, they have taught us Thy law, O Lord.

Thou shalt make them princes in all lands.

They shall remember Thy name from one generation to another.

Let us pray.

O God, who when thy Apostle Peter walked on the waves, savedst him from drowning with Thy right hand, and thrice delivered his fellow Apostle Paul from shipwreck on the open sea, favourably hear us, and grant, that by the deserts of both of them we may obtain everlasting glory.

Antiphon. Give peace, in our time, O Lord, because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only Thou, O God.

Peace be within Thy walls.

And plenteousness within Thy palaces.

Let us pray.

Collect. O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, give unto Thy servants that peace which

the world cannot give; that both our hearts may be set to obey Thy commandments, and also that by Thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

The Lord be with you,
And with thy spirit.
 Let us bless the Lord.
Thanks be to God.

May the souls of the faithful, through God's mercy, rest in peace. *Amen.*

7. COMPLINE SERVICE.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction. Minister.—The Lord Almighty grant us a quiet night and an end of toils. *Amen.*

Short Lesson. 1 Pet. v. 8. Brethren, be sober, be vigilant; for your adversary the devil as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour; whom resist stedfast in the faith.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Our help is in the name of the Lord.

Who hath made heaven and earth.

The Lord's Prayer, (privately.) Our Father, &c.

Minister.—I confess before God Almighty, before the blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael Archangel, the blessed John Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, before all Saints, and you, my brethren, that I have sinned too much in thought, word, and deed. It is my fault, my fault, my grievous fault. Therefore, I beseech thee, blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael Archangel, the blessed John Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, all Saints, and you, my brethren, to pray the Lord our God for me.

People.—*Almighty God, pity thee, absolve thee from thy sins, and bring thee safe to life everlasting. Amen.*

People.—I confess before God Almighty, before the blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael Archangel, the blessed John Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, before all Saints, and thee, my Father, that I have sinned too much in thought, word, and deed. It is my fault, my fault, my grievous fault. Therefore, I beseech thee, blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael Archangel, the blessed John Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and

Paul, all Saints, and thee, my Father, to pray the Lord our God for me.

Minister.—Almighty God pity you, absolve you from your sins, and bring you safe to everlasting life. *Amen.*

The Almighty and Merciful Lord grant to us pardon, absolution, and remission of all our sins. *Amen.*

Turn thou us, O Lord our Saviour.

And let thine anger cease from us.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be, &c.

As it was, &c.

Antiphon. Have mercy upon me.

Psalm 4. Hear me, when I call, O God of my righteousness: thou hast set me at liberty when I was in trouble; have mercy upon me, and hearken unto my prayer.

O ye sons of men, how long will ye blaspheme mine honour and have such pleasure in vanity, and seek after leasing?

Know this also, that the Lord hath chosen to himself the man that is godly: when I call upon the Lord, he will hear me.

Stand in awe, and sin not: commune with your own heart, and in your chamber, and be still.

Offer the sacrifice of righteousness: and put your trust in the Lord.

There be many that say: who will shew us any good?

Lord, lift thou up: the light of thy countenance upon us.

Thou hast put gladness in my heart: since the time that their corn, and wine, and oil increased.

I will lay me down in peace, and take my rest: for it is thou, Lord, only, that makest me dwell in safety. *Glory be, &c.*

Psalm 31. In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust: let me never be put to confusion: deliver me in thy righteousness.

Bow down thine ear to me: make haste to deliver me.

And be thou my strong rock, and house of defence: that thou mayest save me.

For thou art my strong rock, and my castle: be thou also my guide, and lead me for thy Name's sake.

Draw me out of the net that they have laid privily for me; for thou art my strength.

Into thy hands I commend my spirit: for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth. *Glory be, &c.*

Psalm 91. Whoso dwelleth under the defence of the Most High: shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

I will say unto the Lord, Thou art my hope, and my strong hold: my God, in him will I trust.

For he shall deliver thee from the snare of the hunter: and from the noisome pestilence.

He shall defend thee under his wings, and thou shalt be safe

under his feathers : his faithfulness and truth shall be thy shield and buckler.

Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night : nor for the arrow that flieth by day ;

For the pestilence that walketh in darkness : nor for the sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day.

A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand : but it shall not come nigh thee.

Yea, with thine eyes shalt thou behold : and see the reward of the ungodly.

For thou, Lord, art my hope : thou hast set thine house of defence very high.

There shall no evil happen unto thee : neither shall my plague come nigh thy dwelling.

For he shall give his angels charge over thee : to keep thee in all thy ways.

They shall bear thee in their hands : that thou hurt not thy foot against a stone.

Thou shalt go upon the lion and adder : the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet.

Because he hath set his love upon thee, therefore will I deliver him : I will set him up, because he hath known my Name.

He shall call upon me, and I will hear him : yea, I am with him in trouble : I will deliver him, and bring him to honour.

With long life will I satisfy him : and shew him my salvation. Glory be, &c.

Psalm 134. Behold now, praise the Lord : all ye servants of the Lord ;

Ye that by night stand in the house of the Lord : even in the courts of the house of our God.

Lift up your hands in the sanctuary : and praise the Lord.

The Lord that made heaven and earth : give thee blessing out of Sion. Glory be, &c.

Antiphon. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, and hearken unto my prayer.

Hymn.

[Te lucis ante
terminum.]

Now that the day-light dies away

Ere we lie down and sleep,

Thee, Maker of the world, we pray

To own us and to keep.

Let dreams depart and visions fly,

The offspring of the night :

Keep us, like shrines, beneath Thine eye,

Pure in our foe's despite.

This grace on Thy redeemed confer

Father, Co-equal Son,

And Holy Ghost the Comforter,

Eternal Three in One. *Amen.*

Text, Jer. xiv. 9. *Minister*.—Thou, O Lord, art in the midst of us, and we are called by thy name; leave us not, O Lord our God.
Thanks be to God.

Short Response. Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.

Into thy hands, &c.

For thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of Truth.

I commend my spirit.

Glory be, &c.

Into thine hands, &c.

Keep us, O Lord, as the apple of an eye.

Hide us under the shadow of Thy wings.

Antiphon. Save us, O Lord.

Nunc Dimittis. Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace : according to thy word.

For mine eyes have seen : thy salvation.

Which thou hast prepared : before the face of all people ;

To be a light to lighten the Gentiles ; and to be the glory of thy people Israel. Glory be, &c.

Antiphon. Save us, O Lord, when we are awake, guard us when we are asleep, that we may be with Christ when awake, and may rest in peace,

Lord, have mercy.

Christ, have mercy.

Lord, have mercy.

The Lord's Prayer, (*privately*.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation,

But deliver us from evil.

The Creed, (*privately*.) I believe, &c.

The resurrection of the body,

And the life everlasting. Amen.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord God of our fathers.

Greatly to be praised, and glorious for ever.

Let us bless the Father and the Son, with the Holy Ghost.

Let us praise and exalt Him for ever.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, in the firmament of heaven.

And greatly to be praised, and glorious, and highly exalted for ever.

The Almighty and merciful Lord bless and protect us. *Amen.*

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us,

This night without sin.

Have mercy upon us, O Lord,

Have mercy upon us.

O Lord, let Thy mercy be showed upon us,

As we do put our trust in Thee.

Lord, hear my prayer,

And let my cry come unto Thee.

The Lord be with you,

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Collect. Look down, we beseech Thee, O Lord, upon this dwelling, and drive far from it all snares of the enemy ! let Thy holy angels dwell in it, and preserve us in peace, and let Thy blessing ever be upon us, through the Lord. *Amen.*

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be given to God.

Benediction. The Almighty and merciful Lord, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, bless and preserve us. *Amen.*

(*This is one of the four Antiphons anticipated on, pp. 183 and 192.*)

Hail, Queen ! mother of mercy, our life, sweetness, and hope, hail ! We exiles cry to thee, the children of Eve. To thee we sigh with groans and weeping in this valley of tears. Come then,

O our advocate, turn on us thy merciful eyes, and shew to us, after this banishment, Jesus, the blessed fruit of thy womb. O kind, O pitiful, O sweet Virgin Mary.

Pray for us, holy mother of God,

That we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.

Collect. Almighty everlasting God, who hast prepared the body and soul of Mary the glorious Virgin Mother, to be a fit dwelling for Thy Son by the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, grant that we, who are gladdened by this commemoration of her, may by her pitiful intercession be delivered from present ills, and eternal death, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The help of God remain with us always. *Amen.*

§ 3. WEEK-DAY SERVICE.

For First Monday in Advent.

O Lord, open Thou, &c.

And my mouth, &c.

God, make speed, &c.

O Lord, make haste, &c.

Glory be, &c. *Amen. Hallelujah.*

(a) *Invitatory.* O come let us worship the Lord, the King approaching.

Psalm 95. O come let us sing, &c. Glory, &c.

(b) *Hymn.* Verbum supernum prodiens, &c.

Antiphon. The Lord is the strength.

Psalm 27. (1) The Lord is my light, &c. Glory, &c.

Psalm 28. (2) Unto Thee will I cry, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. The Lord is the strength of my life.

Antiphon. Worship the Lord.

Psalm 29. (3) Bring unto the Lord, &c. Glory, &c.

Psalm 30. (4) I will magnify Thee, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. Worship the Lord with holy worship.

Antiphon. Deliver me.

Psalm 31. (5) In thee, O God, have I put, &c. Glory, &c.

Psalm 32. (6) Blessed is he, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. Deliver me in Thy righteousness.

Antiphon. It becometh well the just.

Psalm 33. (7) Rejoice in the Lord, &c. Glory, &c.

Psalm 34. (8) I will alway give thanks, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. It becometh well the just to be thankful.

Antiphon. Fight thou against them.

Psalm 35. (9) Plead Thou my cause, &c. Glory, &c.

Psalm 36. (10) My heart showeth me, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. Fight Thou against them, that fight against me.

Antiphon. Commit thy way.

Psalm 37. (11) Fret not thyself, &c. Glory, &c.

Psalm 38. (12) Put me not to rebuke, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. Commit thy way unto the Lord.

(f) V. Out of Sion hath God appeared.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

The Lord's Prayer, (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not, &c.

But deliver us, &c.

Absolution 1. O Lord Jesu Christ, hear the prayers of Thy servants, and have mercy upon us, who with the Father, &c.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 1. The Father everlasting, &c.

Lesson 1. Isai. i. 16—18. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before Mine eyes; cease to do evil.

Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow:

Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 1. Cherish the word, O Virgin Mary, which is conveyed to thee from the Lord through the Angel; thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth both God and man: that thou mayest be blessed among all women.

Thou shalt bring forth a son, and yet abide a virgin: thou shalt be with child, and be a mother, yet know not a man.

That thou mayest be blessed among women.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 2. The only begotten Son of God, &c.

Lesson 2. Isai. i. 19—23. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

How is the faithful city become an harlot? It was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it, but now murderers.

Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water; thy princes are rebellious and companions of thieves; every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 2. Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad, let the hills be joyful together, for our Lord shall come, and He shall have pity upon the poor.

In His time shall the righteous flourish; yea, and abundance of peace.

And he shall have pity upon the poor.

Reader. Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 3. The grace of the Holy Ghost, &c.

Lesson 3. Isai. i. 24—28. Therefore saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts, the mighty One of Israel, Ah, I will ease Me of Mine adversaries, and avenge Me of Mine enemies.

And I will turn My hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy sin;

And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counselors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city.

Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and her courts with righteousness.

And the destruction of the transgressors and of the sinners shall be together, and they that forsake the Lord shall be consumed.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 3. Strangers shall not pass through Jerusalem any more; for in that day the mountains shall drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, saith the Lord.

God shall come from Libanus, and the holy one from the mount of cedars.

For in that day the mountains shall drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, saith the Lord.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

For in that day the mountains, &c.

LAUDS.

O God, make speed, &c.

O Lord, make haste, &c.

Glory be, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

Antiphon. Have mercy upon me.

Psalm 51. (1) . . . O God, after Thy great goodness, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. Have mercy upon me, O God.

Antiphon. Consider, O Lord.

Psalm 5. (2) Ponder my words, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. Consider, O Lord, my meditation.

Antiphon. O God, Thou art my God.

Psalms 63 & 67 (3) Early will I seek Thee, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. O God, Thou art my God, early will I seek thee.

Antiphon. Thine anger is turned away.

Canticle. Isa. xii. (4) O Lord, I will praise Thee, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. Thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedst me.

Antiphon. O praise the Lord.

Psalm 148—150 (5) of heaven, praise Him in the height, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. O praise the Lord of heaven.

Text (Capitulum.) (t) Isai. ii. 3. Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

Thanks be to God.

(u) *Hymn.* En clara vox redarguit, &c.

(v) *Verse and Response.* The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord.

Make his paths straight.

(w) *Antiphon.* The Angel of the Lord made annunciation to Mary.
The Benedictus. Blessed be the Lord God, &c.

Antiphon. The Angel of the Lord made annunciation to Mary, and she conceived of the Holy Ghost. Hallelujah.

(This portion of the Service down to the Collect, is proper to the Week-days of Advent, the Four Seasons, and Vigils, which are Fasts, except Christmas Eve; it is repeated at Vespers after the Magnificat with Psalm 51 for Psalm 130. The Lord's Prayer is all aloud.)

Lord, have mercy.

Christ, have mercy.

Lord, have mercy.

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven, give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.

And lead us not into temptation,

But deliver us from evil.

I said, Lord, be merciful unto me.

Heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee.

Turn Thee again, O Lord, at the last.

And be gracious unto Thy servants.

Let Thy merciful kindness, O Lord, be upon us.

Like as we do put our trust in Thee.

Let Thy Priests be clothed with righteousness.

And let Thy saints sing with joyfulness.

O Lord, save the king.

And hear us what time we call upon Thee.

O save Thy people, and give Thy blessing unto Thine inheritance.

Feed them and set them up for ever.

O think upon Thy congregation.

Whom Thou hast purchased and redeemed of old.

Peace be within Thy walls.

And plenteousness within Thy palaces.

Let us pray for the faithful who are departed.

Grant them, O Lord, eternal repose, and may perpetual light shine upon them.

May they rest in peace.

Amen.

For our brethren who are away.

My God, save Thy servants that put their trust in Thee.

For the afflicted and for captives.

Deliver, Israel, O Lord, out of all his troubles.

Send thou help from the sanctuary.

And strengthen them out of Sion.

Lord, hear my prayer.

And let my cry come unto Thee.

Psalm 130. Out of the deep, &c. Glory, &c.

Turn us again, Lord God of hosts.

Show the light of Thy countenance and we shall be whole.

Arise, O Christ, help us.

And deliver us for Thy name's sake.

Lord, hear my prayer.

And let my cry come unto Thee.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

(x) *Collect. (Oratio.) (for the day and week.)* Raise up, we pray Thee, O Lord, Thy power, and come, that we, being meet, may be snatched from the perils of our sins by thy succour, and be saved by Thy deliverance, who livest, &c.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

May the souls of the faithful rest in peace.

Amen.

PRIME.

(Here are marked merely the differences from the 4th Sunday in Pentecost. Some of them, as in Matins and Lauds, are but peculiar to the season.)

Antiphon. In that day the mountains shall drop down new wine.

Psalm 54. (1) Save me, O God, &c. Glory, &c. (*as on Sunday.*)

Psalm 24. (2) The earth is the Lord's, &c. Glory, &c.

Psalm 119. (3) Blessed are those, &c. (*as on Sunday.*)

1—32.

16—32. (4) O do well, &c. (*as on Sunday.*)

Antiphon. In that day the mountains shall drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk. Hallelujah.

(cc) *Text. (Capitulum.)* Minister.—Love the Truth and Peace, saith Zech. viii. 19, 20. the Lord of hosts. *Thanks be to God.*

(dd) *Short Response, (the same, except instead of Thou that sittest, &c.)* O Christ, &c.

(ee) Thou that shall come into the world—
Lord have mercy, &c.

The Lord's Prayer.

Our Father, &c.

The Creed.

I believe, &c.

Sentences.

I have cried, &c. (*down to*)
And stablish me, &c.

(These additional Sentences are inserted whenever there are the additional Sentences.)
Deliver me, O Lord, from the evil man.
And preserve me from the wicked man.
Deliver me from mine enemies, O God.
Defend me from them that rise up against me.

tences and Psalms O deliver me from the wicked doers.
as above set down in And save me from the blood-thirsty men.
Lauds and Vespers.) So will I always sing praise unto Thy name.
That I may daily perform my vows.
Hear us, O God of our salvation.
Thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth
and of them that remain in the broad sea.
O God, make speed to save me.
O Lord, make haste to help me.
Holy God, holy and strong, holy and eternal.
Have mercy upon us.
Bless the Lord, O my soul.
And all that is within me, bless His holy name.
Bless the Lord, O my soul.
And forget not all His benefits.
Who forgiveth all thy sin.
And healeth all thine infirmities.
Who saveth thy life from destruction.
And crowneth thee with mercy and loving-kindness.
Who satisfieth thy mouth with good things.
Making thee young and lusty as an eagle.
Our help is, &c.

The Confessions, I confess, &c. God Almighty, &c. I confess, &c.
Answers, & Prayer God Almighty, &c. The Almighty, &c. Vouchsafe,
of Absolution. &c.

Collect. O Lord, God Almighty, &c.
(And so on to the end, as on the 4th Sunday in Pentecost,
with the substitution of the following.)

(ii) *Short Lesson.* Isai. xxxiii. 2. O Lord, be gracious unto us. We have waited for Thee. Be Thou our arm every morning, our salvation also in the time of trouble.

THIRD HOUR.

(The following are the only variations.)

(kk) *Antiphon (before and after the Psalms.)* Rejoice greatly, daughter of Zion: shout, O daughter of Jerusalem. Hallelujah.

(ll) *Text. (Capitulum.)* Jer. xxxiii. 5. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth.

(mm) *Short Response.* Come Thou and save us: O Lord God of hosts, Come Thou, &c.

Show the light of thy countenance and we shall be whole.

O Lord God of hosts.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Come Thou and save us, O Lord God of hosts.

The heathen shall fear Thy Name, O Lord.

And all the kings of the earth thy majesty.

(nn) *Collect (for the week.) (as in Lauds.)*

SIXTH HOUR.

(The variations are)

(pp) *Antiphon (before and after the Psalms.)* Behold, the Lord shall come, and all His Saints with Him, and the light of that day shall be great. Hallelujah.

(qq) *Text. (Capitulum.)* Jer. xxiii. 6. In His days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely : and this is the name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our righteousness.

(rr) *Short Response.* Show us Thy mercy : O Lord.

Show us, &c.

And grant us Thy Salvation.

O Lord.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Show us Thy mercy : O Lord.

Remember me, O Lord, according to the favour that Thou bearest unto Thy people.

O visit me with Thy salvation.

(ss) *Collect for the week. (as before.)*

NINTH HOUR.

(The variations are)

(uu) *Antiphon (before and after the Psalms.)* Behold, the great Prophet shall come, and He shall rebuild Jerusalem. Hallelujah.

(vv) *Text. (Capitulum.)* Isai. xiv. 1. His time is near to come, and his days shall not be prolonged : for the Lord will have mercy on Jacob and will yet choose Israel.

(ww) *Short Response.* The Lord shall arise upon thee : O Jerusalem. The Lord, &c.

And His glory shall be seen upon thee :
O Jerusalem.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

The Lord shall arise upon thee : O Jerusalem.

Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts.

Show the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole.

(xx) *Collect for the week. (as before.)*

VESPERS.

O God, make speed, &c.
O Lord, make haste, &c.

Antiphon. He hath inclined.

Psalm 116. (part 1) (1) I am well pleased, &c. Glory be, &c.

Antiphon. He hath inclined His ear unto me.

Antiphon. I believed

Psalm 116. (part 2) (2) . . . and therefore will I speak, &c. Glory &c.

Antiphon. I believed, and therefore will I speak.

Antiphon. O praise the Lord.

Psalm 117. (3) . . . all ye heathen, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. O praise the Lord, all ye heathen.

Antiphon. I called upon the Lord.

Psalm 120. (4) When I was in trouble, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. I called upon the Lord, and He heard me.

Antiphon. From whence cometh.

Psalm 121. (5) I will lift up, &c. Glory, &c.

Antiphon. From whence cometh my help.

(ddd) *Text. Capitulum. Gen. xlix. 10.* The sceptre shall not depart from
 Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come ;
 and unto Him shall the gathering of the people be.

Hymn. Creator alme siderum, &c.

(fff) *Verse and Response.* Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let
 the skies pour down Righteousness.

Let the earth open, and let them bring forth Salvation.

(ggg) *Antiphon.* Lift up thine eyes, O Jerusalem.

The Magnificat. My soul doth magnify, &c.

Antiphon. Lift up thine eyes, O Jerusalem, and behold the greatness

of thy king. Behold, the Saviour comes to loose thee from thy chain.

(Then follow the same Sentences with Psalm 51, instead of Psalm 130, which are inserted in Lauds.)

(hhh) *The Collect for the week. (as before.)*

The Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
 Let us bless the Lord.
Thanks be to God.

May the souls of the faithful rest in peace.
Amen.

COMPLINE.

This office is invariable throughout the year, except in the Anthems to the Virgin at the end.

Instead of the Salve Regina as after Pentecost, in Advent is used the Alma Redemptoris.

§ 4. PART OF THE SERVICE FOR AUGUST 6TH.

The Feast of the Transfiguration.

MATINS.

O Lord, open thou my lips,
And my mouth shall shew forth Thy praise.
 O God, make speed to save me.
O Lord, make haste to help me.
 Glory be, &c.
 As it was, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

(a) *Invitatory.* Let us worship Christ Most High, the King of Glory.
 Let us worship, &c.

Psalm 95. O come let us sing unto the Lord: let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation.

Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving : and shew ourselves glad in him with psalms.

Let us worship Christ, &c.

For the Lord is a great God : and a great King above all gods.

In his hand are all the corners of the earth : and the strength of the hills is his also.

The King of glory.

The sea is his, and he made it : and his hands prepared the dry land.

O come, let us worship and fall down : and kneel before the Lord our Maker ;

For he is the Lord our God : and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand.

Let us worship Christ, &c.

To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts : as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness ;

When your fathers tempted me : proved me, and saw my works.

The King of glory.

Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said : It is a people that do err in their hearts ; for they have not known my ways.

Unto whom I swear in my wrath : that they should not enter into my rest.

Let us worship Christ, &c.

Glory be, &c.

The King of glory.

Let us worship Christ Most High, the King of glory.

(b) *Hymn.*

[Quicunque Christum
quæritis.]

O ye who seek the Lord,

Lift up your eyes on high,

For there he doth the sign accord

Of His bright majesty.

We see a wondrous sight

That shall outlive all time,

Older than depth and starry height,

Limitless and sublime,

'Tis He for Israel's fold

And heathen tribes decreed,

The King to Abraham pledged of old,

And his eternal seed.

Prophets foretold his birth,

And witnessed when He came,

The Father speaks to all the earth,

To hear, and fear His name.

To Jesus, who displays

To babes His beaming face,

Be, with the Father, endless praise,

And with the Spirit grace. *Amen.*

NOCTURN I.

- (c) *Antiphon.* Thou madest Him a little lower than the Angels, to crown Him with glory and worship. Thou makest Him to have dominion of the works of Thy hands.

Psalm 8. (1) O Lord our Governor, how excellent is thy Name in all the world: thou hast set Thy glory above the heavens!

Out of the mouth of very babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies: that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.

For I will consider thy heavens, even the works of thy fingers: the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained.

What is man, that thou art mindful of him: and the son of man, that thou visitest him?

Thou madest him lower than the angels: to crown him with glory and worship.

Thou makest him to have dominion of the works of thy hands: and thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet;

All sheep and oxen: yea, and the beasts of the field;

The fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea: and whatsoever walketh through the paths of the seas.

O Lord our Governor: how excellent is thy Name in all the world! Glory be, &c.

- (c) *Antiphon.* Thou madest Him a little lower than the angels, to crown Him with glory and worship. Thou makest Him to have dominion of the works of Thy hands.

- (d) *Antiphon.* The Lord discovereth the thick bushes: in His temple doth every man speak of His honour.

Psalm 29. (2) Bring unto the Lord, O ye mighty, bring your rams unto the Lord: ascribe unto the Lord worship and strength.

Give the Lord the honour due unto his Name: worship the Lord with holy worship.

It is the Lord that commandeth the waters: it is the glorious God that maketh the thunder.

It is the Lord that ruleth the seas; the voice of the Lord is mighty in operation: the voice of the Lord is a glorious voice.

The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedar trees: yea, the Lord breaketh the cedars of Libanus.

He maketh them also to skip like a calf: Libanus also, and Sirion like a young unicorn.

The voice of the Lord divideth the flames of fire; the voice of the Lord shaketh the wilderness: yea, the Lord shaketh the wilderness of Cades.

The voice of the Lord maketh the hinds to bring forth young, and discovereth the thick bushes: in his temple doth every man speak of his honour.

The Lord sitteth above the water-flood: and the Lord remaineth a King for ever.

The Lord shall give strength unto his people: the Lord shall give his people the blessing of peace. Glory be, &c.

(d) *Antiphon.* The Lord discovereth the thick bushes; in His temple doth every man speak of his honour.

(e) *Antiphon.* Thou art fairer than the children of men, full of grace are Thy lips.

Psalm 45. (3) My heart is inditing of a good matter: I speak of the things which I have made unto the King.

My tongue is the pen: of a ready writer.

Thou art fairer than the children of men: full of grace are thy lips, because God hath blessed thee for ever.

Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most Mighty: according to thy worship and renown.

Good luck have thou with thine honour: ride on, because of the word of truth, of meekness, and righteousness; and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things.

Thy arrows are very sharp, and the people shall be subdued unto thee: even in the midst among the King's enemies.

Thy seat, O God, endureth for ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre.

Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity: wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.

All thy garments smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia: out of the ivory palaces, whereby they have made thee glad.

Kings' daughters were among thy honourable women: upon thy right hand did stand the queen in a vesture of gold, wrought about with divers colours.

Hearken, O daughter, and consider, incline thine ear: forget also thine own people, and thy father's house.

So shall the King have pleasure in thy beauty: for he is thy Lord God, and worship thou him.

And the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift: like as the rich also among the people shall make their supplication before thee.

The King's daughter is all glorious within: her clothing is of wrought gold.

She shall be brought unto the King in raiment of needle-work: the virgins that be her fellows shall bear her company, and shall be brought unto thee.

With joy and gladness shall they be brought: and shall enter into the King's palace.

Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children: whom thou mayest make princes in all lands.

I remember thy name from one generation to another, therefore shall the people give thanks unto thee, world without end. Glory be, &c.

(e) *Antiphon.* Thou art fairer than the children of men, full of grace are Thy lips.

(f) *Verse and Response.* Thou hast appeared glorious in the sight of the Lord.
Therefore the Lord hath clothed thee in comely apparel.

The Lord's Prayer (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 1. O Lord Jesus Christ, hear the prayers of thy servants, and have mercy upon us, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit livest and reignest, world without end. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 1. Minister.—The Father everlasting, bless us with an eternal blessing. *Amen.*

Lesson 1. 2 Pet. i. 10—14. The rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall.

For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly, into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth.

Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up, by putting you in remembrance.

Knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 1. Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.

And Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of Thy rising.

And the glory of the Lord is risen upon them.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 2. Minister.—The only-begotten Son of God, vouchsafe to bless and help us. *Amen.*

Lesson 2. 2 Pet. i. 15—17. Moreover, I will endeavour, that ye may be able, after my decease, to have these things always in remembrance.

For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty.

For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 2. In the bright cloud the Holy Ghost was seen, the Father's

voice was heard : *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased : hear ye Him.*

A cloud overshadowed them, and the Father's voice was heard in thunder.

This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased : hear ye Him.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 3. Minister.—The grace of the Holy Ghost enlighten our thoughts and hearts. *Amen.*

Lesson 3. 2 Pet. i. 18—20. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount.

We have also a more sure word of prophecy ; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts :

Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation.

For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man : but holy men of God spake *as they were* moved by the Holy Ghost.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 3. Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us : that we should be called the sons of God.

We know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.

That we should be called the sons of God.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

That we should be called the sons of God.

NOCTURN II.

(g) *Antiphon.* Thou art of more honour and might than the hills of the robbers : the proud are robbed.

[*Illuminans tu mirabiliter à montibus æternis, &c.*] In Jewry is God known : his name is great in Israel.

Psalm 76. (4) At Salem is his tabernacle : and his dwelling in Siop.

There brake he the arrows of the bow : the shield, the sword, and the battle.

Thou art of more honour and might : than the hills of the robbers.

The proud are robbed, they have slept their sleep : and all the men, whose hands were mighty, have found nothing.

At thy rebuke, O God of Jacob : both the chariot and horse are fallen.

Thou, even thou art to be feared : and who may stand in thy sight when thou art angry ?

Thou didst cause thy judgment to be heard from heaven : the earth trembled, and was still.

When God arose to judgment : and to help all the meek upon earth.

The fierceness of man shall turn to thy praise : and the fierceness of them shalt thou refrain.

Promise unto the Lord your God, and keep it, all ye that are round about him : bring presents unto him that ought to be feared.

He shall refrain the spirit of princes : and is wonderful among the kings of the earth. Glory be, &c.

(g) *Antiphon.* Thou art of more honour and might than the hills of the robbers : the proud are robbed.

(h) *Antiphon.* One day in thy courts is better than a thousand.

Psalm 84. (5) O how amiable are thy dwellings : thou Lord of hosts !

My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the Lord : my heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God.

Yea, the sparrow hath found her an house, and the swallow a nest, where she may lay her young, even thy altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God.

Blessed are they that dwell in thy house : they will be always praising thee.

Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee : in whose heart are thy ways.

Who going through the vale of misery use it for a well : and the pools are filled with water.

They will go from strength to strength : and unto the God of gods appeareth every one of them in Sion.

O Lord God of hosts, hear my prayer : hearken, O God of Jacob.

Behold, O God our defender : and look upon the face of thine Anointed.

For one day in thy courts : is better than a thousand.

I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God : than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness. Glory be, &c.

(h) *Antiphon.* One day in thy courts is better than a thousand.

(i) *Antiphon.* Very excellent things are spoken of thee, thou city of God.

Psalm 87. (6) Her foundations are upon the holy hills : the Lord loveth the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob.

Very excellent things are spoken of thee, thou city of God.

I will think upon Rahab and Babylon : with them that know me.

Behold ye the Philistines also : and they of Tyre, with the Mo-ri-ans : lo, there was he born.

And of Sion it shall be reported, that he was born in her ; and the Most High shall stablish her.

The Lord shall rehearse it, when he writeth up the people that he was born there.

The singers also and trumpeters shall he rehearse : all my fresh springs shall be in thee. Glory be, &c.

(i) *Antiphon.* Very excellent things are spoken of thee, thou city of God.

(j) *Verse and Response.* Thou crownest Him with glory and worship.
And makest Him to have dominion of the works of thy hands.

The Lord's prayer (privately.) Our Father, &c.
And lead us not into temptation.
But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 2. His pity and mercy succour us, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, world without end. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 4. Minister.—God, the Father Almighty, be favourable and gracious unto us. *Amen.*

Lesson 4. (Sermon of St. Leo, Pope.) The Lord revealed His glory before certain chosen witnesses, and brightens that bodily form which He had in common with others with such splendour, that His face was like to the sun's blaze, and His raiment all one with the snow's whiteness. In which Transfiguration this was the chief design, to remove from the hearts of the disciples the scandal of the cross, that their faith might be proof against the lowliness of His voluntary passion, by the revelation of the excellence of His hidden dignity. And it was no less a providence, that hereby the hope of the Holy Church has a sure stay, by knowing how high a change is in store for the whole body of Christ, so that the honour first shown in the Head, might be shared in anticipation by the members.

Thou then, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 4. *They shall be satisfied with the plenteousness of thy house: and thou shalt give them drink of thy pleasures, as out of the river.*

For with Thee is the well of life, and in thy light shall we see light.

And Thou shalt give them drink of Thy pleasures, as out of the river.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 5. Minister.—Christ grant to us the joys of endless life. *Amen.*

Lesson 5. (Sermon continued.) To confirm the Apostles and instruct them in all knowledge, that miracle contained a further lesson. For Moses and Elias, that is, the Law and the Prophets, appeared conversing with the Lord: that by the presence of five men might be most fully accomplished what is written, "By two or three witnesses, every word shall be established." What can be more stable, more firmly fixed, than that word, which was heralded by the trumpet, both of the Old and the New Testament, by the instruments of the ancient message in unison with the Evangelical teaching? For the pages of each covenant witness either to other, and the brightness of the present glory does but disclose Him manifest and clear, whom foregoing wonders had promised under the veil of Mysteries.

But thou then, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 5. Master, it is good to be here; and let us make here three tabernacles, one for Thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias.

For he knew not what he said.

And let us make here three tabernacles, one for Thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 6. Minister.—God kindle the fire of His love in our hearts.

Lesson 6. (Sermon continued.) Therefore stirred by these disclosures in outward tokens, the Apostle Peter, in scorn of things of the world, and in disgust of what was earthly, was carried away by a sort of transport into the longing after things eternal; and filled with joy at all that vision, he desired to dwell with Jesus there, where he was enjoying the manifestation of His glory. Wherefore he said, "Lord, it is good to be here: and, if Thou wilt, let us build here three tabernacles, one for Thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias." The Lord, however, answered not to this proposal, intimating, not that it was presumptuous, but that it was unbecoming to make it; seeing the world could not be saved but by Christ's death, and that in the Lord's pattern faith should find its calling, not to doubt of the promises of future blessedness, but withal to understand that amid the trials of this life we must ask for patience rather than for glory.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 6. If the ministration of death, written and engraven in stone, was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance, which glory was to be done away: much more shall the ministration of the Spirit, which abideth, be glorious.

For Christ was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as he who hath builded the house hath more honour than the house.

Much more shall the ministration of the Spirit, which abideth, be glorious.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Much more shall the ministration of the Spirit, which abideth, be glorious.

NOCTURN III.

(k) *Antiphon.* Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in Thy Name, Thou hast a mighty arm.

Psalm 89. (7) My song shall be alway of the loving-kindness of the Lord: with my mouth will I ever be showing thy truth from one generation to another.

For I have said, Mercy shall be set up for ever: thy truth shalt thou establish in the heavens.

I have made a covenant with my chosen : I have sworn unto David my servant ;

Thy seed will I stablish for ever : and set up thy throne from one generation to another.

O Lord, the very heavens shall praise thy wondrous works : and thy truth in the congregation of the saints.

For who is he among the clouds : that shall be compared unto the Lord ?

And what is he among the gods : that shall be like unto the Lord ?

God is very greatly to be feared in the council of the saints : and to be had in reverence of all them that are round about him.

O Lord God of hosts, who is like unto thee : thy truth, most mighty Lord, is on every side.

Thou rulest the raging of the sea : thou stillest the waves thereof when they arise.

Thou hast subdued Egypt, and destroyed it : thou hast scattered thine enemies abroad with thy mighty arm.

The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine : thou hast laid the foundation of the round world, and all that therein is.

Thou hast made the north and the south : Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy Name.

Thou hast a mighty arm : strong is thy hand, and high is thy right hand.

Righteousness and equity are the habitation of thy seat : mercy and truth shall go before thy face.

Blessed is the people, O Lord, than can rejoice in thee : they shall walk in the light of thy countenance.

Their delight shall be daily in thy Name : and in thy righteousness shall they make their boast.

For thou art the glory of their strength : and in thy loving kindness thou shalt lift up our horns.

For the Lord is our defence : the Holy One of Israel is our King.

Thou spakest sometime in visions unto thy saints, and saidst : I have laid help upon one that is mighty ; I have exalted one chosen out of the people.

I have found David my servant : with my holy oil have I anointed him.

My hand shall hold him fast : and my arm shall strengthen him.

The enemy shall not be able to do him violence : the son of wickedness shall not hurt him.

I will smite down his foes before his face : and plague them that hate him.

My truth also and my mercy shall be with him : and in my Name shall his horn be exalted.

I will set his dominion also in the sea : and his right hand in the floods.

He shall call me, Thou art my Father : my God, and my strong salvation.

And I will make him my first-born : higher than the kings of the earth.

My mercy will I keep for him for evermore : and my covenant shall stand fast with him.

His seed also will I make to endure for ever : and his throne as the days of heaven.

But if his children forsake my law : and walk not in my judgments ;

If they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments : I will visit their offences with the rod, and their sin with scourges.

Nevertheless my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from him : nor suffer my truth to fail.

My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips : I have sworn once by my holiness, that I will not fail David.

His seed shall endure for ever : and his seat is like as the sun before me.

He shall stand fast for evermore as the moon : and as the faithful witness in heaven.

But thou hast abhorred and forsaken thine Anointed : and art displeased at him.

Thou hast broken the covenant of thy servant : and cast his crown to the ground.

Thou hast overthrown all his hedges : and broken down his strong holds.

All they that go by spoil him : and he is become a reproach to his neighbors.

Thou hast set up the right hand of his enemies : and made all his adversaries to rejoice.

Thou hast taken away the edge of his sword : and givest him not victory in the battle.

Thou hast put out his glory : and cast his throne down to the ground.

The days of his youth hast thou shortened : and covered him with dishonour.

Lord, how long wilt thou hide thyself, for ever : and shall thy wrath burn like fire.

O remember how short my time is : wherefore hast thou made all men for nought ?

What man is he that liveth, and shall not see death : and shall he deliver his soul from the hand of hell ?

Lord, where are thy old loving-kindnesses : which thou swarest unto David in thy truth.

Remember, Lord, the rebuke that thy servants have : and how I do bear in my bosom the rebukes of many people ;

Wherewith thine enemies have blasphemed thee, and slandered the footsteps of thine Anointed : Praised be the Lord for evermore. Amen, and Amen.

(k) *Antiphon.* Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name, thou hast a mighty arm.

(1) *Antiphon.* There is sprung up a light for the righteous, and joyful gladness for such as are true-hearted.

Psalm 97. (8) The Lord is King, the earth may be glad thereof : yea, the multitude of the isles may be glad thereof.

Clouds and darkness are round about him : righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his seat.

There shall go a fire before him : and burn up his enemies on every side.

His lightnings gave shine unto the world : the earth saw it, and was afraid.

The hills melted like wax at the presence of the Lord : at the presence of the Lord of the whole earth.

The heavens have declared his righteousness : and all the people have seen his glory.

Confounded be all they that worship carved images, and that delight in vain gods : worship him, all ye gods.

Sion heard of it, and rejoiced : and the daughters of Judah were glad, because of thy judgments, O Lord.

For thou, Lord, art higher than all that are in the earth : thou art exalted far above all gods.

O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing which is evil : the Lord preserveth the souls of his saints ; he shall deliver them from the hand of the ungodly.

There is sprung up a light for the righteous : and joyful gladness for such as are true-hearted.

Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous : and give thanks for a remembrance of his holiness.

(1) *Antiphon.* There is sprung up a light for the righteous : and joyful gladness for such as are true-hearted.

(m) *Antiphon.* Praise the Lord, O my soul, O my God.

Psalm 104. (9) thou art become exceeding glorious : thou art clothed with majesty and honour.

Thou deckest thyself with light as it were with a garment : and spreadest out the heavens like a curtain.

Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters : and maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind.

He maketh his angels spirits : and his ministers a flaming fire. He laid the foundations of the earth : that it never should move at any time.

Thou coveredst it with the deep like as with a garment : the waters stand in the hills.

At thy rebuke they flee : at the voice of thy thunder they are afraid.

They go up as high as the hills, and down to the valleys beneath : even unto the place which thou hast appointed for them.

Thou hast set them their bounds, which they shall not pass : neither turn again to cover the earth.

He sendeth the springs into the rivers : which run among the hills.

All beasts of the field drink thereof : and the wild asses quench their thirst.

Beside them shall the fowls of the air have their habitation : and sing among the branches.

He watereth the hills from above : the earth is filled with the fruit of thy works.

He bringeth forth grass for the cattle : and green herb for the service of men ;

That he may bring food out of the earth, and wine that maketh glad the heart of man : and oil to make him a cheerful countenance, and bread to strengthen man's heart.

The trees of the Lord also are full of sap : even the cedars of Libanus which he hath planted ;

Wherein the birds make their nests : and the fir-trees are a dwelling for the stork.

The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats : and so are the stony rocks for the conies.

He appointed the moon for certain seasons : and the sun knoweth his going down.

Thou makest darkness that it may be night : wherein all the beasts of the forest do move.

The lions roaring after their prey : do seek their meat from God.

The sun ariseth, and they get them away together : and lay them down in their dens.

Man goeth forth to his work, and to his labour : until the evening.

O Lord, how manifold are thy works ; in wisdom hast thou made them all ; the earth is full of thy riches.

So is the great and wide sea also : wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts.

There go the ships, and there is that Leviathan : whom thou hast made to take his pastime therein.

These wait all upon thee : that thou mayest give them meat in due season.

When thou givest it them they gather it : and when thou openest thy hand they are filled with good.

When thou hidest thy face they are troubled : when thou takest away their breath they die, and are turned again to their dust.

When thou lettest thy breath go forth they shall be made : and thou shalt renew the face of the earth.

The glorious Majesty of the Lord shall endure for ever : the Lord shall rejoice in his works.

The earth shall tremble at the look of him : if he do but touch the hills, they shall smoke.

I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live : I will praise my God while I have my being.

And so shall my words please him : my joy shall be in the Lord.

As for sinners, they shall be consumed out of the earth, and the ungodly shall come to an end : praise thou the Lord, O my soul, praise the Lord.

Antiphon. Praise the Lord, O my soul : O Lord my God.

(n) *Verse and Response.* His honour is great in thy salvation.

Glory and great worship shalt Thou lay upon him.

The Lord's Prayer (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 3. The Almighty and merciful Lord absolve us from the bonds of our sins. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 7. Minister.—The reading of the Gospel be to us salvation and defence. *Amen.*

Lesson 7. Matt. xvii. 1—5. At that time Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart,

And was transfigured before them : and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.

And behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him.

Then answered Peter, and said unto Jesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here : if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles ; one for thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias.

While he yet spake, behold a bright cloud overshadowed them : and behold, a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased : hear ye him.

Homily of St. John Chrysostom. Whereas the Lord spoke much concerning dangers, His own death, and the death and slaughter of His disciples, and enjoined on them many severe and difficult things, and all this, too, in the present life, and soon to come, while the gain was but in hope and expectation, (for instance, that they should save their life, if they lost it, that He will come in the glory of his Father and dispense rewards,) therefore, in order to certify them even by sight, and to show them what that glory was, with which he was to come, He shows it them as far as they could understand it in this present life, and unveils it, lest they should grieve at the thought of their own or their Lord's death, and chiefly Peter.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy on us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 7. God hath called us with a holy calling, according to His grace, which is now made manifest : by the glorious appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light.

By the glorious appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 8. Minister.—The help of God abide with us for ever.
Amen.

Lesson 8. (Homily continued.) And see what He does, after discoursing of His kingdom and of hell. For in that he said, "He who finds his life, shall lose it, and whoever will lose it for my sake, the same shall find it;" and in that He said, "He shall render to every one according to his works," He has pointed out both His kingdom and hell. When then He had discoursed concerning both, of His kingdom He granted the sight to human eyes, but not of hell; since, needful as that might have been for the uninstructed and unready, yet upright and clearsighted men, as the Apostles, needed but to be confirmed by the better part. This part indeed it was far more fitting He should mention, yet He did not altogether pass over the other, placing at times the terribleness of hell as if before the eyes, as in His description of Lazarus, and of him who demanded back the hundred pence.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 8. God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts: to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

Unto the godly there ariseth up light in the darkness; he is merciful, loving, and righteous.

To give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

To give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 9. Minister.—The King of Angels bring us through to the society of the inhabitants of Heaven. *Amen.*

Lesson 9. (Homily continued.) Think upon the greatness of mind in St. Matthew, who has not concealed the names of those who were preferred over the rest: which St. John also shows often, when he notes down the special praises of Peter so accurately and carefully. In this fellowship of Apostles there was no place for envy or for vain-glory. Therefore He took apart with him the chief ones of the Apostles. Why took He those only? for this reason, because they were superior to the rest. But why did He not do so at once, but after six days? lest His other disciples, or others generally should be troubled; for which reason neither did He name those whom He was alone to take with Him.

Thou, then, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Te Deum. Vide p. 212. We praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship thee : the Father everlasting.
To thee all Angels cry aloud : the Heavens, and all the Powers
therein, &c.

LAUDS.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be, &c. As it was, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

(o) *Antiphon.* Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them.

Psalm 93. (1) *Vide* p. 213. The Lord is King, and hath put on glorious apparel: the Lord hath put on his apparel, and girded himself with strength.

He hath made the round world so sure: that it cannot be moved.

Ever since the world began, hath thy seat been prepared: thou art from everlasting, &c.

Glory be, &c.

(o) *Antiphon.* Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them.

(p) *Antiphon.* His face did shine as the sun, and His raiment was white as snow. Hallelujah.

Psalm 100. (2) *Vide* p. 213. O be joyful, &c.

Glory be, &c.

(p) *Antiphon.* His face did shine as the sun, and His raiment was white as snow. Hallelujah.

(q) *Antiphon.* And behold there appeared unto them Moses and Elias, speaking with Jesus.

Psalm 63 and 67 (3) *Vide* p. 214. O God, thou art my God, &c.

God be merciful unto us, &c.

Glory be, &c.

(q) *Antiphon.* And behold there appeared unto them Moses and Elias, speaking with Jesus.

(r) *Antiphon.* And Peter answered and said to Jesus, Lord, it is good to be here.

Song of the Three Children. (4) *Vide* p. 214. O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever.

O ye Heavens, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever, &c.

(r) *Antiphon.* And Peter answered and said to Jesus, Lord, it is good to be here.

(s) *Antiphon.* While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them.

Psalm 148, 149, and 150. (5) *Vide* p. 216. O praise ye the Lord of heaven, &c.

O sing unto the Lord, &c.

O praise God, &c.

(s) *Antiphon.* While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them.

(t) *Text.* Phil. iii. 20, 21. *Minister.*—We look for the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be like unto His glorious body.

Thanks be to God.

(u) *Hymn.* Light of the anxious heart,
 [Lux alma Jesu,] Jesu, Thy suppliants cheer ;
 Bid thou the gloom of guilt depart,
 And shed Thy sweetness here.
 Happy the man, whose breast
 Thou makest Thy residence,
 From God's right hand a radiant guest ;
 Unseen by fleshly sense.
 Brightness of God above !
 Unfathomable grace !
 Vouchsafe a present fount of love,
 To cleanse Thy chosen place.
 To Thee, whom children see,
 The Father ever blest,
 The Holy Spirit, One and Three.
 Be endless praise address. *Amen.*

(v) *Verse and Response.* A crown of pure gold is on His forehead.
With the sign of holiness, glory, and honour.

(w) *Antiphon.* And lo, a voice from the clouds, saying, This is My Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Hear ye Him. Hallelujah.

Benediction. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, &c.
 Glory be, &c.

(w) *Antiphon.* And lo, a voice from the clouds, saying, This is My Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Hear ye Him. Hallelujah.
 The Lord be with you,
 And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

(x) *Collect.* O God, who in the glorious transfiguration of Thine Only begotten has sealed the treasure of the faith by the witness of the

ancient fathers, and by the voice coming down in a cloud of light hast wonderfully shadowed forth the perfect adoption of Thy sons, mercifully grant, that we may be made fellow-heirs and partners in the glory of our King, through the same our Lord. *Amen.*

&c. &c. &c.

(So on to the end of Lauds, in the Service for Sunday.)

§ 5. PART OF THE SERVICE FOR AUGUST 10TH.

The Feast of St. Laurence, Deacon and Martyr.

[In order to understand parts of the following Service, it may be necessary for the reader to have some knowledge of St. Laurence's history; which may fitly be conveyed in the following translation from St. Ambrose's Offices, as found in the British Magazine, for January, 1834.

"We must not omit mention of the blessed Laurence, who, on the sight of Sextus, his Bishop, going to martyrdom, began to weep, not so much at his passion, as his own orphanhood. So he called out to him, 'Whither goest thou, O my father, without thy son? Whither can a Priest be hurrying without his Deacon? Never as yet didst thou offer sacrifice without an attendant. How have I displeased thee? Hast thou found me a degenerate son? Peter let Stephen suffer before him. Thou, too, O my Father, show thine own graces in my person, offer up to God him whom thou hast begotten, nor seize the crown of martyrdom without a noble company to answer your good thoughts concerning them.'

"The Prelate answered, 'Nay, son, I leave thee not, neither forsake thee; a fiercer combat is in store for thee. We, as the old, are allotted the lighter skirmish, but youth must bear off a more glorious triumph over tyranny. Thou wilt soon be called upon; cease thy tears; in three days thou shalt follow me. Ill would it seem for me who holds the third rank in the sacred ministry, to press into the first. I leave to thee the legacy of my own constancy.'

In consequence three days after, Laurence was arrested, and, after other tortures, broiled to death on a gridiron. St. Ambrose adds, "when he was stretched upon the scorching gridiron, he did but say, 'The meat is done; turn it over, and eat it.'" This happened A. D. 258. Other particulars of his Martyrdom will be found in the Service itself. It may be added, by way of explaining an allusion in the above account, that "Priest," in the language of antiquity, means

one who has the power of consecrating the Eucharist, *i. e.* Bishop and Presbyter, *Διευθυντής*, or as our Service seems sometimes to express it, *Minister*; and that the Deacon was the usual attendant on the Minister in the celebration.]

FIRST VESPER.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

(yy) *Antiphon.* Laurence entered on his Martyrdom, and confessed the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Psalm 110. p. 236. (1) The Lord said, &c.

(yy) *Antiphon.* Laurence entered on his Martyrdom, and confessed the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

(zz) *Antiphon.* Laurence hath wrought a good work, who by the sign of the Cross gave sight to the blind.

Psalm 111. p. 236. (2) I will give thanks, &c.

(zz) *Antiphon.* Laurence hath wrought a good work, who by the sign of the Cross gave sight to the blind.

(aaa) *Antiphon.* My soul hangeth upon Thee, because my flesh is burned in the fire for Thee, O my God.

Psalm 112. p. 237. (3) Blessed is the man, &c.

(aaa) *Antiphon.* My soul hangeth upon Thee, because my flesh is burned in the fire for Thee, O my God.

(bbb) *Antiphon.* The Lord hath sent His Angel, and hath delivered me from the midst of the fire, and I am not tormented.

Psalm 113. p. 237. (4) Praise the Lord, ye servants, &c.

(bbb) *Antiphon.* The Lord hath sent His Angel, and hath delivered me from the midst of the fire, and I am not tormented.

(ccc) *Antiphon.* Blessed Laurence prayed, saying, I give Thee thanks, O Lord, because I have been found worthy to enter Thy gates.

Psalm 117. (5) O praise the Lord, all ye heathen: praise him, all ye nations.

For his merciful kindness is ever more and more towards us: and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever. Praise the Lord.

(ccc) *Antiphon.* Blessed Laurence prayed, saying, I give Thee thanks, O Lord, because I have been found worthy to enter Thy gates.

(ddd) *Text.* 2 Cor. ix. 6. *Minister.*—Brethren, he which soweth sparingly shall reap sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap bountifully.

Thanks be to God.

(eee) *Hymn.*

[Invicte martyr unicum. *It is remarkable that this Hymn, which is the only one of those here translated which savours of Romanism, is the only one, except one other, which is not known to be ancient. The rest are either Ambrosian or Gregorian, except one, which is by Prudentius. (Quicumque Christum.) Of the Hymn Lux Alma Jesu, the Translator cannot discover the Author.*]

Martyr of Christ, thy fight is won !
Following the Father's only Son,
O'er thy fall'n foes thou triumphest,
In heavenly courts a risen guest.
Use thou for us thy gift of prayer
To cleanse thy brethren's sin,
To sweeten earth's infectious air,
And gain us peace within.

For ever broken is the chain
That bound thy body's hallowed fane ;
As God hath given thee, break the tie
Which links our hearts to vanity.
To God the Father, God the Son,
And God the Paraclete,
Be praise, while circling ages run
Beneath the Eternal's feet. *Amen.*

(fff) *Verse and Response.* Thou hast crowned Him with glory and worship.

And makest him to have dominion of the works of Thy hands.

(ggg) *Antiphon.* On the hot bars I denied Thee not, my God : and when brought to the fire, I confessed Thee, O Christ. Thou hast proved my heart, and visited me in the night ; thou hast tried me by fire, and hast found no wickedness in me.

Magnificat. My soul doth magnify the Lord, &c.

Antiphon. On the hot bars I denied thee not, &c.
The Lord be with you,
And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Collect. Almighty God, who gavest to blessed Laurence to overcome the fire of his torture, grant to us, we beseech Thee, to extinguish the flames of our vices, through the Lord. *Amen.*

(*The Service ends as above in Vespers, p. 240.*)

MATIN SERVICE.

O Lord, open Thou my lips ;
And my mouth shall show forth Thy praise.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

- (a) *Invitatory.* Blessed Laurence, the Martyr of Christ, is crowned, and triumphs in heaven : come, let us worship.

Blessed Laurence, the Martyr of Christ, &c.

Psalm 95. O come, let us sing unto the Lord, let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation.

Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving : and shew ourselves glad in him with psalms.

Blessed Laurence, the Martyr of Christ, is crowned, and triumphs in heaven : come, let us worship.

For the Lord is a great God : and a great King above all gods.

In his hand are all the corners of the earth : and the strength of the hills is his also.

Come, let us worship.

The sea is his, and he made it : and his hands prepared the dry land.

O come, let us worship and fall down : and kneel before the Lord our Maker.

For he is the Lord our God : and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand.

Blessed Laurence, the Martyr of Christ, is crowned, and triumphs in heaven : come, let us worship.

To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts : as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness ;

When your fathers tempted me : proved me, and saw my works.

Come, let us worship.

Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said : It is a people that do err in their hearts, for they have not known my ways ;

Unto whom I swear in my wrath : that they should not enter into my rest.

Blessed Laurence, the Martyr of Christ, is crowned, and triumphs in heaven : come, let us worship.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c. Amen.

Come, let us worship.

Blessed Laurence, the Martyr of Christ, is crowned, and triumphs in heaven : come, let us worship.

- (b) *Hymn.*

[*Deus tuorum militum.*]

O God, of Thy soldiers

The Portion and Crown,

Spare sinners, who hymn

The praise of the Blest ;

Earth's bitter joys,

Its lures and its frown,

He weighed them and scorned,

And so is at rest.

The Martyr he ran
 All valiantly o'er
 A highway of blood
 For the prize Thou hast given.
 We kneel at Thy feet,
 And meekly implore,
 Our pardon may wait
 On his triumph in heaven.

Honour and praise
 To the Father and Son
 And the Spirit be done
 Now and always. *Amen.*

—
 NOCTURN I.

(c) *Antiphon.* Whither speedest thou without thy son, O my father?
 Whither, holy Priest, hurriest thou without attendant?

Psalm 1. (1) Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel
 of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners: and hath not sat
 in the seat of the scornful.

But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law will
 he exercise himself day and night.

And he shall be like a tree planted by the water-side: that will
 bring forth his fruit in due season.

His leaf also shall not wither: and look, whatsoever he doeth,
 it shall prosper.

As for the ungodly, it is not so with them: but they are like
 the chaff, which the wind scattereth away from the face of the
 earth.

Therefore the ungodly shall not be able to stand in the judg-
 ment: neither the sinners in the congregation of the righteous.

But the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous: and the way
 of the ungodly shall perish. *Glory be, &c.*

(c) *Antiphon.* Whither speedest thou without thy son, O my father?
 Whither, holy Priest, hurriest thou without attendant?

(d) *Antiphon.* Forsake me not, O holy Father, for I have just laid out
 those treasures which thou gavest me in trust.

Psalm 2. (2) Why do the heathen so furiously rage together: and
 why do the people imagine a vain thing?

The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel
 together: against the Lord, and against his Anointed.

Let us break their bonds asunder: and cast away their cords
 from us.

He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn: the Lord
 shall have them in derision.

Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath: and vex them in
 his sore displeasure.

Yet have I set my King: upon my holy hill of Sion.

I will preach the law, whereof the Lord hath said unto me :
Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

Desire of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance : and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession.

Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron : and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.

Be wise now therefore, O ye kings : be learned, ye that are judges of the earth.

Serve the Lord in fear : and rejoice unto him with reverence.

Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and so ye perish from the right way : if his wrath be kindled, (yea, but a little) blessed are all they that put their trust in him. Glory be, &c.

(d) *Antiphon.* Forsake me not, O Holy Father, for I have now laid out those treasures which Thou gavest me in trust.

(e) *Antiphon.* I desert thee not, O my son, neither do I forsake thee ; but a higher conflict for the faith of Christ is in store for thee.

Psalms 3. (3) Lord, how are they increased that trouble me : many are they that rise against me.

Many one there be that say of my soul : There is no help for him in his God.

But thou, O Lord, art my defender : thou art my worship, and the lifter up of my head.

I did call upon the Lord with my voice ; and he heard me out of his holy hill.

I laid me down and slept, and rose up again : for the Lord sustained me.

I will not be afraid for ten thousands of the people : that have set themselves against me round about.

Up, Lord, and help me, O my God : for thou smitest all mine enemies upon the cheek-bone ; thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly.

Salvation belongeth unto the Lord : and thy blessing is upon thy people. Glory be, &c.

(e) *Antiphon.* I desert thee not, O my son, neither do I forsake thee ; but a higher conflict for the faith of Christ is in store for thee.

(f) *Verse and Response.* Thou hast crowned him with glory and worship.
And makest Him to have dominion of the works of Thy hands.

The Lord's Prayer (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation,
But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 1. O Lord Jesus Christ, hearken unto the prayers of thy servants, and have mercy upon us, who livest and reignest with the Father and Holy Ghost, world without end. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 1. Minister.—The Father everlasting bless us with a perpetual blessing. *Amen.*

Lesson 1. Eccus. li. 1—5. I will thank thee, O Lord and King, and praise thee, O God my Saviour, I do give praise unto Thy name ;

For thou art my defender and helper, and hast preserved my body from destruction, and from the snare of the slanderous tongue, and from lips that forge lies, and hast been mine helper against mine adversaries :

And hast delivered me, according to the multitude of Thy mercies and greatness of Thy name, from the teeth of them that were ready to devour me, and out of the hands of such as sought after my life, and from the manifold afflictions which I had ;

From the choking of fire on every side, and from the midst of the fire which I kindled not.

From the depth of the belly of hell, from an unclean tongue, and from lying words, from an unjust king, and from an unrighteous tongue.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 1. Laurence, the Deacon, wrought a good work, who enlightened the blind by the sign of the Cross : and gave the treasures of the Church to the poor.

He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor, and his righteousness remaineth for ever.

And he gave the treasures of the Church to the poor.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 2. Minister.—The only begotten Son of God vouchsafe to bless and help us. *Amen.*

Lesson 2. Eccus. li. 6—9. My soul shall praise the Lord even unto death, my life was near to the hell beneath.

They compassed me on every side, and there was no man to help me : I looked for the succour of men, but there was none.

Then thought I upon thy mercy, O Lord, and upon Thy acts of old, how Thou deliveredst such as wait for Thee, and savest them out of the hands of the enemies.

Then I lifted up my supplication from the earth and prayed for deliverance from death.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 2. My child, be not afraid, for I am with thee, saith the Lord. When thou passest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the smell of fire pass upon thee.

I will deliver thee from the bond of the wicked, and rescue thee from the hand of the mighty.

When thou passest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the smell of fire pass upon thee.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 3. Minister.—The grace of the Holy Spirit enlighten our thoughts and hearts. *Amen.*

Lesson 3. Eccus. li. 10—12. I called upon the Lord, the Father of my Lord, that He would not leave me in the days of my trouble, and in the time of the proud, when there was no help.

I will praise Thy name continually, and will sing praise with thanksgiving; and so my prayer was heard.

For thou savedst me from destruction, and deliveredst me from the evil time: therefore will I give thanks, and praise Thee, and bless Thy name, O Lord.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 3. They bound down his limbs upon the bars; but while they ministered live coals, the deacon of Christ laughs them to scorn. Blessed Laurence, Martyr of Christ, intercede for us.

My night has no darkness, but all things grow clear in the light.

Blessed Laurence, Martyr of Christ, intercede for us.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c.

Blessed Laurence, Martyr of Christ, intercede for us.

NOCTURN II.

(g) *Antiphon.* Blessed Laurence prayed saying, Lord Jesus Christ, God from God, have mercy on Thy servant.

Psalm 4. (4) Hear me when I call, O God of my righteousness: thou hast set me at liberty when I was in trouble: have mercy upon me, and hearken unto my prayer.

O ye sons of men, how long will ye blaspheme mine honour; and have such pleasure in vanity, and seek after leasing?

Know this also, that the Lord hath chosen to himself the man that is godly: when I call upon the Lord, he will hear me.

Stand in awe, and sin not: commune with your own heart, and in your chamber, and be still.

Offer the sacrifice of righteousness: and put your trust in the Lord.

There be many that say: Who will shew us any good?

Lord, lift thou up: the light of thy countenance upon us.

Thou hast put gladness in my heart: since the time that their corn, and wine, and oil increased.

I will lay me down in peace, and take my rest: for it is thou, Lord, only, that makest me dwell in safety. Glory be, &c.

(g) *Antiphon.* Blessed Laurence prayed saying, Lord Jesus Christ, God from God, have mercy on Thy servnt.

(h) *Antiphon.* Romanus said to blessed Laurence, I see before thee a young man of fair countenance, hasten to baptize me.

Psalm 5. (5) Ponder my words, O Lord: consider my meditation.

O hearken thou unto the voice of my calling, my King, and my God: for unto thee will I make my prayer.

My voice shalt thou hear betimes, O Lord : early in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee, and will look up.

For thou art the God that hast no pleasure in wickedness : neither shall any evil dwell with thee.

Such as be foolish shall not stand in thy sight : for thou hatest all them that work vanity.

Thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing : the Lord will abhor both the blood-thirsty and deceitful man.

But as for me, I will come into thine house, even upon the multitude of thy mercy ; and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple.

Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness, because of mine enemies : make thy way plain before my face.

For there is no faithfulness in his mouth : their inward parts are very wickedness.

Their throat is an open sepulchre : they flatter with their tongue.

Destroy thou them, O God ; let them perish through their own imaginations : cast them out in the multitude of their ungodliness : for they have rebelled against thee.

And let all them that put their trust in thee rejoice ; they shall ever be giving of thanks, because thou defendest them ; they that love thy Name shall be joyful in thee.

For thou, Lord, wilt give thy blessing unto the righteous : and with thy favourable kindness wilt thou defend him as with a shield. Glory be, &c.

(h) *Antiphon.* Romanus said to blessed Laurence, I see before thee a young man of fair countenance, hasten to baptize me.

(i) *Antiphon.* Blessed Laurence answered, My night has no darkness, but all things grow clear in the light.

Psalm 8. (6) O Lord, our Governor, how excellent is thy name in all the world : thou that hast set thy glory above the heavens !

Out of the mouth of very babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies : that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.

For I will consider thy heavens, even the works of thy fingers : the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained.

What is man, that thou art mindful of him : and the Son of man that thou visitest him ?

Thou madest him lower than the angels : to crown him with glory and worship.

Thou makest him to have dominion of the works of thy hands : and thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet ;

All sheep and oxen : yea, and the beasts of the field ;

The fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea : and whatsoever walketh through the paths of the seas.

O Lord, our Governor : how excellent is thy name in all the world ! Glory be, &c.

(i) *Antiphon.* Blessed Laurence answered, My night has no darkness, but all things grow clear in the light.

(j) *Verse and Response.* Lord, thou hast set upon his head,
A crown of precious stones.

The Lord's Prayer, (privately.) Our Father, &c.
 And lead us not into temptation,
But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 2. His pity and mercy help us, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth, world without end. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 4. Minister.—God the Father Almighty, be favourable and gracious unto us. *Amen.*

Lesson 4. (Sermon of St. Leo, Pope.) While the fury of the heathen powers raged against the most chosen members of Christ, those chiefly who were in the order of the Ministry, Laurence the Deacon, having not only the dispensation of the Sacraments, but also of the Church's store, incited the impious persecutor, who promised himself a double price in one man, the gain of the sacred treasure and the ruin of him who surrendered it. Instigated therefore by this twofold flame, avarice and hatred of the truth, to rob him of his treasure and of Christ, he demands of the spotless Sacristan, those stores of the Church of which he was greedy. To whom he, most holy Deacon, by way of showing where they really were laid up, presented vast multitudes of Christian poor, on whose food and clothing he had expended wealth which could not be taken away, but was irrevocably his from the sanctity of his using.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 4. *Whither speedest thou without thy Son, O my father? Whither hurriest thou, holy priest, without thy Deacon? Thou never yet hast offered sacrifice without attendant.*

What hath in me displeased thy fatherly love? in what have I come short? make trial of his fitness to whom thou hast entrusted the dispensation of the Lord's blood.

Thou never yet hast offered sacrifice without attendant.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 5. Minister.—Christ grant us the joys of eternal life.
Amen.

Lesson 5. (Sermon continued.) Therefore, the disappointed robber roars aloud, and kindling into hatred of that religion, which had introduced such an application of worldly goods, he attempts the plunder of another treasure-house, not of gold or silver, to rob it of that store which was of a more holy costliness. He bids Laurence renounce Christ, and prepares against the stubborn courage of that Deacon's heart, dreadful tortures; and when the first prove fruitless, he proceeds to fiercer. He tears and shreds his limbs with continued scourging, next he gives orders to broil them over the fire, so that, being stretched upon the red hot bars, first on one

side, then on the other, the torment might be the greater, and the punishment more protracted.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 5. Forsake me not, O holy father, for I have already laid out my stores. I desert thee not, my son, neither do I forsake thee; but a fiercer conflict for the faith of Christ is in store for thee.

We, as aged men, receive the onset of the skirmish, thou, being young, will have to bear off a more glorious triumph over the persecutor; the Deacon shall follow his Bishop on the third day.

I desert thee not, my son, neither do I forsake thee; but a fiercer conflict for the faith of Christ is in store for thee.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 6. Minister.—God kindle the fire of His love in our hearts. *Amen.*

Lesson 6. Thou gainest nothing, thou availest nothing, O savage cruelty! The mortal frame is gradually released from thy tortures. Laurence departs heavenward, and thy flames fail thee. The love of Christ surpassed the flame, and the fire which burned around him was duller than that which was kindled within him. O Persecutor, thou has spent thy rage upon the Martyr; thou hast spent it, and added to his palm, while adding to his pain. For what part of thy device has not redounded to the conqueror's glory, when even the instruments of his suffering are converted into decorations of his triumph? Let us then rejoice, dearly beloved, with a spiritual joy, and glory in the Lord concerning the most blessed end of this famous man. God is wonderful in His Saints, in whom He hath ordained for us a sanction and an example, and hath so shown forth His glory through the whole world, that from the rising to the setting sun, among the refulgent lights of the Diaconate, Rome became as honoured in her Laurence, as Jerusalem in Stephen.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 6. Blessed Laurence cried out and said, My God I worship, Him alone I serve, and therefore I fear not your tortures.

My night hath no darkness, but all things grow clear in the light.

And therefore I fear not your tortures.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

And therefore I fear not your tortures.

NOCTURN III.

(k) *Antiphon.* They bound down his limbs upon the bars; but while

they laid underneath live coals, the Deacon of Christ laughs them to scorn.

Psalm 15. (7) Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle : or who shall rest upon thy holy hill ?

Even he that leadeth an uncorrupt life : and doeth the thing which is right, and speaketh the truth from his heart.

He that hath used no deceit in his tongue, nor done evil to his neighbour ; and hath not slandered his neighbour.

He that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his own eyes : and maketh much of them that fear the Lord.

He that sweareth unto his neighbour, and disappointeth him not : though it were to his own hindrance.

He that hath not given his money upon usury : nor taken reward against the innocent.

Whoso doeth these things shall never fall. Glory be, &c.

(k) *Antiphon.* They bound his limbs upon the bars ; but while they laid underneath live coals, the Deacon of Christ laughs them to scorn.

(l) *Antiphon.* Thou hast tried me with fire, and hast found no wickedness in me.

Psalm 17. (8) Hear the right, O Lord, consider my complaint : and hearken unto my prayer, that goeth not out of feigned lips.

Let my sentence come forth from thy presence : and let thine eyes look upon the thing that is equal.

Thou hast proved and visited mine heart in the night season ; thou hast tried me, and shalt find no wickedness in me : for I am utterly purposed that my mouth shall not offend.

Because of men's works, that are done against the words of thy lips : I have kept me from the ways of the destroyer.

O hold thou up my goings in thy paths : that my footsteps slip not.

I have called upon thee, O God, for thou shalt hear me : incline thine ear unto me, and hearken unto my words.

Shew thy marvellous loving-kindness, thou that art the Saviour of them which put their trust in thee : from such as resist thy right hand.

Keep me as the apple of an eye : hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

From the ungodly that trouble me : mine enemies compass me round about to take away my soul.

They are inclosed in their own fat : and their mouth speaketh proud things.

They lie waiting in our way on every side : turning their eyes down to the ground.

Like as a lion that is greedy of his prey : and as it were a lion's whelp lurking in secret places.

Up, Lord, disappoint him, and cast him down : deliver my soul from the ungodly, which is a sword of thine ;

From the men of thy hand, O Lord, from the men, I say, and

from the evil world : which have their portion in this life, whose bellies thou fillest with thy hid treasure.

They have children at their desire : and leave the rest of their substance for their babes.

But as for me, I will behold thy presence in righteousness ; and when I awake up after thy likeness, I shall be satisfied with it. Glory be, &c.

(l) *Antiphon.* 'Thou hast tried me with fire, and hast found no wickedness in me.

(m) *Antiphon.* When I was questioned, I confessed the Lord : when I am burned, I give thanks.

Psalm 21. (9) The King shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord : exceedingly glad shall he be of thy salvation.

Thou hast given him his heart's desire : and hast not denied him the request of his lips.

For thou shalt prevent him with the blessings of goodness : and shalt set a crown of pure gold upon his head.

He asked life of thee, and thou gavest him a long life : even for ever and ever.

His honour is great in thy salvation : glory and great worship shalt thou lay upon him.

For thou shalt give him everlasting felicity : and make him glad with the joy of thy countenance.

And why ? because the King putteth his trust in the Lord : and in the mercy of the Most Highest he shall not miscarry.

All thine enemies shall feel thy hand : thy right hand shall find out them that hate thee.

Thou shalt make them like a fiery oven in time of thy wrath : the Lord shall destroy them in his displeasure, and the fire shall consume them.

Their fruit shalt thou root out of the earth : and their seed from among the children of men.

For they intended mischief against thee : and imagined such a device as they are not able to perform.

Therefore shalt thou put them to flight : and the strings of thy bow shalt thou make ready against the face of them.

Be thou exalted, Lord, in thine own strength : so will we sing, and praise thy power. Glory be, &c.

(m) *Antiphon.* When I was questioned, I confessed the Lord : when I am burned, I give thanks.

(n) *Verse and Response.* His honour is great in thy salvation.

Glory and great worship shalt Thou lay upon him.

The Lord's Prayer (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation,

But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 3. The Almighty and merciful Lord absolve us from the chain of our sins. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 7. Minister.—May the reading of the Gospel be to us salvation and a defence. *Amen.*

Lesson 7. John xii. 24, 25. At that time Jesus said to His Disciples, Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone ; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit. He that loveth his life, shall lose it, and he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal.

Homily of St. Augustine. The Lord Jesus Himself was the corn of wheat to be put to death, and to be multiplied : to be put to death by the unbelief of the Jews, to be multiplied by the belief of the Gentiles. Therefore, exhorting us to trace the footsteps of His passion, He says, “ He that loveth his life shall lose it.” Which may be understood in two ways. He that loveth, shall lose ; that is, if thou lovest, thou shalt lose. If thou wouldest possess life in Christ, fear not that death for Christ which is necessary. Or otherwise ; He that loveth his life, shall lose it. Love it not lest thou really lose it ; love it not here, lest thou lose it eternally.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 7. On the hot bars I denied Thee not, my God ; and when brought to the fire, I confessed the Lord Jesus Christ.

Thou hast proved, O Lord, and visited mine heart in the night-season.

And when brought to the fire, I confessed the Lord Jesus Christ.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 8. Minister.—May he whose festival we keep, intercede for us to the Lord. *Amen.*

Lesson 8. (Homily continued.) The latter of these two seems rather to be the sense of the Gospel. For it goes on, “ And he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life eternal.” Therefore, as is said before, “ He that loveth,” that is, “ in this world,” he surely shall lose it ; but “ he who hateth,” namely, “ in this world,” shall keep it unto life eternal. A great and marvellous saying, how it should be that a man should love his life to its destruction, and hate it to its preservation. If thou hast loved it perversely, then thou really hatest it ; if thou hast hated rightly, then thou hast loved it. Blessed are they who so hate it while really saving it, as not to lose it while loving it.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 8. O Hippolytus, if thou hast faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, I will both show thee treasures, and promise thee life everlasting.

The blessed Laurence said to Hippolytus, If thou hast faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

I will both show thee treasures, and promise thee life everlasting.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was, &c.

I will both show thee treasures, and promise thee life everlasting.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 9. Minister.—The King of Angels lead us on to the fellowship of the inhabitants of heaven. *Amen.*

Lesson 9. (Homily continued.) But beware of the desire of 'self-murder stealing on thee as if from the precept of hating thy life in this world. For hence certain evil-tempered and perverse men, and to themselves more cruel and wicked murderers, give themselves to the flames, drown themselves in the water, break their bones down precipices, and so perish. This is not from Christ's teaching, who even answered to the devil, suggesting to Him such a fall, "Get thee behind me, Satan; it is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." But to Peter he said, signifying by what death he should glorify God, "When thou wast young, thou girdest thyself and walkedst whither thou wouldst; but when thou art old, another shall gird thee, and shall carry thee whither thou wouldst not." Where he sufficiently intimated that he who follows Christ's footsteps must be put to death, not by himself, but by another.

Te Deum. We praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship thee: the Father everlasting.

To thee all Angels cry aloud: the heavens and all the Powers therein, &c.

§ 6. MATIN SERVICE FOR MARCH 21.

Bishop Ken's Day.

[FOR SOCIAL OR PRIVATE DEVOTION.]

O Lord, open Thou my lips,
And my mouth shall show forth Thy Praise.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be, &c.

As it was, &c.

Amen.

Praise to Thee, O Lord, King of eternal glory.

(a) *Invitatory with Psalm 95. Vide pp. 188 and 194.* O come, let us worship the Lord, the King of Confessors.

O come, let us sing unto the Lord : let us heartily rejoice, &c.

- (b) *Hymn.* In witness of his Lord,
 In humble following of his Saviour dear,
 This is the man to wield the unearthly sword,
 Warring unharmed with sin and fear.
- Who, Lord, uncalled by Thee,
 Dare Touch Thy Spouse, Thy very self below ?
 Or who dare count him summoned worthily,
 Except Thine hand and seal he show ?
- Where can Thy seal be found,
 But on the chosen seed from age to age,
 By Thine anointed heralds duly crowned,
 As kings and priests, Thy war to wage ?

Or this :

Lord, and what shall this man do ?
 Ask'st thou, Christian, for thy friend !
 If his love for Christ be true,
 Christ hath told thee of his end :
 This is he whom God approves,
 This is he whom Jesus loves.

Ask not of Him more than this,
 Leave it to his Saviour's breast,
 Whether early called to bliss,
 He in youth shall find his rest,
 Or armed at his station wait,
 Till his Lord be at the gate.

Gales from heaven, if so He will,
 Sweeter melodies can wake,
 On the lonely mountain rill,
 Than the meeting waters make.
 Who hath the Father and the Son,
 May be left but not alone.

NOCTURN I.

- (c) *Antiphon.* Blessed is the man whose delight is in the law of the Lord.
- Psalms 1. (1)* Blessed is the man that, &c.
- (c) *Antiphon.* Blessed is the man whose delight is in the law of the Lord, who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful.
- (d) *Antiphon.* Desire of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance.

Psalm 2. (2) Why do the heathen, &c.

(d) *Antiphon.* Desire of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron.

(e) *Antiphon.* Thou, O Lord, art my worship.

Psalm 3. (3) Lord, how are they, &c.

(e) *Antiphon.* Thou, O Lord, art my worship, and the lifter up of my head. I did call upon the Lord with my voice, and He heard me out of His holy hill.

(f) *Verse and Response.* The Lord loved him and adorned him.

And clothed him in a robe of glory.

The Lord's Prayer, (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 1. O Lord Jesus Christ, mercifully hear the supplications of Thy people, and grant us Thy peace all the days of our life, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, world without end. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 1. Minister.—The Lord bless us and keep us. *Amen.*

Lesson 1. 1 Tim. iii. 1—6. This is a true saying, If a man desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth a good work.

A Bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach!

Not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous:

One that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity;

(For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?)

Not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation of the devil.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 1. Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.

Lord, Thou deliveredst unto me five talents, behold, I have gained beside them five talents more.

Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 2. Minister.—The Lord make His face to shine upon us, and be gracious unto us. *Amen.*

Lesson 2. Tit. i. 7—11. For a Bishop must be blameless, as the steward

of God ; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre ;

But a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate ;

Holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort, and to convince the gainsayers.

For there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision.

Whose mouth must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 2. Let thy Thummin and thy Urim be with Thy holy one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, and with whom Thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah ; they shall put incense before Thee, and whole burnt sacrifice upon Thine altar.

Bless, Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands ; smite through the loins of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again :

They shall put incense before Thee, and whole burnt sacrifice upon Thine altar.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 3. Minister.—The Lord lift up His countenance upon us, and give us peace. *Amen.*

Lesson 3. Tit. ii. 1—8. But speak thou the things which become sound doctrine.

That the aged men be sober, grave, temperate, sound in faith, in charity, in patience.

The aged women likewise, that *they be* in behaviour as becometh holiness, not false accusers, not given to much wine, teachers of good things ;

That they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children,

To be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed.

Young men likewise exhort to be sober-minded.

In all things shewing thyself a pattern of good works ; in doctrine, *shewing* uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity.

Sound speech, that cannot be condemned ; that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 3. Let the saints be joyful with glory, let them rejoice in their beds, let the praises of God be in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands : to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with links of iron.

That they may be avenged of them, as it is written, Such honour have all His saints.

*To bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with links of iron.
Glory be, &c.*

To bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with links of iron.

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NOCTURN II.

(g) *Antiphon.* Thou hast put gladness in my heart.

Psalm 4. (4) Hear me when I call, &c.

(g) *Antiphon.* Thou hast put gladness in my heart, since the time that their corn, and wine, and oil increased.

(h) *Antiphon.* Lead me, O Lord, in Thy righteousness.

Psalm 5. (5) Ponder my words, &c.

(h) *Antiphon.* Lead me, O Lord, in Thy righteousness, because of mine enemies; make Thy way plain before my face.

(i) *Antiphon.* Out of the mouth of very babes and sucklings hast Thou ordained strength.

Psalm-8. (6) O Lord, our Governor, &c.

(i) *Antiphon.* Out of the mouth of very babes and sucklings hast Thou ordained strength, because of Thine enemies, that Thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.

(j) *Verse and Response.* The Lord hath chosen Him as a priest unto Himself.

To sacrifice to Him the offering of praise.

The Lord's prayer (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 2. Grant, O Lord, we beseech Thee, that we, who for our evil deeds do worthily deserve to be punished, by the comfort of Thy grace may mercifully be relieved, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 4. Minister.—The love of God be upon us now and for ever.

Lesson 4. Thomas Ken, the son of an ancient family, was born at Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, in the year of grace 1637, and educated at Winton and Oxford, on the foundation of William of Wykeham, of famous memory, sometime Bishop of Winton. Admitted into holy orders, he commenced a course of preaching at St. John's church, near Winton, where there was no preacher, with so blessed an effect, that many Anabaptists came over to the Church, and received baptism at his hands. That he might have time for these active duties, for study also, and for prayer, he restricted himself to but one sleep, rising at one or two of the clock

in the morning, and sometimes sooner; which practice grew into a habit, and continued with him almost till his last illness. After a while he was made chaplain to the king's niece, the Princess of Orange, and passed over to Holland: where, after gaining her entire esteem for his most prudent behaviour and strict piety, he fell under the displeasure of the Prince, for interfering with one of his courtiers, who had seduced a young English gentlewoman, and was eventually obliged to leave the royal service.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 4. Princes have persecuted me without a cause; but my heart standeth in awe of Thy word.

I will speak of Thy testimonies also, even before kings, and will not be ashamed.

But my heart standeth in awe of Thy word.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 5. Minister.—The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be upon us, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Lesson 5. Afterwards, when he was at Winton, in his Prebendal house, the king came thither with his court, and mistress, whom his harbingers ordered to be lodged where Ken dwelt; but fearing God more than the face of the King, he refused her admittance, and obliged her to seek another lodging. And herein was seen how winning is holy severity, even with those who suffer for it; for a vacancy soon occurring in the see of Bath and Wells, the King himself, as his own especial act, named Ken to fill it; and he was consecrated thereunto on St. Paul's day, in the year 1684. Moreover, during the king's last illness, he was admitted to his chamber, and gave close attendance at his bedside for at least three whole days and nights, without any intermission, watching at proper intervals to suggest pious thoughts and prayers; in which time one of the King's mistresses coming in, the Bishop prevailed with him to have her removed, and induced him further to send for the Queen, and ask her forgiveness for his long fidelity. And though he was not able to do all he had wished for his dying Sovereign, he did all that was allowed him.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 5. Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake.

And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.

And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 6. Minister.—The fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us now and for ever. *Amen.*

Lesson 6. When the King's brother succeeded to the throne, Ken showed his loyalty to him indeed, but in word was free spoken. At length, when the King advanced in daring, the Bishop refusing to submit the conduct of the Church to his pleasure, and mindful of the rights of Christ's heritage, was in consequence committed, together with six of his brethren, to the Tower, on a charge of treason. Afterwards, when the King and his family were dethroned for arbitrary doings, he showed his true loyalty to him by refusing to acknowledge the new dynasty, and lost his station in the state rather than violate his allegiance. Being driven from his see by the civil power, he died in obscurity in the year 1710. Thus he gave to Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and to God the things that be God's. He was as meek, gentle, and affectionate in his bearing, as he was bold in the cause of the Gospel; and he took his troubles cheerfully and lightly. He possessed, in an especial way, that most excellent gift of charity. Once, when four thousand pounds fell to his see, he gave great part of it to the French Protestants then under persecution: and, when he was deprived, all his means, after the sale of his goods at his palace and elsewhere, was not more than seven hundred pounds. When state interests interfered with the prosperity of the Church in Scotland, he said, he conceived great hopes that God would have compassion on the English branch of it, if she did but compassionate and support her sister: and he gave testimony concerning his belief shortly before his death, saying that he died in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of east and west. Such was Ken, a burning and shining light, bringing back primitive times.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 6. *I said I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and in vain; yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.*

He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword: in the shadow of His hand hath He hid me.

Surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.

Glory be, &c.

Surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.

NOCTURN III.

(k) *Antiphon.* Lord he shall dwell in Thy tabernacle.

Psalm 15. (7) Lord, who shall dwell, &c.

(k) *Antiphon.* Lord, he shall dwell in Thy tabernacle: he hath led an uncorrupt life, he hath done the thing that is right.

(1) *Antiphon.* He asked life of Thee, and Thou gavest him a long life.

Psalm 21. (8) The King shall rejoice, &c.

(1) *Antiphon.* He asked life of Thee, and Thou gavest him a long

life : glory and great worship shalt Thou lay upon him : Thou shalt set a crown of pure gold upon his head.

(m) *Antiphon.* He shall receive the blessing from the Lord.

Psalm 24. (9) The earth is the Lord's, &c.

(m) *Antiphon.* He shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation ; for this is the generation of them that seek him.

(n) *Verse and Response.* The key of David will I lay upon his shoulder.
He shall open and none shall shut, He shall shut and none shall open.

The Lord's Prayer (privately.) Our Father, &c.

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil.

Absolution 3. Grant to us, merciful Lord, that, whereas we are sore let and hindered in running the race that is set before us, Thy bountiful grace and mercy may speedily help and deliver us, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 7. Minister.—The reading of the Gospel be to us salvation and a defence. *Amen.*

Lesson 7. Luke xxii. 25—30. And he said unto them, The Kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them : and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors.

But ye *shall* not be so : but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger : and he that is a chief, as he that doth serve.

For whether *is* greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth ? *is* not he that sitteth at meat ? but I am among you as he that serveth.

Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations.

And I appoint unto you a kingdom as my Father hath appointed unto me ;

That ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

(*From the works of Jeremy Taylor, Bishop.*) The nature of honour is to be a reward of virtue ; and by how much greater the reward is, by so much the greater is the honour which is conferred. What honour shall it then be, when God shall give unto those who served Him, not only to tread upon the stars, to inhabit the palaces of honour, to be lords of the world, but, transcending all that is created, and finding nothing among his riches sufficient to reward them, shall give them His own Infinite Essence, to enjoy, as a recompense of their holiness, not for a day, but to all eternity. O happy labour of the victorious, and glorious combat of the just, against the vices and temptations of the world, when victory de-

serves so inestimable a crown ! How great shall be that glory, when a just soul shall, in the presence of an infinite number of angels, sit in the same throne with Christ : and shall, by the just sentence of God, be praised for a conqueror over the world, and the invisible powers of hell ! What can it desire more, than to be partaker of all those Divine goods, and even to accompany Christ in the same throne ? How cheerfully do they bear all afflictions for Christ, who, with a lively faith and certain hope, apprehend so sublime honours.

Thou, then, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 7. Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the Angels of God.

To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with Me in My throne.

Him shall the Son of man also confess before the Angels of God.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 8. Minister.—Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. *Amen.*

Lesson 8. If the applause of men, and the good opinion which they have from others, be esteemed an honour, what shall be the applause of heaven, and the good opinion not only of Saints and Angels, but of God himself, whose judgment cannot err ? David took it for a great honour, that the daughter of his king was judged a reward of his valour ; God surpasses this, and honours so much the service of His elect, that He pays their merits with no less a reward than Himself. Besides this, he who is most known, and is praised and celebrated for good and virtuous by the greatest multitude, is esteemed the most glorious and honourable person ; but all this world is a solitude in respect of the citizens of heaven, where innumerable angels approve and praise the virtuous actions of the just ; and they likewise are nothing : and all creatures, men, and angels, are but a solitary wilderness, in respect of the Creator. What man so glorious upon earth, whose worth and valour hath been known to all ? Those who were born before him could not know him ; but the just in heaven shall be known by all, past and to come, and by all the angels, and by the King of men and angels.

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Thanks be to God.

Response 8. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die, and their departure is taken for misery, but they are in peace.

Though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality.

But they are in peace.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

But they are in peace.

Reader.—Sir, be pleased to bless us.

Benediction 9. Minister.—The Lord of peace Himself give you peace always by all means. *Amen.*

Lesson 9. The honour of the just in heaven depends not, like that of the earth, upon accidents and reports, nor is exposed to dangers, or measured by the discourse of others; but in itself contains its own glory and dignity. The Romans erected statues unto those whom they intended to honour; because, being mortal, there should something remain after death, to make their persons and services, which they had done to the common weal, known to posterity; but in heaven there is no need of this artifice, because those, which are there honoured, are immortal, and shall have in themselves some character engraved, as an evident and clear token of their noble victories and achievements; what greater honour than to be friends of God, sons, heirs, and kings in the realm of heaven?

Te Deum. We praise Thee, O God; we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship Thee: the Father everlasting.

To Thee all angels cry aloud: the Heavens, and all the Powers therein, &c.

§ 7. SERVICE IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD IN CHRIST.

[It is perhaps scarcely necessary to observe, that the complaints and supplications contained in the Psalms and Lessons selected, are introduced in memory of those temporal miseries, especially in sickness and dying, from which death opens an escape. On the subject of the state of the Dead, *vide* No. 5 of Mr. Dodsworth's recent Sermons.]

FIRST VESPERS.

Antiphon. Behold, O Lord, how that I am Thy servant.

Psalm 116. (1) I am well pleased, &c.

(*Instead of Glory be, &c.*) With thee is the well of life.

And in Thy light they shall see light.

Antiphon. Behold, O Lord, how that I am Thy servant; Thou hast broken my bonds in sunder.

Antiphon. My soul hath long dwelt among them.

Psalm 120. (2) When I was in trouble, &c.

With Thee, &c.

And in Thy, &c.

Antiphon. My soul hath long dwelt among them that are enemies unto peace.

Antiphon. The Lord shall preserve Thee from all evil.

Psalm 121. (3) I will lift up mine eyes, &c.
With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. The Lord shall preserve Thee from all evil; yea, it is even He that shall keep Thy soul.

Antiphon. I look for the Lord.

Psalm 130. (4) Out of the deep, &c.
With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. I look for the Lord, my soul doth wait for Him.

Antiphon. Though I walk in the midst of trouble.

Psalm 138. (5) I will give thanks unto Thee, &c.
With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. Though I walk in the midst of trouble, yet shalt Thou refresh me.

(fff) *Verse and Response.* I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me,
Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.

(ggg) *Antiphon.* All that the Father giveth Me.

Magnificat. My soul doth magnify, &c. Glory be, &c.

Antiphon. All that the Father giveth Me, shall come to Me; and him that cometh to Me, I will in no wise cast out.

The Lord's Prayer, (privately.) Our Father, &c.
And lead us not into temptation,
But deliver us from evil.

Psalm 146. Praise the Lord, O my soul, &c.
With Thee is the well of life.

And in Thy light shall they see light.

In the valley of the shadow of death.

They shall fear no evil.

Into Thy hands we commend their spirit.

For Thou hast redeemed them, O Lord, Thou God of truth.

Lord, hear our prayer.

And let our cry come unto Thee.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

O God, the Maker and Redeemer of all believers, grant to all Thy servants a merciful judgment at the last day, that they, in the face of all creatures, may then be acknowledged as Thy true children, through our Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

O Almighty God, who hast knit together thine elect in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of Thy Son Christ our Lord, grant us grace to follow Thy blessed Saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys which Thou hast prepared for them that unfeignedly love Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity, we give Thee hearty thanks for that it pleased Thee, as on this day, to deliver our dear brother out of the miseries of this sinful world; beseeching Thee that it may please Thee, of thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten Thy kingdom, that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of Thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in Thy eternal and everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O God, merciful and faithful, the aid of all that trust in Thee, keep safely under the shadow of Thy wings ourselves, our relations, and friends, and all believers, even Thy whole Church, that we may enjoy Thy presence alway, and increase in Thy Holy Spirit more and more, till we come to Thine everlasting kingdom, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

With Thee is the well of life.

And in Thy light shall they see light.

May their souls rest in peace. *Amen.*

MATINS.

O Lord, open Thou my lips.

And my mouth shall show forth Thy praise.

O God, make speed to save me.

O Lord, make haste to help me.

Glory be, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

(a) *Invitatory.* Let us worship the Lord of spirits: for all live unto Him.

Psalm 95. O come, let us sing, &c.

With Thee is the well of life.

And in Thy light shall they see light.

NOCTURN I.

Antiphon. In Thy fear will I worship.

Psalm 5. Ponder my words, &c.

With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. In Thy fear will I worship towards Thy Holy Temple.

Antiphon. The Lord hath heard my petition.

- Psalm 6.* O Lord, rebuke me not, &c.
With Thee, &c.
- Antiphon.* The Lord hath heard my petition, the Lord will receive
my prayer.
- Antiphon.* We will rejoice.
- Psalm 20.* The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, &c.
With Thee, &c.
- Antiphon.* We will rejoice in Thy salvation, and triumph in the
name of the Lord our God.

(f) *Verse and Response.* In the valley of the shadow of death.
They shall fear no evil.

The Lord's Prayer (privately). Our Father, &c.

Lesson 1. Job ix, 11—20, Lo, he goeth by me, and I see him not : he pass-
eth on also, but I perceive him not.

Behold, he taketh away, who can hinder him ? who will say
unto him, What doest thou ?

If God will not withdraw his anger, the proud helpers do stoop
under him.

How much less shall I answer him, and choose out my words to
reason with him ?

Whom, though I were righteous, yet would I not answer, but I
would make supplication to my judge.

If I had called, and he had answered me ; yet would I not be-
lieve that he had hearkened unto my voice.

For he breaketh me with a tempest, and multiplieth my wounds
without cause.

He will not suffer me to take my breath, but filleth me with bit-
terness.

If I speak of strength, lo, he is strong : and if of judgment, who
shall set me a time to plead ?

If I justify myself, mine own mouth shall condemn me : if I say
I am perfect, it shall also prove me perverse.

Response 1. I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand
on the latter day upon the earth ; and in my flesh shall I see God.

Whom I shall see for myself, and my eyes shall behold, and not
another.

And in my flesh shall I see God.

Lesson 2. Job x. 1—7. My soul is weary of my life ; I will leave my
complaint upon myself ; I will speak in the bitterness of my soul.

I will say unto God, Do not condemn me ; shew me wherefore
thou contendest with me.

Is it good unto thee that thou shouldest oppress, that thou
shouldest despise the work of thine hands, and shine upon the
counsel of the wicked ?

Hast thou eyes of flesh ? or seest thou as man seeth ?

Are thy days as the days of man ? are thy years as man's days,

That thou enquirest after mine iniquity, and searchest after my sin?

Thou knowest that I am not wicked; and *there is* none that can deliver out of thine hand.

Response 2. I should utterly have fainted, but that I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.

O tarry thou the Lord's leisure: be strong and He shall comfort thine heart, and put thou thy trust in the Lord.

I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.

Lesson 3, Job x. 14—22. If I sin, then thou markest me, and thou wilt not acquit me from mine iniquity.

If I be wicked, woe unto me; and *if I be* righteous, yet will I not lift up my head. *I am* full of confusion; therefore see thou mine affliction;

For it increaseth. Thou huntest me as a fierce lion: and again thou shewest thyself marvellous upon me.

Thou renewest thy witnesses against me, and increasest thine indignation upon me: changes and war *are* against me!

Wherefore then hast thou brought me forth out of the womb? Oh that I had given up the ghost, and no eye had seen me!

I should have been as though I had not been; I should have been carried from the womb to the grave.

Are not my days few? cease *then*, and let me alone, that I may take comfort a little,

Before I go *whence* I shall not return, *even* to the land of darkness and the shadow of death;

A land of darkness, as darkness *itself*; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and *where* the light is as darkness.

Response 3. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.

They that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

With thee is the well of life,

And in Thy light shall we see light.

They that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

NOCTURN II.

Antiphon. He shall feed me.

Psalm 23. (4) The Lord is my shepherd, &c.
With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. He shall feed me in a green pasture.

Antiphon. Mine eyes are ever looking.

Psalm 25. (5) Unto Thee, O Lord, will I lift up my soul, &c.
With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. Mine eyes are ever looking unto the Lord, for he shall pluck my feet out of the net.

Antiphon. In the time of trouble.

Psalm 27. (6) The Lord is my light, &c.
With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. In the time of trouble He shall hide me in His tabernacle.

(j) *Verse and Response.* Let the Saints be joyful with glory.
Let them rejoice in their beds.

The Lord's Prayer (privately.) Our Father, &c.

Lesson 4. Job xiii. 20—28. Only do not two *things* unto me : then will I not hide myself from thee.

Withdraw thine hand far from me : and let not thy dread make me afraid.

Then call thou, and I will answer : or let me speak, and answer thou me.

How many *are* mine iniquities and sins ? make me to know my transgression and my sin.

Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and holdest me for thine enemy ?

Wilt thou break a leaf driven to and fro ? and wilt thou pursue the dry stubble ?

For thou writest bitter things against me, and makest me to possess the iniquities of my youth.

Thou putttest my feet also in the stocks, and lookest narrowly unto all my paths : thou settest a print upon the heels of my feet.

And he, as a rotten thing, consumeth, as a garment that is moth-eaten.

Response 4. Comfort us again now after the time that thou hast plagued us, and for the years wherein we have suffered adversity.

Show Thy servants Thy work, and their children Thy glory.

For the years wherein we have suffered adversity.

Lesson 5. Job xvi. 7—22. But now he hath made me weary : thou hast made desolate all my company.

And thou hast filled me with wrinkles, *which* is a witness *against me* : and my leanness rising up in me, beareth witness to my face.

He teareth *me* in his wrath, who hateth me : he gnasheth upon me with his teeth ; mine enemy sharpeneth his eyes upon me.

They have gaped upon me with their mouth, they have smitten me upon the cheek reproachfully, they have gathered themselves together against me.

God hath delivered me to the ungodly, and turned me over into the hands of the wicked.

I was at ease, but he hath broken me asunder : he hath also taken *me* by my neck, and shaken me to pieces, and set me up for his mark.

His archers compass me round about, he cleaveth my reins asunder, and doth not spare; he poureth out my gall upon the ground.

He breaketh me with breach upon breach, he runneth upon me like a giant.

I have sewed sackcloth upon my skin, and defiled my horn in the dust.

My face is foul with weeping, and on my eye-lids is the shadow of death;

Not for *any* injustice in mine hands: also my prayer is pure.

O earth, cover thou not my blood, and let my cry have no place.

Also, now, behold, my witness is in heaven, and my record is on high.

My friends scorn me; but *mine* eye poureth out *tears* unto God.

Oh that one might plead for a man with God, as a man *pleadeth* for his neighbour!

When a few years are come, then I shall go the way *whence* I shall not return.

Response 5. My God hath sent his Angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths that they have not hurt me.

Forasmuch as before Him innocency was found in me;

He hath shut the lions' mouths that they have not hurt me.

Lesson 6. Job xiv. 1—10. Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble.

He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down; he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.

And dost thou open thine eyes upon such an one, and bringest me into judgment with thee.

Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one,

Seeing his days *are* determined, the number of his months *are* with thee, thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass.

Turn from him that he may rest, till he shall accomplish, as an hireling, his day.

For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof will not cease.

Though the root thereof wax old in the earth, and the stock thereof die in the ground;

Yet through the scent of water it will bud and bring forth boughs like a plant.

But man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?

Response 6. Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself, for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light.

And the days of thy mourning shall be ended.

For the Lord shall be thine everlasting light.

With thee is the well of life, &c.

For the Lord shall be thine everlasting light.

NOCTURN III.

Antiphon. He brought me out.

Psalm 40. (7) I waited patiently, &c.—With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. He brought me out of the horrible pit, out of the mire and clay.

Antiphon. Heal my soul.

Psalm 41. (8) Blessed is he, &c.—With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. Heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee.

Antiphon. My soul is athirst.

Psalm 42. (9) Like as the hart, &c.—With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. My soul is athirst for God, yea, even for the living God; when shall I come to appear before the presence of God?

(n) *Verse and Response.* O deliver not the soul of Thy turtledove unto the multitude of the enemies.

And forget not the congregation of the poor for ever.

The Lord's Prayer (privately.) Our Father, &c.

Lesson 7. Job xvii. 11—16. My days are passed, my purposes are broken off, even the thoughts of my heart.

They change the night into day: the light is short because of darkness.

If I wait, the grave is mine house: I have made my bed in the darkness.

I have said to corruption, Thou art my father: to the worm, Thou art my mother and my sister.

And where is now my hope? as for my hope, who shall see it?

They shall go down to the bars of the pit, when our rest together is in the dust.

Response 7. Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise.

Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead.

Together with my dead body shall they come.

Lesson 8. Job xix. 20—27. My bone cleaveth to my skin and to my flesh, and I am escaped with the skin of my teeth.

Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends; for God hath touched me.

Why do ye persecute me as God, and are not satisfied with my flesh?

Oh that my words were now written, oh that they were printed in a book!

That they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in the rock for ever!

For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth:

And *though* after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God :

Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another ; *though* my reins be consumed within me.

Response 8. If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? but there is mercy with Thee.

Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin.

But there is mercy with Thee.

Lesson 9. Jonah ii. 2—10. I cried by reason of mine affliction unto the LORD, and he heard me ; out of the belly of hell cried I, *and* thou hearest my voice.

For thou hadst cast me into the deep, in the midst of the seas ; and the floods compassed me about : all thy billows and thy waves passed over me.

Then I said, I am cast out of thy sight ; yet I will look again toward thy holy temple.

The waters compassed me about, *even* to the soul ; the depth closed me round about, the weeds were wrapt about my head.

I went down to the bottoms of the mountains: the earth with her bars *was* about me for ever ; yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption, O LORD my God.

When my soul fainted within me, I remembered the LORD, and my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy temple.

They that observe lying vanities, forsake their own mercy.

But I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of thanksgiving ; I will pay *that* that I have vowed : salvation *is* of the LORD.

And the LORD spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land.

Response 9. I am the Resurrection and the Life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.

And whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die.

Though he were dead, yet shall he live.

With Thee is the well of life, &c.

Though he were dead yet shall he live.

LAUDS.

Antiphon. Cast me not away.

Psalm 51. (1) Have mercy upon me, &c.—With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me.

Antiphon. Have I not remembered Thee.

Psalm 63. (2) O God, Thou art my God, &c.—With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. Have I not remembered Thee in my bed, and thought upon Thee when I was waking.

Antiphon. I am like a green olive tree.

Psalm 52. (3) O God, Thou art my God, &c.—With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. I am like a green olive tree in the house of God ; my trust is in the tender mercy of God for ever and ever.

Antiphon. The living, the living, he shall praise Thee.

Song of Ezekias. (4) Is. xxxviii. 10—20. I said, in the cutting off of my days I shall go to the gates of the grave : I am deprived of the residue of my years, &c.

I said, I shall not see the LORD, *even* the LORD in the land of the living : I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world.

Mine age is departed, and is removed from me as a shepherd's tent : I have cut off like a weaver my life : he will cut me off with pining sickness : from day *even* to night wilt thou make an end of me.

I reckoned till morning, *that* as a lion so will he break all my bones : from day *even* to night wilt thou make an end of me.

Like a crane *or* a swallow, so did I chatter : I did mourn as a dove ; mine eyes fail *with looking upward* : O LORD, I am oppressed ; undertake for me.

What shall I say ? he hath both spoken unto me, and himself hath done *it* ; I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul.

O LORD, by these *things men* live, and in all these *things is* the life of my spirit ; so wilt thou recover me, and make me to live.

Behold, for peace I had great bitterness : but thou hast in love to my soul *delivered it* from the pit of corruption : for thou hast cast all my sins behind thy back.

For the grave cannot praise thee, death can *not* celebrate thee : they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.

The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I *do* this day : the father to the children shall make known thy truth.

The LORD *was ready* to save me : therefore we will sing my songs to the stringed instruments all the days of our life, in the house of the LORD. With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. The living, the living, he shall praise Thee, as I do this day.

Antiphon. Let every thing that hath breath.

Psalm 148, 149, & 150. (5) O praise the Lord of heaven.
With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord.

(v) *Verse and Response.* I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me,
Blessed are they that die in the Lord.

(w) *Antiphon.* I am the Resurrection and the life.

Benedictus. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, &c.
With Thee, &c.

Antiphon. I am the Resurrection and the life; he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die.

The Lord's Prayer (privately.) Our Father, &c.

Psalm 126. When the Lord turned again, &c.

The Service terminates with the Collects and Sentences used at Vespers, pp. 295, 296.

With Thee is the well, &c.
May their souls rest in peace. *Amen.*

§ 8. SERVICE FOR THE SUNDAYS IN ADVENT.

[Sections 2 and 3 form the respective basis to this and the following section, the letters and numbers marking the substitutions: the Hymns at Matins, Lauds, and Vespers, are the only portion of the Services not given. Christmas Day is here supposed to fall on a Sunday. The Service for St. Thomas's necessarily affects the Lauds and dependent Hours on the 21st: with this exception no notice is taken of Festivals, which materially alter the Advent Services as actually performed in the Latin Church. It is instructive to compare the Sunday Services as they here stand, with ours, which are formed from them.]

MATINS.

O Lord, open, &c.
And our mouth, &c.
O God, make speed, &c.
O Lord, make haste, &c.
Glory be, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

(a) *Invitatory.* *Sundays 1 & 2.*—O come, let us worship: the Lord our King is coming.

Sundays 3 & 4.—O come, let us worship: the Lord is now at hand.

(b) *Hymn.* Verbum supernum prodiens, &c.

NOCTURN I.

- (c) *Antiphon.* Behold, the mighty King : shall come with great power to save the nations. Hallelujah.
- (d) *Antiphon.* Strengthen ye : the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees ; say to them of fearful heart, Behold your God will come and save you. Hallelujah.
- (e) *Antiphon.* Be strong : fear not, behold your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompense : He will come and save you.
- (f) *Verse and Response.* Out of Sion hath God appeared.
In perfect beauty.

SUNDAY 1.

Lesson 1. Isa. i. 1—3. The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah.

Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth : for the Lord hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.

The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib : but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.

Response 1. *I look afar off, and behold, I see the power of God coming, and a cloud covering the whole earth : Go ye forth to meet Him, and say : Tell us, whether Thou be He : who shall rule over the people Israel.*

All ye children of the earth and sons of men, the rich and the poor together.

Go ye forth to meet Him, and say : Tell us, whether Thou be He : who shall rule over the people Israel.

Hear, O Thou Shepherd of Israel, Thou that leadest Joseph like a sheep.

Tell us, whether Thou be He : who shall rule over the people Israel.

Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.

Who shall rule over the people Israel.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

I look afar off, and behold, I see the power of God, &c.

Lesson 2. Isa. i. 4—6. Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters : they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they are gone away backward.

Why should ye be stricken any more ? ye will revolt more and more : the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.

From the sole of the foot even unto the head *there is* no soundness in it ; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores : they

have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment.

Response 2. I saw in the night visions, and behold, One like unto the Son of man come with the clouds of heaven, and there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom : that all people, nations, and languages should serve Him.

His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

That all people, nations, &c.

Lesson 3. Isa. i. 7—9. Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire ; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers.

And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.

Except the LORD of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

Response 3. The angel Gabriel was sent to Mary, a virgin espoused to Joseph, announcing to her the Word, and the virgin was troubled at the light : Fear not, Mary, thou hast found favour with the Lord, and behold, thou shalt conceive and bring forth a son, and He shall be called the Son of the Highest.

The Lord God shall give unto Him the Throne of His Father David, and He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever.

Behold, thou shalt conceive, &c.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Behold, thou shalt conceive, &c.

SUNDAY 2.

Lesson 1. Isa. xi. 1—4. And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots ;

And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the LORD ;

And shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the LORD : and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears ;

But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth : and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.

Response 1. O Jerusalem, thy salvation shall come quickly : wherefore art thou consumed with grief ? is there any counsellor in thee ? because sorrow hath changed thee :

I will save thee and deliver thee : fear not.

For I am the Lord, thy God ; the Holy One of Israel, thy Redeemer.

I will save thee and deliver thee : fear not.

Lesson 2. Is. xi. 4—7. And he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.

And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins.

The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.

And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.

Response 2. *The Lord, my God, shall come, and all the saints with Thee, and in that day there shall be great light: and it shall be in that day that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem, and the Lord shall be king for ever: over all the earth.*

Behold, the Lord shall come with power, and His kingdom shall be in His hand, and dominion and sovereignty,

Over all the earth.

Lesson 3. Is. xi. 8—10. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den.

They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea.

And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious.

Response 3. *City of Jerusalem, weep thou not, for the Lord has sorrowed for thee: and He shall take from thee all tribulation.*

Behold, the Lord shall come in strength, and His arm shall rule.

And He shall take, &c.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

And He shall take, &c.

(go on (g))

SUNDAY 3.

Lesson 1. Is. xxvi. 1—6. In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah: We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks.

Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in.

Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee: because he trusteth in thee.

Trust ye in the LORD for ever: for in the LORD JEHOVAH is everlasting strength.

For he bringeth down them that dwell on high; the lofty city, he layeth it low; he layeth it low, even to the ground; he bringeth it even to the dust.

The foot shall tread it down, even the feet of the poor, and the steps of the needy.

Response 1. *Behold, the Lord shall appear on a white cloud: and with*

Him the thousands of His saints ; and He shall have written on His garment and on His thigh, King of kings, and Lord of lords.

He shall appear in the end and shall not lie : if He tarry, wait for Him, for He shall surely come ;

And with Him the thousands, &c.

Lesson 2. Is. xxvi. 7—10. The way of the just is uprightness ; thou, most upright, dost weigh the path of the just.

Yea, in the way of thy judgments, O LORD, have we waited for thee : the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee.

With my soul have I desired thee in the night ; yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early : for when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness.

Let favour be shewed to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness : in the land of uprightness will he deal unjustly, and will not behold the majesty of the LORD.

Response 2. *O Bethlehem, city of the Most High God, out of thee shall go forth the Ruler of Israel, whose goings forth have been from everlasting, and He shall be great in the midst of the whole earth : and there shall be peace in our land, when He shall come.*

He shall speak peace to the Gentiles, and His dominion shall be from sea to sea.

And there shall be peace, &c.

Lesson 3. Is. xxvi. 11—14. LORD, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see : but they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at the people ; yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devour them.

LORD, thou wilt ordain peace for us : for thou also hast wrought all our works in us.

O LORD our God, other lords beside thee have had dominion over us : but by thee only will we make mention of thy name.

They are dead,—they shall not live ; they are deceased,—they shall not rise : therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish.

Response 3. *He that shall come will come, and will not tarry ; and fear shall no more be in our borders ; for He is our Saviour.*

He will subdue our inquiries ; and Thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea.

For He is our Saviour.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

For He is our Saviour.

(go on (g))

SUNDAY 4.

Lesson 1. Isa. xxxv. 1—7. The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them ; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose.

It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and sing-

ing: the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.

Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees.

Say to them *that are* of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not: behold, your God will come *with* vengeance, *even* God *with* a recompense: he will come and save you.

Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped.

Then shall the lame *man* leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing: for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert.

And the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water.

Response 1. Blow the trumpet in Sion, summon the nations, proclaim to all people, and say: Behold, God our Saviour shall come.

Proclaim and make it heard; speak and cry aloud.

Behold, God our Saviour shall come.

Lesson 2. Isa. xxxv. 7—10. In the habitation of dragons, where each lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes.

And an highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called The way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; but it *shall be* for those: the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err *therein*.

No lion shall be there, nor *any* ravenous beast shall go up thereon; it shall not be found there: but the redeemed shall walk *there*.

And the ransomed of the LORD shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

Response 2. The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come: and unto Him shall the gathering of the people be.

His eyes are redder than wine, and His teeth whiter than milk.

And unto Him shall, &c.

Lesson 3. Isa. xli. 1—4. Keep silence before me, O islands; and let the people renew their strength: let them come near; then let them speak: let us come near together to judgment.

Who raised up the righteous *man* from the east, called him to his foot, gave the nations before him, and made *him* rule over kings? he gave *them* as the dust to his sword, and as driven stubble to his bow.

He pursued them, and passed safely; *even* by the way *that* he had not gone with his feet.

Who hath wrought and done *it*, calling the generations from the beginning? I the LORD, the first, and with the last; I *am* he.

Response 3. I must decrease, but He must increase; he that cometh after

me, was in being before me : whose shoes' latchet I am not worthy to unloose.

I baptized you with water ; but He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.

Whose shoes' latchet, &c.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Whose shoes' latchet, &c.

(go on (g))

NOCTURN II.

- (g) *Antiphon.* Rejoice greatly : O daughter of Jerusalem ; behold thy king cometh unto thee ; O Sion, be not afraid, for thy salvation cometh quickly.
- (h) *Antiphon.* Our king : shall come, even Christ, whom John proclaimed as the Lamb which was to come.
- (i) *Antiphon.* Behold, I come : quickly, and My reward is with Me, to give to every man according as his work shall be.
- (j) *Verse and Response.* Send ye the Lamb to the Ruler of the land.
From Sela to the wilderness, unto the Mount of the daughter of Sion.

SUNDAY 1.

Lesson 4. (from St. Leo.) Our Saviour, in His account of the coming of the kingdom of God and of the end of the world, addressed to His Apostles, and in them to the whole Church, bids them beware, lest, at any time, their hearts should be weighed down with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life ; which warning, beloved brethren, we know to belong to us specially, to whom the threatened day, though hidden, is certainly near.

Response 4. Hail, thou that art highly favoured ; the Lord is with thee : The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee ; therefore that Holy Thing which shall be born of Thee shall be called the Son of God.

How shall this be, seeing I know not a man ? and the angel answered and said to her,

The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, &c.

Lesson 5. For whose coming it is fitting that all mankind should make ready, lest it should surprise any in gluttony or worldly cares. For daily experience proves, my beloved, that the keenness of the mind is blunted by fulness of drink, and the vigour of the heart clouded by excess of meat ; so that love of eating even does injury to our bodily health, unless a rule of temperance counteracts the seduction and refuses to indulgence what afterwards would be a burden.

Response 5. We look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ : who shall change this vile body that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body.

Let us live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, looking for the blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the Great God.

Who shall change, &c.

Lesson 6. For though the flesh hath no desires apart from the soul, and derives its senses from whence it gains animation, yet it is the part of the soul to deny some things to that body which is made subject to her, and by an inward discretion to hold back what is outward from mischief; that, being often at leisure from bodily desires, She may devote herself to divine wisdom in the palace of the mind, and while the noise of earthly cares is altogether hushed, may rejoice in holy meditations and everlasting pleasures.

Response 6. *O my Lord, send, I pray Thee, by the hand of him whom Thou wilt send : behold the affliction of Thy people : as Thou hast spoken, come : and deliver us.*

Hear, O Thou Shepherd of Israel, Thou that leadeth Joseph like a sheep, Thou that sittest between the cherubim.

As Thou hast spoken, come : and deliver us.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

And deliver us.

(go on (k))

SUNDAY 2.

(From St. Jerome.) And there shall go forth a rod out of the root of Jesse. As far as the beginning of the vision, or burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw, all this prophecy relates to Christ. Which I would explain by portions, lest if it be all set forth, and treated at once, it confuse the memory of the reader. The Jews understand our Lord by the rod and flower from the rod of Jesse, the rod signifying His power, the flower his comeliness.

Response 4. *Behold, the Lord shall come, our defender, the Holy One of Israel : with the crown of His kingdom upon Him.*

And he shall reign from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth.

With the crown, &c.

Lesson 5. But we, by the rod from the root of Jesse, understand the holy Virgin Mary, who had no shrub belonging to her : of whom we read before, Behold, a Virgin shall conceive and shall bear a son. And by the flower is meant the Lord and Saviour, who says in the song of songs, I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys.

Response 5. *As a mother comforteth her sons, so will I comfort you, saith the Lord : and from Jerusalem, the city I have chosen, shall succour come to you : and you shall see, and your heart shall rejoice.*

I will give to Sion salvation, and to Jerusalem My glory.

And you shall see, &c.

Lesson 6. Therefore upon this flower, which shall suddenly spring up from the stem and root of Jesse by the Virgin Mary, the Spirit of the Lord shall rest ; for in Him it hath seemed good that all the

fulness of the godhead should dwell bodily ; not by portions, as in the case of other Saints, but according to the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes, all the fountain of the Holy Spirit shall descend upon Him. But the Lord is that Spirit ; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

Response 6. O Jerusalem, thou shalt plant thy vine upon thy mountains. Leap for joy, for the day of the Lord shall come. Arise, O Sion, be turned unto the Lord thy God ; rejoice and be glad, O Jacob : for thy Saviour shall come in the midst of the nations.

Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion ; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem.

For thy Saviour shall come in the midst of the nations.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

For thy Saviour shall come, &c.

(go on (k))

SUNDAY 3.

Lesson 4. (From St. Leo.) The time of the year, and our own religious custom, leads me to proclaim to you, dearly beloved, with the anxiety of a pastor, the fast of the 10th month, in which for the completion of the gathering of all fruits, is poured out most suitably to the Lord their giver, the tribute of abstaining from them ; for what can be more available than fasting ? by observing which we draw near to God, and resisting the devil, overcome our pleasant vices.

Response 4. Weep not, O Egypt, for thy Ruler shall come to thee, before whose coming the depths shall be moved : to deliver His people from the hand of power.

Behold the Lord of hosts shall come, thy God with great power.

To deliver, &c.

Lesson 5. For fasting has ever been the food of virtue. In a word, from abstinence proceed chaste thoughts, moderate wishes, sober purposes : and by voluntary inflictions, the desires of the flesh are mortified, the graces of the spirit strengthened. But since, not by fasting only, the health of our souls is gained, let us make almsgiving the supplement of fasting. Let us give to active virtue, what we diminish from indulgence : Let the abstinence of the faster be the refreshment of the poor.

Response 5. Her time is well nigh come, and her days shall not be prolonged : The Lord shall have pity upon Jacob, and Israel shall be saved.

Return, O virgin of Israel, return into thy cities.

The Lord shall have pity, &c.

Lesson 6. Let us give attention to the defence of widows, the welfare of orphans, the consolation of mourners, the reconciliation of enemies. Befriend the foreigner, assist the oppressed, clothe the naked, nurse the sick : that whoso of us by righteous labours

shall offer to God, the author of all good, such pious sacrifice, may receive in turn for the same the reward of His heavenly kingdom. Let us keep fast on Wednesdays and Fridays; let us keep Vigil on the Sabbath with the blessed Apostle Peter, whose deeds of grace working together with our prayers, we may obtain what we seek through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, world without end. *Amen.*

Response 6. The Lord shall descend as the rain into a fleece of wool; righteousness shall spring forth in His days, yea, and abundance of peace.

And all kings shall worship Him, all the heathen shall serve Him.

Righteousness shall spring forth, &c.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Righteousness shall spring forth, &c.

(go on (k))

SUNDAY 4.

Lesson 4. (From St. Leo.) If we understand truly and wisely, dearly beloved, the history of our creation, we shall find that man was therefore formed after the likeness of God, that he might imitate the Creator; and that the natural dignity of our race consists in the image of divine kindness shining within us as in a mirror. Towards which we are daily renewed by the grace of the Saviour, so that what fell in the first Adam, is raised again in the second.

Response 4. Unto us a child is born, and He shall be called the mighty God: He shall sit upon the throne of David His Father and shall reign: and the dominion shall be upon His shoulder.

And in Him shall all tribes of the earth be blessed, and all nations shall serve Him.

He shall sit, &c.

Lesson 5. The sole cause of our recovery is the pitifulness of God, whom we should not love, unless He first loved us, and scattered the darkness of our ignorance with the light of His truth; which the Lord declaring by holy Isaiah saith, I will bring the blind by a way that they know not, and paths of which they were ignorant will I make them tread; I will make their darkness light, and their crooked straight. This will I do to them, and not forsake them. And again, I am found of them who sought me not, and I am manifested to them that asked not for me.

Response 5. Behold the fulness of time is now come, in which God sent forth His Son upon the earth, born of a virgin, made under the Law; to redeem those that are under the Law.

For His great love wherewith He loved us, God sent forth His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh.

To redeem those, &c.

Lesson 6. How this was fulfilled the Apostle John teaches, saying,

We know that the Son of God is come, and has given us an understanding that we may know Him that is true, and we are in His true Son. And again, We love God, because He first loved us. Therefore God, by loving us, restores in us His own image, and that He may find in us the likeness of His own goodness, He giveth whence we also may work what He worketh, by lighting the lamps of our minds, and kindling in us the flame of His own love, that we may love not Him only, but all that He loves.

Response 6. O Virgin of Israel, return to thy cities ; how long wilt thou be put aside and be in sorrow ? thou shalt conceive the Lord and Saviour, a new oblation in the earth : men shall go forward to salvation.

I have loved thee with an everlasting love ; therefore with loving kindness have I drawn thee.

How long wilt thou be put aside and be in sorrow ? thou shalt conceive thy Lord and Saviour, a new oblation in the earth : men shall go forward to salvation.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Men shall go forward to salvation, &c.

NOCTURN III.

(k) *Antiphon.* The Angel Gabriel : spake unto Mary, saying, Hail thou art highly favored, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women.

(l) *Antiphon.* Mary said : what meaneth this salutation ? for my soul is troubled, and I shall bear my King, and yet remain a virgin.

(m) *Antiphon.* Before the coming : of the great King, let the hearts of men be cleansed, to walk worthily to meet Him, for behold He will come, and will not tarry.

(n) *Verse and Response.* The Lord will come forth of His holy place.
He will come to save His people.

SUNDAY 4.

At that time Jesus said to his disciples,

Lesson 7. Luke xxi. 25—33. There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars ; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity ; the sea and the waves roaring ;

Men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth ; for the powers of heaven shall be shaken.

And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.

And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads ; for your redemption draweth nigh.

And he spake to them a parable ; Behold the fig-tree, and all the trees ;

When they now shoot forth, ye see and know of your own selves that summer is now nigh at hand.

So likewise ye, when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand.

Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled.

Heaven and earth shall pass away : but my words shall not pass away.

(Homily of Pope Gregory.) Our Lord and Redeemer, desirous of finding us ready, foretels what evils shall attend the ageing world, in order to sober us from the love of it. He makes known how great strokes shall precede its approaching end ; that, if we will not fear God in prosperity, at least when afflicted by His strokes, we may dread His near judgment.

Response 7. Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, saith the Lord, and His name shall be called Wonderful, the mighty God.

Upon the throne of David and over His Kingdom shall He reign for ever.

And his name shall, &c.

Lesson 8. Shortly before the passage of the holy Gospel, which my brethren have been hearing, the Lord had said, Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom : and great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and pestilences and famines. Then after some additions, He says what you have heard : There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars ; and upon the earth distress of nations with perplexity ; the sea and the waves roaring. Of all these signs certainly some we see fulfilled already ; others we fear as soon coming.

Response 8. Hear the word of the Lord, O ye nations, and declare it in the ends of the earth : and say to the isles afar off, Our Saviour shall come.

Declare it, and make it heard ; speak, and cry out.

And say to the isles, &c.

Lesson 9. For nation is rising against nation, and distress from them presses upon the countries, more in the events we see than in the books we read. You know too how often we hear from other parts of the world, of earthquakes overwhelming cities ; pestilences we suffer without respite. We do not yet openly behold signs in the sun, moon, and stars : but the alteration of the atmosphere betokens that they are not far off.

Response 9. Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise up unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth : and this is His name whereby He shall be called : The Lord our Righteousness.

In his days Judah shall be saved and Israel shall dwell safely.

And this is His name whereby He shall be called : The Lord our Righteousness.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

The Lord our Righteousness.

(End of Matins, *The Te Deum is not sung in Advent.*)

SUNDAY 2.

Lesson 7. Matt. xi. 2—9. Now, when John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples.

And said unto Him, Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?

Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see:

The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them.

And blessed is *he*, whosoever shall not be offended in me.

And as they departed, Jesus began to say unto the multitudes concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind?

But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? behold, they that wear soft *clothing* are in kings' houses.

But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet.

(*Homily of Pope Gregory.*) So many signs and so many miracles, were to each beholder not an offence but a wonder. Yet the mind of unbelievers took this serious offence at Him, that after all His miracles He should be seen to die. Whence also Paul saith, We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Gentiles foolishness. For it seemed to man to be foolish, that for man the Source of life should die; and thus man took offence at Him for the very thing whence he ought to have felt himself the more His debtor. For God is so much the more worthy of honour from men, by how much he has for men undergone dishonour.

Response 7. The Lord shall come from Samaria to the Eastern Gate, and shall come to Bethlehem, walking upon the waters of the redemption of Judah: then shall every man be saved, for behold He cometh.

And his throne shall be prepared in mercy, and He shall sit on it in truth.

Then shall every man, &c.

Lesson 8. What means His saying, that he is blessed whosoever is not offended in Him, but to mark, in plain words, the abject and degrading nature of his death? as if He openly said, I do what is marvellous, yet I submit to suffer what is abject. Since then I shortly follow thee in dying, men must specially beware, lest, though venerating My signs, they despise my death.

Response 8. Make haste and tarry not, O Lord: and deliver thy people.

Come, O Lord, and do not tarry; absolve Thy people from their iniquities.

And deliver Thy people.

Lesson 9. But let us hear what He said to the crowd concerning this same John, when He had dismissed John's disciples : What went ye out into the wilderness for to see? a reed shaken with the wind? which he means to be answered in negative. For as the wind takes it, a reed moves this way or that. And what is the reed, but the carnal mind? which, according as it falls in with popularity or reproach, at once inclines to the one side or the other.

Response 9. Behold the Lord shall come down with glory and His power with Him : to visit His people in peace, and to establish upon them everlasting life.

Behold our Lord shall come with power.

To visit His people, &c.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

To visit His people, &c.

(*End of Matins.*)

SUNDAY 3.

Lesson 7. John i. 19—28. And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art thou?

And he confessed, and denied not? but confessed, I am not the Christ.

And they asked him, What then? art thou Elias? And he saith, I am not. Art thou that prophet? And he answered, No.

Then said they unto him, Who art thou? that we give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself?

He said, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias.

And they which were sent were of the Pharisees.

And they asked him, and said unto him, Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet?

John answered them, saying, I baptize with water: but there standeth one among you, whom ye know not;

He it is, who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoes' latchet I am not worthy to unloose.

These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.

(*Homily of Pope Gregory.*) From the words of this lesson, dearest brethren, we have proof of John's humility: who, whereas he had such grace that he was taken for the Christ, yet preferred to remain unmoveably in what he was, lest he should be carried away by human opinion into fancies above what he was. For he confessed and denied not, but confessed I am not the Christ. But in saying, I am not, he denied what he was not, not what he was: that by speaking truth he might become a member of Him, whose name he did not fraudulently appropriate. While then he is not ambitious of the name, he becomes a member of Christ; because in aiming at humbly confessing his own weakness, he was found worthy of truly possessing His majesty.

Response 7. Come, O Lord, and do not tarry; absolve Thy people from their iniquities: and bring back the scattered ones into their own land.

Stir up, O Lord, Thy power, and come, and save us.

And bring back, &c.

Lesson 8. But when we recollect our Saviour's saying in another passage, the words of this passage raise a perplexing question. For elsewhere, when the Lord was asked by His disciples concerning the coming of Elias, He answered, Elias is already come, and they have done unto him whatsoever they listed, and, if he will know, John himself is Elias. Yet John, when he was asked, said, I am not Elias. What means it, dearly beloved brethren, that what the truth affirms, the prophet of the truth denies? The two statements are very different; It is he, and, I am not he. How then is he the prophet of the truth, if he agrees not with the sayings of that truth itself?

Response 8. Behold, the root of Jesse shall come for the salvation of the people; unto Him shall the Gentiles seek: and His name shall be glorious.

And the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David, and He shall reign over the house of Jacob forever.

And his name, &c.

Lesson 9. But if we inspect the matter minutely, what seems inconsistent, will be found consistent. For the angel said to Zacharias concerning John, He shall go before Him in the spirit and power of Elias. He then is said to be coming in the spirit and power of Elias, inasmuch as he went before the first coming of the Lord, as Elias will go before His second coming. As he will be the forerunner of the Judge, so John was the forerunner of the Redeemer. John then was in the spirit of Elias, not in his person. What then the Lord declares of the spirit, John denies of the person.

Response 9. The Lord shall teach us His ways, and we will walk in His paths: for out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

Come ye, and let us go up into the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob.

For out of Sion, &c.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

For out of Sion, &c.

(End of Matins.)

SUNDAY 4.

Lesson 7. Luke iii. 1—9. Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene,

Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.

And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins ;

As it is written in the book of the words of Esaias the prophet, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low ; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways *shall* be made smooth ;

And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

Then said he to the multitude that came forth to be baptized of him, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come ?

Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to *our* father, for I say unto you, That God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.

And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees : every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

(*Homily of Pope Gregory.*) John said to the multitudes which went out to be baptized by him, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come ? For the wrath to come is the punishment of uttermost vengeance ; which the sinner is not able then to flee, who has not now recourse to the laments of penitence. And it is observable, that evil offspring, imitating the conduct of evil parents, are called generation of vipers : for in envying and persecuting the good, repaying evil, injuring their neighbours, in all these ways following the doings of their carnal fathers, they are as though poisonous children of poisonous parents.

Response 7. I have sworn, saith the Lord, that I will no longer be wroth upon the earth ; for the mountains and the hills shall receive My righteousness : and My covenant of peace shall be with Jerusalem.

My salvation is near to come, and My righteousness to be revealed.

And My covenant, &c.

Lesson 8. But since we have already sinned, since we are involved in the usage of bad habits, let him say what we must do, in order to flee from the wrath to come. It follows ; Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance. In these words it is observable that the friend of the bridegroom enjoins not only fruits, but worthy fruits of repentance. It is one thing to bring forth the fruit, another worthy fruits of repentance. By way of explaining what is meant by worthy, it must be borne in mind, that whoso has committed nothing unlawful, he may lawfully use what is lawful ; and do his works of charity without necessarily relinquishing the world.

Response 8. We will not depart from Thee, O Lord, Thou wilt quicken us, and we will call upon Thy name : show us Thy countenance, and we shall be whole.

Remember me, O Lord, according to the favour that Thou bearest unto Thy people : O visit me with Thy salvation.

Show us Thy countenance, &c.

Lesson 9. But if any one has incurred the guilt of fornication, or perchance, what is still more heinous, adultery, by so much the more should he deprive himself of things lawful, as he remembers he has committed what is unlawful. Nor should the fruit of a good work be the same, where a man has sinned less, or sinned more, been betrayed into none, or into some crimes, or into many. In saying then "worthy fruits of penance," the conscience of every one is suitably addressed, that he may obtain by so much the more advantage of good works by penitence, as he has incurred heavier loss by sinning.

Response 9. Behold ye, how great is He, who comes to save the nations. He is the king of righteousness ; of whose generation there is no end.

The Forerunner is for us entered, made for ever an high priest after the order of Melchizedek.

Of whose generation, &c.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Of whose generation, &c.

LAUDS.

SUNDAY 1.

(o) *Antiphon.* In that day the mountain shall drop down new wine, (also at Prime and the hills shall flow with milk. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 2.

Behold, the Lord shall come in the clouds of heaven with great power. Hallelujah.

and the rest of each week till

SUNDAY 3.

The Lord will come and will not tarry, and will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and manifest himself to all nations. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 4.

Blow the trumpet in Sion, for the day of the Lord is at hand ; behold, He shall come and save us. Hallelujah. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 1.

(p) *Antiphon.* (also at Rejoice greatly, daughter of Sion : shout, O Third till Dec. 17.) daughter of Jerusalem. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 2.

We have a strong city ; salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks. Open ye the gates, for God is with us. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 3.

Rejoice, O Jerusalem, with great joy, for the Saviour shall come unto thee. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 4.

Behold, the Desire of all nations shall come, and the house of the Lord shall be filled with glory. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 1.

(q) *Antiphon. (also at Sixth, till Dec. 17.)* Behold, the Lord shall come and all his saints with Him, and the light in that day shall be great. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 2.

Behold, the Lord shall appear, and will not lie ; though He tarry, wait for Him, because He will surely come, He will not tarry. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 3.

I will give salvation to Sion, and my glory to Jerusalem. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 4.

The crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain ; come, Lord, and do not tarry. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 1.

(r) *Antiphon.* Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters ; seek ye the Lord while he may be found. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 2.

The mountains and the hills shall break forth before him into singing : and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands : for the Lord the king shall come to his everlasting kingdom. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 3.

Every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain : Come, O Lord, and do not tarry. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 4.

The Lord shall come : meet ye Him, and say, Great is His beginning, and of His kingdom shall be no end. The mighty God our king, the Prince of peace. Hallelujah. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 1.

(s) *Antiphon. (also at Ninth, till Dec. 17.)* Behold the great Prophet shall come, and He shall rebuild Jerusalem. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 2.

Behold, our Lord shall come with power, and shall enlighten the eyes of His servants. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 3.

Let us live righteously and godly, waiting for the blessed hope and coming of the Lord.

SUNDAY 4.

Thy Almighty Word leaped down from heaven out of Thy royal throne. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 1.

(t) *Text. (also at Third, and Vespers on the respective Sundays.)* Brethren, it is high time to wake out of sleep, for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed.

SUNDAY 2.

Brethren, whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.

SUNDAY 3.

Brethren, rejoice in the Lord always ; and again I say, Rejoice. Let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand.

SUNDAY 4.

Brethren, let a man so account of us, as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. Moreover, it is required of stewards, that a man be found faithful.

(u) *Hymn.* En clara vox redarguit, &c.

(v) *Verse and Response.* The voice of one crying in the wilderness ; Prepare ye the way of the Lord.

Make his paths straight.

SUNDAY 1.

(w) *Antiphon of the Benedictus.* The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, O Mary ; fear not, thou shalt conceive in thy womb the Son of God. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 2.

When John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, and said unto Him, Art Thou He that should come, or do we look for another ?

SUNDAY 3.

Upon the throne of David and upon his kingdom, He shall sit for ever. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 4.

Hail thou that art highly favoured ; the Lord is with thee ; blessed art thou among women. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 1.

(x) *Collect, (also at Third, Sixth, Ninth, and Vespers on the respective Sundays.)* Raise up, we beseech Thee, O Lord, Thy power, and come, that we being found meet may be snatched from the perils of our sins by Thy succour, and may be saved by Thy deliverance, who livest and reignest with God the Father, &c.

SUNDAY 2.

Stir up, O Lord, our hearts to prepare the ways of Thy only be-

gotten Son, that by His coming we may be made meet to serve Thee with purified minds, who liveth with Thee, &c.

SUNDAY 3.

Give ear, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to our prayers, and lighten the darkness of our mind by the grace of Thy visitation, who livest and reignest, &c.

SUNDAY 4.

Raise up, we pray Thee, Thy power, and come among us, and with great might succour us, that by the aid of Thy grace, what our sins do hinder, the bounty of Thy propitiation may forward, who livest, &c.

PRIME.

(bb) *Antiphon.* Same as (o).

(ee) *Verse in Short Response.* Thou that art now coming into the world.

(ii) *Short Lesson.* Isa. xxxiii. 2. O Lord, be gracious unto us; we have waited for Thee: be Thou our arm every morning, our salvation also in the time of trouble.

THIRD HOUR.

(kk) *Antiphon.* The same as (p).

(ll) *Text.* The same as (t).

(mm) *Short Response.* Come Thou and save us: O Lord God of hosts.

Come thou, &c. *(Repeated.)*

Show the light of Thy countenance, and we shall be whole.

O Lord God of hosts.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, &c.

Come Thou and save us, O Lord God of hosts.

The heathen shall fear Thy name, O Lord.

And all the kings of the earth Thy majesty.

(nn) *Collect.* The same as (x).

SIXTH HOUR.

(pp) *Antiphon.* The same as (q).

SUNDAY 1.

(qq) *Text.* The night is far spent, the day is at hand, let us therefore cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us the armour of light.

SUNDAY 2.

Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be like minded one toward another, according to Jesus Christ, that ye

may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

SUNDAY 3.

Be careful for nothing; but in every thing by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God.

SUNDAY 4.

But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment; yea I judge not myself.

(rr) *Short Response.* *Show us Thy mercy, O Lord.*

Show us, &c.

And grant us Thy salvation,

O Lord.

Glory be, &c.

Show us Thy mercy, O Lord.

Remember me, O Lord, according to the favour that thou bearest unto Thy people.

O visit me with Thy salvation.

(ss) *Collect.* The same as (x).

NINTH HOUR.

(uu) *Antiphon.* The same as (s).

SUNDAY 1.

(vv) *Text.* Let us walk honestly as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ.

SUNDAY 2.

Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost.

SUNDAY 3.

And the peace of God which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus our Lord.

SUNDAY 4.

Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness and will make manifest the counsels of the heart, and then shall every man have praise of God.

(ww) *Short Response.* *The Lord shall arise upon thee: O Jerusalem.*

The Lord, &c.

And His glory shall be seen upon thee.

O Jerusalem.

Glory be to, &c.

The Lord shall arise upon thee: O Jerusalem.

Turn us again, Lord God of hosts.

Show the light of Thy countenance, and we shall be whole.

(xx) *Collect.* The same as (x).

VESPERS.

(yy)	} <i>Antiphon the same as</i>	{	(o)	} <i>respectively.</i>
(zz)			(p)	
(aaa)			(q)	
(bbb)			(r)	
(ccc)			(s)	

(ddd) *Text.* The same as (t).

(eee) *Hymn.* Creator alme siderum, &c.

(fff) *Verse and Response.* Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness.

Let the earth open, and let them bring forth salvation.

SUNDAY 1.

(ggg) *Antiphon of the Magnif.* Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God: and behold, thou shalt conceive, and shalt bear a son. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 2.

Art Thou He that should come? or look we for another? Tell John the things which ye see. The blind receive their sight, the dead are raised, to the poor the Gospel is preached. Hallelujah.

SUNDAY 3.

Blessed art thou, O Mary, which believedst in the Lord: there shall be a performance in thee of those things which were said to thee of the Lord.

SUNDAY 4.

(being Dec. 18.) O Lord, and Ruler of the House of Israel, who appearedst unto Moses in the flame of a burning bush, and gavest to him the Law in Sinai, come to redeem us with a stretched-out arm.

(hhh) *Collect.* The same as (x).

§ 9. SERVICE FOR WEEK DAYS IN ADVENT.

MATINS.

O Lord, open, &c. Glory be, &c.

(a) *Invitatory.* 1st and 2d week. O come, let us worship: the Lord our king approaching.

(the same as the respective Sundays.) 3d and 4th week. O come, let us worship: the Lord is close at hand.

(b) *Hymn.* Verbum supernum prodiens, &c.

(all four weeks.)	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.
<i>Antiphon.</i>	The Lord is the	That I offend not	O that the Lord would	Haste Thee: O Lord God	Sing we merrily:	For the Lord hath done:
(1) <i>Psalm</i>	27	39	53	69	81	98
(2) <i>Psalm</i>	28	40	55	70	82	99
<i>Antiphon.</i>	strength: of my life.	in my tongue.	deliver: His people out of captivity.	to deliver me.	unto God our strength	marvellous things.
<i>Antiphon.</i>	Worship the Lord:	Heal: my soul, for	For my soul:	Be thou:	Thou only, art the most	O be joyful: in
(3) <i>Psalm</i>	29	41	56	71	83	100
(4) <i>Psalm</i>	30	42	57	72	84	101
<i>Antiphon.</i>	with holy worship.	I have sinned against Thee.	trusteth in Thee.	my strong hold.	highest over all the earth.	the Lord all ye lands.
<i>Antiphon.</i>	Deliver me: in	My heart is inditing	Do ye judge the thing that	Think upon the tribe:	Lord, Thou art become	Let my crying:
(5) <i>Psalm</i>	31	44	58	73	85	102
(6) <i>Psalm</i>	32	45	59	74	86	103
<i>Antiphon.</i>	Thy righteousness.	of a good matter.	is right: O ye sons of men.	of Thine inheritance.	gracious: unto Thy land.	come unto Thee.
<i>Antiphon.</i>	It becometh well:	A very present help:	O be Thou: our	Unto Thee: do we	Her foundations: are	Praise the Lord.
(7) <i>Psalm</i>	33	46	60	75	87	104
(8) <i>Psalm</i>	34	47	61	76	88	105
<i>Antiphon.</i>	the just to be thankful.	in trouble.	help in trouble.	give thanks.	upon the holy hills.	O my soul.
<i>Antiphon.</i>	Fight against them	Great is the Lord:	My soul truly	Thou art the God:	Praised be the Lord	O visit me: with
(9) <i>Psalm</i>	35	48	62	77	89	106
(10) <i>Psalm</i>	36	49	64	78	94	107
<i>Antiphon.</i>	that fight against me.	and highly to be praised.	waiteth still upon God.	that doest wonders.	for evermore.	Thy salvation.
<i>Antiphon.</i>	Commit thy way:	The Lord, even the most	O praise: our God	Be merciful:	Sing unto the Lord:	I will give great thanks:
(11) <i>Psalm</i>	37	50	66	79	96	108
(12) <i>Psalm</i>	38	52	68	80	97	109
<i>Antiphon.</i>	unto the Lord.	mighty God: hath spoken.	ye people.	unto our sins, O Lord.	and praise His name.	unto the Lord with my mouth.

(f) *Verse and Response.* Out of Sion hath God appeared.
(as on the Sundays.) In perfect beauty.

The Lord's Prayer. Our Father, &c.

	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.
Absolution.	1.—	2.—	3.	1.—	2.—	3.

(These numbers answer to the numbers affixed to the Absolutions and Benedictions in §2.)

Monday. Benediction 1.—1*.

Lesson 1. Isaiah i. 16—18†.

Response 1. Cherish the Word, O Mary the Virgin, which is conveyed to thee from the Lord by the angel; thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bring forth God and man; that thou mayest be called blessed among all women.

Yea, thou shalt bring forth a son, yet abide a virgin; thou shalt be with child and be a mother, yet know not a man.

That thou mayest be blessed among all women.

Benediction 2.—2.

Lesson 2. Isaiah i. 19—23.

Response 2. Let the heavens rejoice and let the earth be glad, let the hills be joyful together before the Lord, for He shall come and shall have pity on the poor.

In His time shall the righteous flourish, yea and abundance of peace.

And He shall have pity on the poor.

Benediction 3.—3.

Lesson 3. Isaiah i. 24—28.

Response 3. Strangers shall not pass through Jerusalem any more, for in that day the mountains shall drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, saith the Lord.

God shall come from Lebanon, and the Holy One from the woody mountain.

For in that day the mountains, &c.

(End of Matins.)

1st Tuesday. Benediction 1.—4.

Lesson 1. Isaiah ii. 1—3.

Response 1. Ye mountains of Israel, spread forth your branches, and bud into flower, and bear fruit; it is full time that the day of the Lord come.

Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness; let the earth open and bring forth salvation.

It is full time that the day of the Lord come.

* The Benedictions run as follows :

	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.
Benedictions	1st—1.	4.	7.	1.	4.	7.
	2d—2.	5.	8.	2.	5.	8.
	3d—3.	6.	9.	3.	6.	9.

† These lessons will illustrate the complaint in the preface of our Prayer Book, that "when any book of the Bible was begun," in the Breviary, "after 3 or 4 chapters were read out, all the rest were unread." No chapter is finished.

Benediction 2.—5.

Lesson 2. Isaiah ii. 4—6.

Response 2. Let the mountains break forth with joy, and the hills with righteousness, for the Lord, the light of the world, is come with power.

Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

For the Lord, the light, &c.

Benediction 3.—6.

Lesson 3. Isaiah ii. 7—9.

Response 3. Behold, I come, the Lord your God, from Timon : to visit you in peace.

I will look upon you, and make you to increase ; ye shall be multiplied, and I will establish My covenant with you.

To visit you in peace.

(End of Matins.)

1st Wednesday. *Benediction 1.—7†*.*

Lesson 1. Isaiah iii. 1—4.

Response 1. Christ our King shall come, whom John announced as the Lamb that was to come.

Kings shall keep peace before Him, and the Gentiles shall supplicate Him.

Whom John announced as the Lamb that was to come.

Benediction 2.—8.

Lesson 2. Isaiah iii. 5—7.

Response 2. Ezekiel prophesied long before, I saw a gate that was shut ; behold, the everlasting God went forth from it for the salvation of the world : and again it was shut, figuring the Virgin, who after the birth remained a virgin.

The gate which thou sawest, the Lord alone shall pass through it.

And again it was, &c.

Benediction 3.—9.

Lesson 3. Isaiah iii. 8—11.

(As Response 9 of Sunday.) Response 3. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise up unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth ; and this is His name whereby He shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness.

In His days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely.

And this is His name, &c.

(End of Matins.)

1st Thursday. *Benediction 1.—1.*

Lesson 1. Isaiah iv. 1—3.

(as on Monday.) Response 1. Cherish the Word, &c.

Benediction 2.—2.

Lesson 2. Isaiah v. 1—4.

(As Response 2 of Sunday.) Response 2. I saw in the night visions, and

* Where the number of this Benediction is marked with a †, it runs thus :
“ May He bless us who liveth and reigneth world without end. *Amen.*”

behold, one like unto the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven ; and there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom : that all people, nations, and languages should serve Him.

His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

That all people, &c.

Benediction 3.—3.

Lesson 3. Isaiah v. 5—7.

(*As Response 3 of Sunday.*) *Response 3. The angel Gabriel was sent to Mary, a virgin espoused to Joseph, announcing to her the Word, and the virgin was troubled at the light ; Fear not, Mary, thou hast found favour with the Lord : behold, thou shalt conceive and bring forth a Son, and He shall be called the Son of the Highest.*

The Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David, and He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever.

Behold thou shalt conceive, &c.

(*End of Matins.*)

1st Friday. Benediction 1.—4.

Lesson 1. Isaiah vi. 1—3.

(*As Response 4 of Sunday.*) *Response 1. Hail thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee ; the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.*

How shall this be, seeing I know not a man ? And the angel answered and said to her.

The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, &c.

Benediction 2.—5.

Lesson 2. Isaiah vi. 4—7.

(*As Response 5 of Sunday.*) *Response 2. We wait for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body.*

Let us live safely, righteously and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God.

Who shall change, &c.

Benediction 3.—6.

Lesson 3. Isaiah vi. 8—10.

(*As Response 6 of Sunday.*) *Response 3. O my Lord, send, I pray Thee, by the hand of Him whom thou wilt send ; behold the affliction of Thy people : as Thou hast spoken, come, and deliver us.*

Hear, O Thou Shepherd of Israel, Thou that ledest Joseph like a sheep, Thou that sittest between the cherubim.

As Thou hast spoken, &c.

(*End of Matins.*)

1st Saturday. Benediction 1.—7†.

Lesson 1. Isaiah vii. 1—3.

(*As Response 7 of Sunday.*) *Response 1. Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and shall bring forth a Son, saith the Lord, and His name shall be called Wonderful, the Mighty God.*

Upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom He shall sit for ever.

And His name shall be called Wonderful, the Mighty God.

Benediction 2.—8.

Lesson 2. Isaiah vii. 4—6.

(As Response 8 of Sunday.) Response 2. Hear the word of the Lord, O ye nations, and declare it in the ends of the earth; and say to the isles afar off, our Saviour shall come.

Declare it and make it heard; speak and cry out,

And say to the isles, &c.

(As Response 9 of Sunday and Response 3 of Wednesday.) Benediction 3.—9.

Lesson 3. Isaiah vii. 10—15.

Response 3. Behold the day is come, &c. (End.)

2d Monday.

Benediction 1.—1.

Lesson 1. Isaiah xiii. 1—4.

Response 1. Cherish the Word, &c.

Benediction 2.—2.

(The Response as on 1st Monday.) Lesson 2. Isaiah xiii. 4—8.

Response 2. Let the heavens rejoice, &c.

Benediction 3.—3.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xiii. 9—11.

Response 3. Strangers shall not pass, &c. (End.)

2d Tuesday.

Benediction 1.—4.

Lesson 1. Isaiah xiv. 1—4.

Response 1. Ye mountains of Israel, &c.

(The Responses as on 1st Tuesday.) Benediction 2.—5.

Lesson 2. Isaiah xiv. 3—6.

Response 2. Let the mountains, &c.

Benediction 3.—6.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xiv. 12—15.

Response 3. Behold I come, &c. (End.)

2d Wednesday.

Benediction 1.—7†.

Lesson 1. Isaiah xvi. 1—4.

Response 1. Christ our king, &c.

Benediction 2.—8.

(As on 1st Wednesday.) Lesson 2. Isaiah xvi. 4—6.

Response 2. Ezekiel prophesied, &c.

Benediction 3.—9.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xvi. 7, 8.

(As Response 9 of Sunday.) Response 3. Behold, the Lord shall come, descending in glory, and His power with Him; to visit His people in peace, and establish upon them everlasting life.

Behold, our Lord shall come with power.

To visit His people, &c.

(End.)

2d Thursday.

Benediction 1.—1.

Lesson 1. Isaiah xix. 1, 2.

(*As Response 1 of Sunday.*) *Response 1. O Jerusalem, thy salvation shall come quickly ; wherefore art thou consumed with grief ? is there any counsellor in thee ? because sorrow hath changed thee. I will save thee and deliver thee, fear not.*

For I am the Lord thy God, the Holy one of Israel, thy Redeemer.

I will save thee and deliver thee, fear not.

Benediction 2.—2.

Lesson 2. Isaiah xix. 3—6.

(*As Response 2 of Sunday.*) *Response 2. The Lord my God shall come and all the Saints with Thee, and in that day there shall be great light ; and it shall be in that day that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem, and the Lord shall be king for ever : over all the earth.*

Behold the Lord shall come with power, and His kingdom shall be in His hand, and dominion and sovereignty.

Over all the earth.

Benediction 3.—3.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xix. 11—13.

(*As Response 3 of Sunday.*) *Response 3. City of Jerusalem, weep thou not, for the Lord has sorrowed for thee ; and He shall take from thee all tribulation.*

Behold, the Lord shall come in strength, and His arm shall rule.

And he shall take, &c.

(*End.*)

2d Friday. Benediction 1.—4.

Lesson 1. Isaiah xxiv. 1—3.

(*As Response 4 of Sunday.*) *Response 1. Behold, the Lord shall come, our defender, the Holy One of Israel, having the crown of His kingdom upon Him.*

And He shall reign from sea to sea, and from the river even unto the ends of the earth.

Having the crown of His kingdom upon Him.

Benediction 2.—5.

Lesson 2. Isaiah xxiv. 4—6.

(*As Response 5 of Sunday.*) *Response 2. As a mother comforteth her sons, so will I comfort you, saith the Lord ; and from Jerusalem, the city I have chosen, shall succour come to you ; and you shall see and your heart shall rejoice.*

I will give to Zion salvation, and to Jerusalem, My glory.

And you shall see, &c.

Benediction 3.—6.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xxiv. 7—15.

(*As Response 6 of Sunday.*) *Response 3. O Jerusalem, thou shalt plant thy vine upon thy mountains ; leap for joy, for the day of the Lord shall come ; arise, O Zion, be turned unto the Lord thy God ; rejoice and be glad, O Jacob : for thy Saviour shall come in the midst of the nations.*

Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, shout, 'O daughter of Jerusalem.

For thy Saviour, &c.

(End.)

2d Saturday. *Benediction 1.—7†.*

Lesson 1. Isaiah xxv. 1—4.

(As Response 7 of Sunday.) Response 1. The Lord shall come from Samaria to the eastern gate, and shall come to Bethlehem, walking upon the waters of the redemption of Judah; then shall every man be saved, for, behold, He cometh.

And His throne shall be prepared in mercy and He shall sit on it in truth.

Then shall every man be saved, for, behold, He cometh.

Benediction 2.—8.

Lesson 2. Isaiah xxiv. 4—7.

(As Response 8 of Sunday.) Response 2. Make haste, and tarry not, O Lord: and deliver Thy people.

Come, O Lord, and do not tarry: absolve thy people from their iniquities.

And deliver Thy people.

Benediction 3.—9.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xxv. 8—12.

(As Response 9 of Sunday, and 3 of Wednesday.) Response 3. Behold, the Lord shall come, &c.

(End.)

3d Monday. *Benediction 1.—1.*

Lesson 1. Isaiah xxviii. 1—3.

(As Response 1 of Sunday.) Response 1. Behold, the Lord shall appear, &c.

Benediction 2.—2.

Lesson 2. Isaiah xxviii. 4—7.

(As Response 2 of Sunday.) Response 2. O Bethlehem, city, &c.

Benediction 3.—3.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xxviii. 16—18.

(As Response 3 of Sunday.) Response 3. He that shall come, will come, &c.

(End.)

3d Tuesday. *Benediction 1.—4.*

Lesson 1. Isaiah xxx. 18—20.

(As Response 4 of Sunday.) Response 1. Weep not, O Egypt, &c.

Benediction 2.—5.

Lesson 5. Isaiah xxx. 22—25.

(As Response 5 of Sunday.) Response 2. Her time is well nigh, &c.

Benediction 3.—6.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xxx. 26—28.

(As Response 6 of Sunday.) Response 3. The Lord shall descend as the rain, &c.

(End.)

3d Wednesday. *Benediction 1.—7.*

Lesson 1. Luke i. 26—38.

Homily of St. Ambrose. (Lib. 2. in Lucan.) (for Ember day.) Divine mysteries lie hid, nor is it easy, as the prophet says, for any one among men to know the purpose of God. Yet, from the other deeds and precepts of the Lord and Saviour, we are able to understand that it was a matter of solicitous purpose, that she should be chosen above others to bear the Lord, who was already betrothed to a husband.

For why did she not conceive before she was betrothed? probably, lest it should be said that she had conceived in adultery.

Response 1. O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice, be not afraid: say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God! Behold the Lord God will come whom we did wait for.

O Sion, which bringest good tidings; get thee up into the high mountains, lift up thy voice with strength.

Say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God! Behold, the Lord God will come whom we did wait for.

Benediction 2.—8.

Lesson 2.

(Homily continued.) And the angel came in unto her. Recognize the virgin in her behaviour, in her modesty, in the annunciation, in the mystery. To be frightened belongs to virgins; and to dread the approach, to feel abashed at the address of man. Let women learn to imitate the settled resolve of modesty herein displayed. Alone was she in the inner chamber, seen by no man, found by the angel alone. Alone without companion, alone without witness, lest she should be insulted by any unworthy voice, she is saluted by the angel.

Response 2. There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a scepter shall arise out of Israel and shall smite through the princes of Moab: and all the earth shall be His possession.

All kings shall fall down before Him, all nations shall do Him service.

And all the earth, &c.

Benediction 3.—9.

(Homily continued.) Lesson 3. For the mystery of so high a message was to be divulged by the mouth, not of man, but of an Angel. Today is it first heard; The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee. It is heard, it is believed. Lastly she says, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word. Observe her humility, observe her devotion. She calls herself the handmaid, who is chosen to be the mother of the Lord; nor is she elated by the sudden promise.

Response 3. The Lord Almighty shall soon come: and His name shall be called Emmanuel.

Righteousness shall arise in His days, and abundance of peace.

And His name, &c.

(End.)

3d Thursday. Benediction 1.—1.

Lesson 1. Isaiah xxxiii. 1, 2.

Response 1. The Lord shall go forth and fight against the nations;

and His feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives, towards the east.

And He shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto Him.

And His feet, &c.

Benediction 2.—2.

Lesson 2. Isaiah xxxiii. 3—6.

Response 3. The forerunner is for us entered, a Lamb without spot; made an high priest, for ever and ever, after the order of Melchizedek.

He is the king of righteousness, and of His generation there is no end.

Made an high priest, &c.

Benediction 3.—3.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xxxiii. 14—17.

Response 3. The Gentiles shall see Thy righteousness, and all kings Thy glory: and Thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name.

Thou shalt also be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God.

And thou shalt be called, &c.

(End.)

3d Friday. *Benediction 1.—7.*

Lesson 1. Luke i. 39—45.

*Homily of St. Ambrose,
Lib. 2 in Lucam. (For
Ember day.)*

Those who exact faith, are used to give grounds for it. Accordingly the angel when announcing what was hidden, to give grounds for faith, by the precedent of the elder and barren woman, announced the conception of the Virgin, by way of declaring that with God all is possible whatsoever he will. Mary, on hearing this, not as incredulous at the heavenly voice, nor as uncertain as to the message, nor as doubtful of the precedent, but as joyful from her resolve, religious by her calling, speedy for joy, proceeded into the mountainous country. Whither indeed should she hasten, who was filled with God, but to what is upward?

Response 1. Send ye the Lamb to the Ruler of the land, from Sela to the wilderness, unto the mount of the daughter of Sion.

O Lord, show Thy mercy upon us, and grant us Thy salvation.
From Sela to the wilderness, unto the mount of the daughter of Sion.

Benediction 2.—8.

(Homily continued.) *Lesson 2. Learn hence also, ye holy women, what attention ye should pay to your relations who are with child. Mary, who before lived in solitude in the inner chambers, was not deterred from going abroad by her virgin modesty, nor from her eagerness by the mountainous journey, nor from her dutifulness by its length. A virgin leaves her home and goes into the mountains with haste, a virgin mindful of her duty, unmindful of the hardships, called not by her sex, but by affection. Learn hence, O virgins, not to go about from house to house, not to loiter in public*

places, not to talk freely in society. Mary, loitering at home, in haste when abroad, abode for three months with her kinswoman.

Response 2. Drop down ye heavens from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness; let the earth open and bring forth salvation.

Send ye the Lamb to the Ruler of the land, from Sela to the wilderness, unto the mount of the daughter of Sion.

Let the earth, &c.

Benediction 3.—9.

Homily continued. Lesson 3. Ye have been taught, O virgins, the modesty of Mary, observe the humility. She came as kinswoman to her next of kin, as junior to her elder; nor came alone, but first saluted her. For it beseems a virgin, the purer she is, to be the more humble also. Let her be used to defer to her seniors. Let her be a pattern of humility, who has taken the profession of chastity. Here too is a rule of doctrine, as well as a pattern of piety. For let it be considered that the superior comes to the inferior that the inferior may be aided: Mary to Elizabeth, Christ to the Baptist.

Response 3. The fields of the desert have brought forth the plant of the odour of Israel, for behold, our God shall come with strength; and His brightness with Him.

Out of Sion the perfection of beauty our God shall manifest Himself.

And His brightness with Him.

(End.)

3d Saturday. Benediction 1.—7.

Lesson 1. Luke iii. 1—3.

Homily of Pope Gregory in The time when the forerunner of our Redeemer received the office of preaching, is marked by mention of the Roman Emperor, and the Kings of Judea. For, whereas he came to proclaim Him, who was to redeem some from Judea and many from the heathen, therefore, the date of his preaching is marked by the ruler of the Gentiles and the governor of the Jews. And whereas, heathenism was to be brought in, and Judea scattered for the guilt of its misbelief, the very description of the earthly sovereign signifies this the prince of the Roman state being described as one, of Judea as fourfold.

Response 1. There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of His roots; and righteousness shall be the girdle of His loins, and faithfulness the girdle of His reins.

And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon Him; the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might.

And righteousness shall be, &c.

Benediction 2.—8.

Homily continued. Lesson 2. And indeed, the voice our Redeemer has declared, Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation. It is plain, therefore, that Judea had come to the end of its kingdom, being parted among so many kings. Also it is suitably noted what priests, as well as what kings, were in power at the time: and, whereas John the Baptist was proclaim-

ing Him who was at once king and priest, Luke the Evangelist marked the date of that proclamation by mention of the kingdom and the priesthood.

Response 2. There shall be a root of Jesse, which shall rise to judge the Gentiles : on Him shall the Gentiles trust : and His name shall be blessed for evermore.

The kings shall shut their mouths at Him : the Gentiles shall implore Him.

And His name, &c.

Benediction 3.—9.

Homily continued. Lesson 3. And he came into all the regions of Jordan, proclaiming the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. It is plain to every reader, that John not only proclaimed the baptism of repentance, but also administered it to some, yet he could not administer it for the remission of sins. For the remission of sins is imparted to us only in Christ's baptism. The words then are observable ; *proclaiming* the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. He proclaimed that cleansing Baptism which he could not administer : that, as he forerun the Incarnate Word of the Father by the word of proclamation, so he might forerun also the baptism of repentance, in which sins are forgiven, with his own baptism, by which sins could not be forgiven.

Response 3. Come, O Lord, and do not tarry ; absolve Thy people from their sins ; and recover the scattered ones into their own land.

O Lord, raise up Thy power, and come to save us.

And recover, &c.

(End.)

4th Monday.

Benediction 1.—1.

Lesson 1. Isaiah xli. 8—10.

(As Response 1 of Sunday.) Response 1. Blow the trumpet, &c.

Benediction 2.—2.

Lesson 2. Isaiah xli. 11—13.

(As Response 2 of Sunday.) Response 2. The sceptre shall not depart, &c.

Benediction 3.—3.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xli. 14—16.

(As Response 3 of Sunday.) Response 3. I must decrease, &c. (End.)

4th Tuesday.

Benediction 1.—4.

Lesson 1. Isaiah xlii. 1—4.

(As Response 4 of Sunday.) Response 1. Unto us a child, &c.

Benediction 2.—5.

Lesson 2. Isaiah xlii. 5—7.

(As Response 5 of Sunday.) Response 2. Behold, the fulness of time, &c.

Benediction 3.—6.

Lesson 3. Isaiah xlii. 10—13.

(As Response 6 of Sunday.) Response 3. O virgin of Israel, &c. (End.)

4th Wednesday.

Benediction 1.—7†.

Lesson 1. Isaiah li. 1—3.

(As Response 7 of Sunday.) Response 1. I have sworn, &c.

Benediction 2.—8.

Lesson 2. Isaiah li. 4—6.

(As Response 8 of Sunday.) *Response 2. And so will not we, &c.*

Benediction 3.—9.

Lesson 3. Isaiah li. 7, 8.

(As Response 9 of Sunday.) *Response 3. Consider how great, &c. (End.)*

4th Thursday.

Benediction 1.—1.

(As Response 1 of Sunday and

Response 1 of Monday.)

Lesson 1. Isaiah lxiv. 1—4.

Response 1. Blow the trumpet, &c.

Benediction 2.—2.

(As Response 2 of Sunday and

Response 2 of Monday.)

Lesson 2. Isaiah lxiv. 5—7.

Response 2. The sceptre shall not depart, &c.

Benediction 3.—3.

(As Response 3 of Sunday and

Response 3 of Monday.)

Lesson 3. Isaiah lxiv. 8—11.

Response 3. I must decrease, &c. (End.)

4th Friday.

Benediction 1.—4.

(As Response 4 of Sunday and

Response 1 of Tuesday.)

Lesson 1. Isaiah lxvi. 5—8.

Response 1. Unto us a child, &c.

Benediction 2.—5.

(As Response 5 of Sunday and

Response 2 of Tuesday.)

Lesson 2. Isaiah lxvi. 9—12.

Response 2. Behold, the fulness of time, &c.

Benediction 3.—6.

(As Response 6 of Sunday and

Response 3 of Tuesday.)

Lesson 3. Isaiah lxvi. 13—16.

Response 3. O virgin of Israel, &c. (End.)

Christmas Eve, &c. &c.

Christmas Day, &c. &c.

LAUDS.

O God, make speed, &c.

O Lord, make haste, &c.

Glory be, &c. Amen. Hallelujah.

Antiphons and Psalms.

1st, 2d and 3d Monday. 4th Monday, (the 19th.)

(o) Have mercy. (o) Behold, the Lord will come, the King of the whole earth.

(1) *Psalm 51.*

(o) Have mercy on me, O God. (o) Behold, the Lord will come, the King of the whole earth; blessed are they that are ready to meet Him.

(p) Consider.

(p) When the Son of man cometh.

- (p) Consider my meditation. (2) *Psalm 5.*
 (p) When the Son of man cometh, will He find faith on the earth?
- (q) O God, Thou art my God. (q) Behold, the fulness of time is now come.
 (3) *Psalm 63 & 67.*
 (q) O God, Thou art my God, early will I seek Thee. (q) Behold, the fulness of time is now come, in the which God sent forth His Son to the earth.
- (r) Thine anger. (r) With joy shall ye draw water.
 (4) Song of Isaiah. (Isaiah xii.)
 (r) Thine anger is turned away, and Thou comfortedst me. (r) With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation.
- (s) O praise the Lord. (s) The Lord shall go forth of His holy place.
 (5) *Psalm 148—150.*
 (s) O praise the Lord of heaven. (s) The Lord shall go forth of His holy place, He shall come to save His people. (go on (t))
- 1st 2d & 3d Tuesday. 4th Tuesday, (the 20th.)
 (o) Cleanse me. (o) Drop down, ye heavens.
 (1) *Psalm 51.*
 (o) Cleanse me from my sin. (o) Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness; let the earth open and bring forth salvation.
- (p) The help. (p) Send ye the Lamb.
 (2) *Psalm 43.*
 (p) The help of my countenance and my God. (p) Send ye the Lamb to the Ruler of the land, from Sela in the wilderness, unto the mount of the daughter of Zion.
- (q) Early. (q) That Thy way may be known.
 (3) *Psalm 63 & 67.*
 (q) Early will I seek Thee, my God. (q) That Thy way may be known upon earth, Thy saving health among all nations.
- (r) Save us, O Lord. (r) Reward, O Lord.
 (4) Song of *Hezekiah*. (Isaiah xxxviii.)
 (r) Save us, O Lord, all the days of our life. (r) Reward, O Lord, them that wait for Thee, that Thy prophets be found faithful.
- (s) Praise Him. (s) The law was given by Moses.
 (5) *Psalm 148—150.*
 (s) Praise Him, all ye angels of His. (s) The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. (go on (t))
- 1st, 2d & 3d Wednesday. 4th Wednesday, (the 21st, St. Thomas's.)
 (o) Wash me thoroughly. (o) This is My commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you.

(1) *Psalm* 51.

(o) Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness.

(p) Thou, O Lord.

(2) *Psalm* 65.

(p) Thou, O Lord, art praised in Sion.

(q) My lips shall praise Thee.

(3) *Ps.* 63 & 67.

(q) My lips shall praise Thee as long as I live, my God.

(r) The Lord shall judge.

(4) *Song of Hannah* (1 Sam. ii.)

(r) The Lord shall judge the ends of the earth.

(s) Praise Him.

(5) *Ps.* 148—150.

(s) Praise Him, all ye heavens.

1st, 2d and 3d Thursday.

(o) Against Thee only have I sinned.

(o) Against Thee only have I sinned, have mercy upon me, O Lord.

(p) Lord.

(p) Lord, Thou hast been our refuge.

(q) Have I not thought.

(q) Have I not thought upon Thee when I was waking.

(r) I will sing.

(r) I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously.

(1) *Psalm* 94.

(o) This is My commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you.

(p) Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

(2) *Psalm* 100.

(p) Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

(q) Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you, saith the Lord.

(3) *Psalm* 63 & 67.

(q) Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you, saith the Lord.

(r) Blessed are the peace-makers, blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

(4) *Song of the Three Children.* (*Benedicite Omnia Opera.*)

(r) Blessed are the peace-makers, blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

(s) In your patience possess ye your souls.

(5) *Psalm* 148—150.

(s) In your patience possess ye your souls.

4th Thursday, (the 22d.)

(o) The Lord Almighty shall come.

(1) *Psalm* 51.

(o) The Lord Almighty shall come to save His people.

(p) Turn Thee, Lord.

(2) *Psalm* 90.

(p) Turn Thee, Lord, a little while, and delay not to come to Thy servants.

(q) The Lord who is to reign.

(3) *Psalm* 63 & 67.

(q) The Lord who is to reign shall come from Sion: Emmanuel is His mighty name.

(r) He is my God.

(4) *Song of Moses.* (Exod. xv.)

(r) He is my God, and I will prepare him an habitation: my father's God, and I will exalt Him.

(s) O praise God.

(s) The Lord is our lawgiver.

(5) *Psalm* 148—150.(s) O praise God
in His holiness.(s) The Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king :
He will come and save us.1st, 2nd, & 3rd
Friday.

4th Friday, (the 23d.)

(o) Stablish me.

(o) Stand still.

(1) *Psalm* 51.(o) Stablish me
with Thy free
spirit.(o) Stand still, and ye shall see the salvation of
the Lord.(p) Hearken un-
to me.

(p) To Thee, O Lord, have I lift up my soul.

(2) *Psalm* 143.(p) Hearken un-
to me for Thy
truth and right-
eousness' sake.(p) To Thee, O Lord, have I lift up my soul ; come,
O Lord, and deliver me, for I flee unto thee.(q) Shew us the
light.

(q) Come, O Lord, and do not tarry.

(3) *Psalm* 63 and 67.(q) Shew us the
light of Thy
countenance.(q) Come, O Lord, and do not tarry ; absolve Thy
people Israel from their iniquities.

(r) O Lord.

(r) God shall come from Lebanon.

(4) *Song of Habakkuk* (Hab. iii.)(r) O Lord, I
have heard Thy
speech, and was
afraid.(r) God shall come from Lebanon, and His bright-
ness shall be as a stream.

(s) Praise Him.

(s) But I will look towards the Lord.

(5) *Psalm* 148—150.(s) Praise Him
in the cymbals
and dances.(s) But I will look towards the Lord, and will wait
for God my favour.1st and 2nd
Saturday.

3rd Saturday, (the 17th.)

(o) O be favor-
able.

(o) The prophets announced.

(1) *Psalm* 51.(o) O be favora-
ble and gracious.(o) The prophets announced that the Saviour
should be born of the Virgin Mary.(p) It is a good
thing.

(p) The Spirit of the Lord.

(2) *Psalm* 92.(p) It is a good
thing to give
thanks unto the
Lord.(p) The Spirit of the Lord is upon me ; He hath
sent me to preach good tidings to the poor.(q) All the ends
of the world.

(q) For Sion's sake will I not hold my peace.

(3) *Psalm* 63 and 67.(q) All the ends
of the world
shall fear Him.(q) For Sion's sake will I not hold my peace, until
the righteousness thereof goeth forth as brightness.

(r) Ascribe ye greatness. (r) My speech shall drop as the rain.
 (4) *Song of Moses.* (Deut. xxxii.)
 (r) Ascribe ye greatness unto our God. (r) My speech shall drop as the rain, and our God shall come down upon us as the dew.

(s) Praise Him. (s) Tell the people, and say.
 (5) *Psalm 148—150.*
 (s) Praise Him upon the well-tuned cymbals. (s) Tell the people, and say, Behold God our Saviour shall come.

(t) *Text.* Isa. ii. 3. (*For every day.*) Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

(u) *Hymn.* En clara vox redarguit.

(v) *Verse and Response.* The voice of one crying in the wilderness,
 (*For every day.*) Prepare ye the way of the Lord.
Make his paths straight.

(w) *Antiphon of the Benedictus.*

1st Monday. The angel of the Lord made announcement to Mary, and she conceived of the Holy Ghost. Hallelujah.

1st Tuesday. Before they came together, Mary was found with child of the Holy Ghost. Hallelujah.

1st Wednesday. Out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

1st Thursday. Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.

1st Friday. Behold God and man of the house of David shall come to sit on the throne. Hallelujah.

1st Saturday. O Sion, be not afraid: behold thy God shall come. Hallelujah.

2d Monday. The Almighty Lord shall come from heaven, and in his hand is honour and dominion.

2d Tuesday. The Lord shall arise upon thee, O Jerusalem; and His glory shall be seen in thee.

2d Wednesday. Behold I send My messenger, who shall prepare my way before Thee.

2d Thursday. Thou art He that should come, O Lord, whom we look for, to save Thy people.

2d Friday. Say ye, strengthen the weak-hearted; behold our Lord God shall come.

2d Saturday. The Lord shall lift up an ensign among the nations, and shall gather together the dispersed of Israel.

3d Monday. A rod shall go forth out of the root of Jesse, and all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

3d Tuesday. Thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a governor, that shall rule my people Israel.

3d Wednesday. The Angel Gabriel was sent to a Virgin, Mary, who was espoused to Joseph.

3d Thursday. Watch ye in heart, for the Lord our God is at hand.

3d Friday. As soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy. Hallelujah.

3d Saturday. How shall this be, Angel of God, seeing I know not a man? Hear thou, Mary the Virgin, the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.

4th Monday. The Lord saith, Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

4th Tuesday. Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord.

4th Wednesday, the 21st. Be ye afraid, for on the fifth day our Lord shall come to you.

4th Thursday. I will place salvation in Sion, and in Jerusalem my glory.

4th Friday. Behold all things are accomplished, which were said by the Angel concerning Mary the Virgin.

Christmas Eve, &c.

(x) *Collect, (the same as in the four Sundays respectively.)* *1st Week.* Raise up, we beseech Thee, &c.

2d Week. Stir up, O Lord, &c.

(*Except on the three Ember days, when it is as follows :*) *3d Week.* Give ear, we beseech Thee, &c.

4th Week. Raise up, we beseech Thee, &c.

(x) *Collect for Ember Wednesday.* Grant to us, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, that when the festival of our redemption cometh, it may both furnish us with aids for this present life, and impart to us the rewards of everlasting bliss, through the Lord, &c.

Friday. Raise up, we beseech Thee, O Lord, Thy power, and come, that they who rely upon Thy mercy may be speedily delivered from all adversity, who livest and reignest, &c.

Saturday. O God, who seest that we are afflicted by our own corruption, mercifully grant that we may be consoled by Thy visitation, who livest, &c.

PRIME, THIRD, SIXTH, NINTH.

[(o) (p) (q) (s)] *The Service is the same as on the respective Sundays, except that from the 17th inclusive, the Antiphons in the four Services are taken successively from the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 5th Antiphons at Lauds, on the same day ;*

That in Prime, there is a Psalm according to the day of the week, instead of the Benedicite, (vid. § 1. supra.) the Athanasian Creed is omitted, and the Text (c) is Love the truth and peace, saith the Lord of Hosts, instead of To the King, &c.

And in the Third, Sixth, and Ninth, the Collect (nn, ss, xx) is the same as at the Lauds (x) of each day ; and that the Text for every day is as follows :

At the Third (ll) Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth.

At the Sixth (qq) In his days Judah shall be saved and Israel shall dwell safely ; and this is His name whereby He shall be called, the Lord our Righteousness.

At the Ninth, (vv) (and on the 21st at Prime also, instead of the Lectio Brevis.) Her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged ; for the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel.

VESPERS.

	<i>Monday.</i>	<i>Tuesday.</i>	<i>Wednesday.</i>	<i>Thursday.</i>	<i>Friday.</i>	<i>Saturday.</i>
(yy) <i>Ant.</i>	He hath inclined	We will go into	They shall not be ashamed when they speak	And all	Even before the gods will	Blessed is the
<i>Psalm</i> (1)	116 (<i>part</i>)	122	127	132	138	144
(yy) <i>Ant.</i>	His ear unto me.	the house of the Lord.	with thine enemies in the gate.	his trouble.	I sing praise unto Thee,	Lord my strength.
(zz) <i>Ant.</i>	I believed: and therefore	O thou that dwellest	Blessed are all they	Behold how good and joyful a thing it is,	O Lord, thou hast	Every day will I
<i>Psalm</i> (2)	116 (<i>part</i>)	123	128	133	139	145
(zz) <i>Ant.</i>	will I speak.	in the heavens, have mercy upon us.	that fear the Lord.	brethren, to dwell together in unity.	searched me out and know me.	give thanks unto Thee.
(aaa) <i>Ant.</i>	Praise the Lord	Our help is in the	Many a time have	Whatsoever the Lord	Preserve me from	While I live will
<i>Psalm</i> (3)	117	124	129	135	140	146
(aaa) <i>Ant.</i>	all ye heathen.	name of the Lord.	they fought against me from my youth up.	pleased, that did He.	the wicked man.	I praise the Lord.
(bbb) <i>Ant.</i>	I called upon the Lord,	Do good, O Lord, unto	Out of the deep have I	For His mercy	Lord, I call upon Thee:	A joyful and pleasant thing
<i>Psalm</i> (4)	120	125	130	136	141	147 (<i>part</i>)
(bbb) <i>Ant.</i>	and He heard me.	those who are good, and turn our hearts.	called unto Thee, O Lord.	endureth for ever.	haste Thou unto me.	it is to be thankful.
(ccc) <i>Ant.</i>	From whence cometh	Then were we like	O Israel, trust	Sing us one of	Thou art my portion	Praise the Lord,
<i>Psalm</i> (5)	121	126	131	137	142	147 (<i>part</i>)
(ccc) <i>Ant.</i>	my help.	unto them that dream.	in the Lord.	the songs of Sion.	in the land of the living.	O Jerusalem.

(ddd) *Text.* The Sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet until Shiloh come, and unto the Text is that Him shall the gathering of the people, &c.
of Lauds and Vespers of the following Sundays.)

(eee) *Hymn.* Creator alme siderum, &c.

(fff) *V. & R.* Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness.

Let the earth open and bring forth salvation.

(ggg) *Antiphon of the Magnificat.*

1st Monday. Lift up thine eyes, O Jerusalem, and behold the greatness of thy King. Behold thy Saviour cometh to loose thee from thy chains.

1st Tuesday. Seek ye the Lord while He may be found; call upon Him while He is near. Hallelujah.

1st Wednesday. One that is mightier than I shall come after Me, whose shoes' latchet I am not worthy to unloose.

1st Thursday. I will wait for the Lord my Saviour, and will attend upon Him while He is near. Hallelujah.

1st Friday. Out of Egypt have I called My Son. He shall come to save His people.

1st Saturday. Come, O Lord, to visit us in peace, that we may rejoice before Thee with a perfect heart.

2d Monday. Behold the king, the Lord of the earth shall come; and He shall take away the yoke of our captivity.

2d Tuesday. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make the paths of our God straight.

2d Wednesday. O Sion, Thou shalt be renewed, and thou shalt see thy Holy One, who is to come unto thee.

2d Thursday. He who shall come after me, was in being before me; whose sandals I am not worthy to unloose.

2d Friday. O sing unto the Lord a new song, His praise is from the ends of the earth.

2d Saturday. There was no God made before Me, neither shall there be after Me; for every knee shall bow to Me, and every tongue confess to God.

3d Monday. All generations shall call me blessed; because God hath regarded the low estate of His handmaiden.

3d Tuesday. Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, loose the chains off thy neck, O captive daughter of Sion.

3d Wednesday. Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.

3d Thursday. Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and leap for joy in her all ye that love her for ever.

3d Friday. This was the witness of John; He that cometh after me was in being before me.

3d Saturday,
(the 17th.)

[O Sapientia.]

(This is the first
of a series of Ma-

jores Antiphonæ, beginning on this day. They are
said whole both before and after the Magnificat.)

O eternal Wisdom, which proceedest from the
mouth of the Most High, reaching from one end of
creation unto the other, mightily and harmoniously
disposing all things, come Thou to teach us the way
of understanding.

4th Monday (19.) O Root of Jesse, who art placed for a sign of the
people, before whom kings shall shut their mouths, whom the Gen-
tiles shall supplicate; come Thou to deliver us, do not tarry.

(Vide 4th Sunday for the intervening Antiphon.)

4th Tuesday (20.) O Key of David and Sceptre of the house of Israel,
who openest and none shutteth, who shuttest and none openeth,
come Thou, and bring forth the captive from the house of bondage
who sitteth in darkness and in the shadow of death.

4th Wed. (21.) O rising Brightness of the Everlasting Light and Sun
of Righteousness, come Thou and enlighten those who sit in dark-
ness and in the shadow of death.

4th Thurs. (22.) O King and the Desire of all nations, and chief Cor-
ner-stone, who makest two to be one, come Thou and save man
whom Thou formedst from the clay.

4th Friday (23) O Emmanuel, our King and Lawgiver, the gatherer
of the people and their Saviour, come Thou to save us, O Lord our
God.

Christmas Eve, &c.

(hhh) Collect. (The
same as on the respec-
tive Sundays: each
Saturday belonging
to the Sunday follow-
ing.)

1st week. Raise up, we beseech Thee, &c.

2d week. Stir up, O Lord, &c.

3d week. Give ear, we beseech Thee, &c.

4th week. Raise up, we beseech Thee, &c.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

No. 76.

(*Ad Populum.*)

CATENA PATRUM.

No. II.

TESTIMONY OF WRITERS IN THE LATER ENGLISH CHURCH TO THE DOCTRINE OF BAPTISMAL REGENERATION.

CONSIDERING the confidence and zeal with which modern and unscriptural views on the subject of Christian Baptism are put forth at the present time, it will not be unseasonable to present the reader with some testimonies from the writings of Anglican Divines in behalf of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. By this doctrine is meant, first, that the Sacrament of Baptism is not a mere *sign* or *promise*, but actually a *means* of grace, an *instrument*, by which, when rightly received, the soul is admitted to the benefits of CHRIST'S Atonement, such as the forgiveness of sin, original and actual, reconciliation to God, a new nature, adoption, citizenship in CHRIST'S kingdom, and the inheritance of heaven,—in a word, Regeneration. And next, Baptism is considered to be rightly received, when there is no positive obstacle or hindrance to the reception in the recipient, such as impenitence or unbelief would be in the case of an adult; so that infants are necessarily right recipients of it, as not being yet capable of actual sin. So much as these two positions is certainly held by every one of the authors of the following passages, though it is impossible to bring out their full meaning in such brief extracts however carefully selected.

There is a variety of questions connected with the subject beyond the two positions above set down, on which the writers under review differ more or less from each other, but not so as in the slightest degree to interfere with their clear and deliberate maintenance of these. Such, for instance, as the following:—Whether grace be given in and through the water, or only contemporaneously with it. Again, whether Baptism, strictly speaking, *conveys* the blessings annexed to it, or simply *admits* into a state gifted with those blessings, as being the initiatory rite of the covenant of mercy. Or, again, whether or not Baptism, besides washing away past sin, admits into a state in which, for sins hence-

forth committed, Repentance stands in place of a Sacrament, so as to ensure forgiveness without specific ordinance; or whether the Holy Eucharist is that ordinance; or whether the full and explicit absolution of sin after Baptism is altogether put off till the day of judgment. Or, again, there may be difference of opinion as to the state of infants dying unbaptized. Or, again, whether Regeneration is an instantaneous work completed in Baptism, or admits of degrees and growth. Or, again, whether or not the Holy Spirit can utterly desert a soul once inhabited by Him, except to quit it for ever. Or, whether the change in the soul made by Baptism is indelible, for good or for evil; or may be undone, as if it had never been. Or, how far the enjoyment of the grace attached to it is suspended on the condition of our doing our part in the covenant. All these are questions, far from unimportant, but which do not at present come into consideration; the one point, maintained in the following extracts, being, that infants are by and at baptism unconditionally translated from a state of wrath into a state of grace and acceptance for CHRIST's sake.

List of Authors cited.

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| 1. Jewell. | 22. Scott. |
| 2. Hooker. | 23. Jenkin. |
| 3. Andrews. | 24. Sherlock. |
| 4. Donne. | 25. Wall. |
| 5. Field. | 26. Potter. |
| 6. Jackson. | 27. Nelson. |
| 7. Laud. | 28. Waterland. |
| 8. Bramhall. | 29. Kettlewell. |
| 9. Hammond. | 30. Hickes. |
| 10. Taylor. | 31. Johnson. |
| 11. Heylin. | 32. Leslie. |
| 12. Allestrie. | 33. Wilson. |
| 13. Barrow. | 34. Bingham. |
| 14. Thorndike. | 35. Skelton. |
| 15. Pearson. | 36. Horne. |
| 16. Bull. | 37. Jones. |
| 17. Comber. | 38. Heber. |
| 18. Ken. | 39. Jebb. |
| 19. Patrick. | 40. Van Mildert. |
| 20. Beveridge. | 41. Mant. |
| 21. Sharp. | |

N. B. It would be easy to extend this list, were it necessary; vid. Cosin's Devotions, Stanhope's Boyle Lectures, &c.

JEWELL, BISHOP.—*Treatise on Sacraments.*

"They (the sacraments) are not bare signs ; it were blasphemy so to say. The grace of God doth always work with His sacraments ; but we are taught not to seek that grace in the sign, but to assure ourselves by receiving the sign, that it is given us by the thing signified. We are not washed from our sins by the water, we are not fed to eternal life by the bread and wine, but by the precious blood of our Saviour CHRIST, that lieth hid in these sacraments." p. 263.

For this cause are infants baptized, because they are born in sin, and cannot become spiritual but by this new birth of the water and the Spirit. They are the heirs of the promise ; the covenant of God's favour is made unto them. God said to Abraham, "I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee." "Therefore," saith the Apostle, "if the root be holy, so are the branches." And again, "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband ; else were your children unclean ; but now are they holy." When the disciples rebuked those that brought little children to CHRIST, that he might touch them, he said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God." And again, "Their angels always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." p. 265.

"The water wherein we are baptized doth not cleanse the soul ;" but, "the blood of JESUS CHRIST his Son doth cleanse us from all sin." Not the water, but the blood of CHRIST reconcileth us unto God, strengtheneth our conscience, and worketh our redemption. We must seek salvation in CHRIST alone, and not in any outward thing. Hereof saith Cyprian, "Remissio peccatorum, sive per baptismum, sive per alia sacramenta donetur, proprie Spiritus Sancti est. Verborum solemnitas," &c. "The remission of sins, whether it be given by baptism, or by any other sacraments, does properly appertain to the Holy Ghost. The solemnity of the words, and the invocation of God's holy Name, and the outward signs appointed to the ministry of the priest by the institution of the Apostles, work the visible outward sacrament. But touching the substance thereof, it is the Holy Ghost that worketh it." St. Ambrose also saith, "Vidisti fontem, vidisti sacerdotem," &c. "Thou hast seen the water, thou hast seen the priest, thou hast seen those things which thou mightest see with the eyes of thy body, and with such sight as man hath ; but those things which work and do the deed of salvation, which no eye can see, thou hast not seen."

"Such a change is made in the sacrament of baptism. Through the power of God's working the water is turned into blood.

They that be washed in it receive the remission of sins ; their robes are made clean in the blood of the Lamb. The water itself is nothing ; but by the working of GOD'S Spirit, the death and merits of our Lord and Saviour CHRIST are thereby assured unto us.

"A figure hereof was given at the Red Sea. The children of Israel passed through in safety ; but Pharaoh and his whole army were drowned. Another figure hereof was given in the ark. The whole world was drowned, but Noah and his family were saved alive. Even so in the fountain of baptism, our spiritual Pharaoh, the devil, is choked : his army, that is, our sins are drowned, and we are saved. The wicked of the world are swallowed in concupiscence and vanities, and we abide safe in the ark : GOD hath chosen us to be a peculiar people to Himself ; we walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, therefore we are in CHRIST JESUS, and there is now no condemnation unto us.

"Now touching the minister of this sacrament, whether he be a good man or an evil man, godly or godless, an heretic or a Catholic, an idolater or a true worshipper of GOD : the effect is all one, the value or worthiness of the sacrament dependeth not of man, but of GOD. Man pronounceth the word, but GOD setteth our hearts with grace ; man toucheth or washeth us with water, but GOD maketh us clean by the cross of CHRIST. It is not the minister, but CHRIST Himself which is the Lamb of GOD that taketh away the sins of the world." p. 266.

Ibid.—Reply to M. Harding's Censure, p. 249.

And forasmuch as these two sacraments, being both of force like, these men [the Romanists] to advance their fantasies in the one, by comparison so much abase the other : and specially for the better opening of Chrysostom's mind, I think it good, briefly and by the way, somewhat to touch what the old Catholic Fathers have written of GOD'S invisible working in the Sacrament of Baptism. Dionysius generally of all mysteries writeth thus : "Angeli Deum," &c. "The angels being creatures spiritual, so far forth as it is lawful for them, behold GOD, and his godly power. But we are led as we may, by sensible outward tokens," (which he calleth images,) "unto the contemplation of heavenly things." The Fathers, in the Council of Nice, say thus : "Baptism must be considered, not with our bodily eyes, but with the eyes of our mind. Thou seest the water ; think thou of the power of GOD, that in the water is hidden. Think thou that the water is full of heavenly fire, and of the sanctification of the Holy Ghost." Chrysostom, speaking likewise of baptism, saith thus : "Ego non aspectu judico ea, quæ videntur, sed mentis oculis," &c. "The things that I see, I judge not by sight, but

by the eyes of my mind. The heathen, when he heareth the water of baptism, taketh it only for plain water : but I see not simply, or barely, that I see ; I see the cleansing of the soul by the Spirit of God." So likewise saith Nazianzenus : "Mysterium (baptismi) majus est, quam ea quæ videntur ;" "The mystery of baptism is greater than it appeareth to the eye." So St. Ambrose : "Aliud est, quod visibiliter agitur ; aliud quod invisibiliter celebratur." "In baptism there is one thing done visibly to the eye ; another thing is wrought invisibly to the mind." Again he saith, "Believe not only the bodily eyes (in this sacrament of baptism) : the thing that is not seen, is better seen : the thing that thou seest is corruptible ; the thing that thou seest not is for ever." To be short, in consideration of these invisible effects, Tertullian saith, "The Holy Ghost cometh down and halloweth the water." St. Basil saith, "The kingdom of heaven is there set open." Chrysostom saith, "God Himself in baptism, by his invisible power, holdeth thy head." St. Ambrose saith, "The water hath the grace of CHRIST ; in it is the presence of the Trinity." St. Bernard saith, "Let us be washed in his blood."

"By the authorities of thus many ancient Fathers, it is plain, that in the sacrament of baptism, by the sensible sign of water, the invisible grace of God is given unto us."

HOOKE, PRESBYTER AND DOCTOR.—*On Ecclesiastical Polity.*
Book v. 60.

Unless as the Spirit is a necessary inward cause, so water were a necessary outward mean, to our regeneration, what construction should we give unto those words wherein we are said to be new born, and that ἐξ ὑδατος, even of water ? Why are we taught, that with water God doth purify and cleanse His Church ? Wherefore do the Apostles of CHRIST term baptism a bath of regeneration ? What purpose had they in giving men advice to receive outward baptism, and in persuading them it did avail to remission of sins ? If outward baptism were a cause in itself possessed of that power, either natural or supernatural, without the present operation whereof no such effect could possibly grow, it must then follow, that seeing effects do never prevent the necessary causes out of which they spring, no man could ever receive grace before baptism : which being apparently both known, and also confessed to be otherwise, in many particulars, although in the rest we make not baptism a cause of grace ; yet the grace which is given them with their baptism, doth so far forth depend on the very outward sacrament, that God will have it embraced, not only as a sign or token what we receive, but also as an instrument or means whereby we receive grace,

because baptism is a sacrament which God hath instituted in His Church, to the end that they which receive the same might thereby be incorporated into CHRIST; and so through His most precious merit obtain, as well that saving grace of imputation which taketh away all former guiltiness, as also that infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life. There are that elevate too much the ordinary and immediate means of life, relying wholly upon the bare conceit of that eternal election, which notwithstanding includeth a subordination of means, without which we are not actually brought to enjoy what God secretly did intend; and therefore, to build upon God's election, if we keep not ourselves to the ways which He hath appointed for men to walk in, is but a self-deceiving vanity. When the Apostle saw men called to the participation of JESUS CHRIST, after the Gospel of God embraced, and the sacrament of life received, he feareth not then to put them in the number of elect saints; he then accounteth them delivered from death, and clean purged from all sin. Till then, notwithstanding their pre-ordination unto life, which none could know of, saving God, what were they, in the Apostle's own account, but children of wrath, as well as others, plain aliens, altogether without hope, strangers, utterly without God in this present world? So that by sacraments, and other sensible tokens of grace, we may boldly gather, that He whose mercy vouchsafeth now to bestow the means, hath also sithence intended us that whereunto they lead. But let us never think it safe to presume of our own last, and by bare conjectural collections of his first intent and purpose, the means failing that should come between. Predestination bringeth not to life without the grace of eternal vocation, wherein our baptism is implied. For as we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth; nor according to the manifest ordinary course of divine dispensation new born, but by that baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians. In which respect, we justly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's house, the first apparent beginning of life, a seal perhaps to the grace of election before received: but to our sanctification here, a step that hath not any before it.

Ibid. 64.

Were St. Augustine now living, there are which would tell him for his better instruction, that to say of a child, it is elect, and to say, it doth believe, are all one; for which cause, sith no man is able precisely to affirm the one of any infant in particular, it followeth that precisely and absolutely we ought not to say the other. Which precise and absolute terms are needless in this case

We speak of infants as the rule of piety alloweth both to speak and think. They that can take to themselves in ordinary talk, a charitable kind of liberty to name men of their own sort God's dear children, (notwithstanding the large reign of hypocrisy,) should not, methinks, be so strict and rigorous against the Church, for presuming as it doth of a Christian innocent. For when we know how CHRIST in general hath said, Of such is the kingdom of heaven, which kingdom is the inheritance of God's elect; and do withal behold how His providence hath called them unto the first beginnings of eternal life, and presented them at the well-spring of new birth, wherein original sin is purged, besides which sin there is no hindrance of their salvation known to us, as themselves will grant; hard it were that having so many fair inducements whereupon to ground, we should not be thought to utter, at the least, a truth as probable and allowable in terming any such particular infant an elect babe, as in presuming the like of others whose safety, nevertheless, we are not absolutely able to warrant.

ANDREWS, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—*On the Holy Ghost.*

Sermon viii.

NOW CHRIST is baptized. And no sooner is He so, but He falls to His prayers, *Indigentia mater orationis*, (we say,) want begets prayer: therefore, yet there wants somewhat—a part and that a chief part of baptism is still behind.

There goes more to baptism, if it be as it should be, than *baptismus fluminis*, yea, (I may boldly say,) there goes more to it, if it be as it should, than *baptismus sanguinis*. CHRIST “came in water and blood, not in water only, but in water and blood:” that is not enough, except the “Spirit also bear witness.” So *baptismus flaminis* is to come too. There is to be a Trinity beneath,—1. water, 2. blood, and 3. the Spirit, to answer to that above: but (the Spirit's baptism coming too) in the mouth of all three, all is made sure, all established thoroughly. This is it, He prays for, as man.

For the baptism of blood that was due to every one of us, (and each of us to have been baptized in his own blood, to have had three such immersions,) that hath CHRIST quit us of when he was asked by the prophet, “How his robes came so red?” He says, “He had been in the wine press;” but there He had been, and that “He had trod alone, and not one of the people with Him;” none but He there; in that, spare us in that.

But the other two parts He sets down precisely to Nicodemus (and in him, to us all),—1. water, 2. and the Holy Ghost. . . .

St. Paul tells us (Col. ii.) that besides the circumcision, that was the manufacture, there was another made without hands.

There is so in baptism, besides the hand seen, that casts on the water, the virtue of the Holy Ghost is there, working, without hands, what here was wrought.

And for this CHRIST prays; that then it might, might then, and might ever, be joined to that of the water. Not in his baptism only, but in the people's; and (as he afterwards enlarges His prayer) in all others that "should ever after believe in His name:" that what in His (here) was, in all theirs might be: what in this first, in all following; what in CHRIST's, in all Christians; heaven might open, the Holy Ghost come down, the Father be pleased to say over the same words, *toties quoties*, so oft as any Christian man's child is brought to his baptism. CHRIST hath prayed, now,

See the force of His prayer. Before it heaven was mured up, no dove to be seen, no voice to be heard, *Altum silentium*. But straight upon it (as if they had but waited the last word of His prayer) all of them follow immediately.

Heaven opens, first. For, if when the lower heaven was shut three years, Elias was able with his prayer to open it, (it is our Saviour in the next chapter following,) and bring down rain; the prayer of CHRIST (who is more of might than many such as Elias) shall it not be much more of force, to enter the Heaven of heavens, the highest of them all, and to bring down thence the waters "above the heavens," even the heavenly graces of the Holy Spirit?

For, so when our Saviour cried, (John vii.) "If any thirst," &c. "This (saith St. John) He spake of the Spirit." For the Spirit and His graces are the very supercelestial water; one drop whereof, infused into the waters of Jordan, will give them an admirable power to pierce even into the innermost parts of the soul: and to baptize it, (that is) not only to take out the stains of it, and make it clean; but further, give it a tincture, lustre, or gloss; for so is baptism properly of βάπτω, taken from the dyer's vat, and is a dyeing or giving a fresh colour, and not a bare washing only.

Always, the opening of heaven, opens unto us, that no baptism without heaven open: and so, that baptism is *de cælo non ab hominibus*, from heaven, not of men. So it was here; so is it to be holden for ever. 2. And from heaven; not *clanculum* (as Prometheus is said to get his fire,) but ἀνευχθῆναι, orderly, by a fair door set open, in the view of much people; for all that were present saw the impression in the sky. Which door was not mured up again; for we find it still open, (Apoc. iii.) and we find that keys were made, and given of it, after this. 3. And all this, that there might not only be a passage for these down, but for us up, For heaven gate, *ab hoc exemplo*, doth ever open at baptism; in sign, he that new cometh from the fount hath then right of en-

trance in thither. Then (I say) when by baptism he is cleansed ; for before, *Nihil inquinatum*, nothing defiled can enter there.

DONNE, PRESBYTER.—Serm. xxxi. p. 309.

The water of Baptism, is the water that runs through all the Fathers ; all the Fathers that had occasion to dive or dip in these waters (to say anything of them) make these first waters, in the creation, the figure of baptism. Therefore Tertullian makes the water, *Primam sedem Spiritus Sancti*, the progress, and the settled house, the voyage, and the harbour, the circumference, and the centre of the Holy Ghost. And therefore St. Hierome calls these waters, *Matrem mundi*, the Mother of the world : and this in the figure of baptism. The waters brought forth the whole world, were delivered of the whole world, as a mother is delivered of a child ; and this, in *figura baptismi*, to foreshew that the waters also should bring forth the Church ; that the Church of God should be born of the Sacrament of Baptism. So says Damascen, and he establishes it with better authority than his own. The divine Basil saith (saith he) "The Spirit of God wrought upon the waters in the creation, because he meant to do so after, in the regeneration of man. And therefore, *Pristinam sedem recognoscens conquiescit*, till the Holy Ghost have moved upon our children in baptism, let us not think all done that belongs to those children ; and when the Holy Ghost hath moved upon those waters, so in baptism, let us not doubt of His power and effect upon all those children that die so. We know no means how those waters could have produced a minnow, a shrimp, without the Spirit of God had moved upon them ; and by this motion of the Spirit of God, we know they produce whales, and leviathans. We know no ordinary means of any saving grace for a child but baptism ; neither are we to doubt of the fulnéss of salvation, in them that have received it. And for ourselves, *emergimur et emergimus*, in baptism we are sunk under water, and then raised above the water again ; which was the manner of baptizing in the Christian Church, by immersion and not by aspersion, till of late times : *Affectus et amores*, (says he,) our corrupt affections, and our inordinate love of this world is that, that is to be drowned in us ; *Amor securitatis*, a love of peace, and holy assurance, and acquiescence in God's ordinance, is that that lifts us above water.

Therefore that Father puts all upon the due consideration of our baptism : and as St. Jerome says, Certainly he that thinks upon the last Judgment advisedly, cannot sin thus ; so he that says with St. Augustine, Let me make every day to God, this confession : *Domine, &c.* O Lord my God, O holy, holy, holy Lord my God ; I consider that I was baptized in thy name, and

what thou promised me, and what I promised thee then, and can I sin this sin? can this sin stand with those conditions, those stipulations which passed between us then? The Spirit of God is motion, the Spirit of God is rest too; and in due consideration of baptism, a true Christian is moved, and settled too; moved to a sense of the breach of his conditions, settled in the sense of the mercy of his God, in the merits of his CHRIST, upon his godly sorrow. So these waters are the waters of baptism.

FIELD, PRESBYTER.—*Of the Church*, book i. chap. xii.

This was the fault of sundry in the Primitive Church; and which was yet more to be condemned, many did therefore defer and put off their baptism, that so whatsoever evil things they did in the mean time, might in that laver of new birth be washed away, thereby taking greater liberty to offend, for that they had so present means of full remission, and perfect reconciliation; so making that which was ordained against sin, and for the weakening and overthrow of it, to be an encouragement thereunto, and to give life and strength unto it.

JACKSON, PRESBYTER AND DOCTOR.—*On Christ's exercise of his everlasting Priesthood*, ch. i. (vol. iii. p. 271.)

It is no part of our Church's doctrine or meaning, that the washing, or sprinkling infants' bodies with consecrated water, should take away sins by its own immediate virtue. To affirm thus much implies, as I conceive, a contradiction to that apostolical doctrine. "The like figure whereunto even Baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God) by the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST, who is gone into heaven," &c. 1 Pet. iii. 21. The meaning of our Church *intends* no further than thus: That if this sacrament of Baptism be duly administered, the blood, or bloody sacrifice of CHRIST, or (which is all one) the influence of His Spirit doth always accompany, or is *concurrent* to this solemn act. But whether this influence of His Spirit or virtual presence of His body and blood be either immediately or only terminated to the soul and spirit of the party baptized, or have some virtual influence upon the water of Baptism as a mean to convey the Grace of Regeneration unto the soul of the party baptized, whilst the water is poured upon him, is too nice and curious a question, in this age, for sober Christians to debate or contend about. It may suffice to believe that this sacramental pledge hath a virtual presence of CHRIST'S Blood, or some real influence from His Body, concomitant, though not

consubstantiated to it, which is prefigured or signified by the washing or sprinkling the body with water.

But it will be, or rather is objected, but only by private or some saucy spirits, That if the doctrine of our Church were true and sound, then all that be rightly baptized should be undoubtedly saved, being once washed or cleansed from their sins. The objection were of some force, if the Church of England did hold or maintain such doctrine or tenets as they do which make or favour it, to wit : That the sins of the elect only are remitted by Baptism, or by Sacrament of CHRIST's Body and Blood ; or, that sins once remitted cannot be remitted afresh ; or, that the party which is once pardoned for his sins, before committed, cannot afterwards be condemned. The orthodoxal truth is, That albeit the original sin of children truly baptized in the name of CHRIST, or the actual sins of young or elder men so baptized, and the sins of their forefathers (so far as it concerns men of riper years to repent of them both) be so truly remitted in Baptism, that neither young men nor old may be baptized again ; yet the stipulation of a good conscience, wherein the internal Baptism (as St. Peter tells) doth consist, may and ought, by the law of GOD and of CHRIST's Church, to be reiterated.

And this stipulation of every Christian, male or female, though baptized after they have passed their nonage for civil contracts, ought to be resumed or reacknowledged as often as they intend to receive the sacramental pledges of CHRIST's Body and Blood, either privately or in the public congregation. But for all such as have been baptized in their infancy, the personal resumption or ratification of that vow, which their fathers and mothers in GOD did make for them at the sacred laver, is to be exacted of them *ore tenus*, in some public congregation, before they can be lawfully admitted to be public communicants of CHRIST's Body and Blood.

Ibid.—Ch. lv. (p. 298.)

If either the actual sins of all men, or the sins of the elect in special, had been so remitted by CHRIST's death, as some conceive they were, that is, absolutely pardoned before they were committed, there had been no end or use of CHRIST's Resurrection in respect of us ; no need of Baptism : yet was Baptism, from the hour of His resurrection, necessary unto all that did believe in His death and resurrection. The urgent and indispensable necessity of Baptism, especially in respect of actual believers, is not anywhere more emphatically intimated than in St. Peter's answer to the Jews, whose hearts were pierced with sorrow that they had been the causes of CHRIST's death. They in this stound or sting of conscience demand, " Men and brethren, what shall we do ? And Peter answered them, Repent, and be baptized every one of

you, in the name of **JESUS CHRIST** for the remission of sins. And they that gladly received the word were baptized the same day." Acts ii. 37, 38, 41. These men had been deeply tainted with sin, not original only, but with sins actual of the worst kind; guilty they were, in a high degree, of the death of the **SON OF GOD**, yet had they as well their actual as their original sins remitted by baptism. It is then unsound and imperfect doctrine, that sin original only is taken away or remitted by Baptism; for whatsoever sins are remitted or taken away by **CHRIST'S** death, the same sins are in the same manner remitted and taken away by Baptism into His death; actual sins are remitted, in such as are guilty of actual sins when they are baptized, though only sin original be actually remitted in those which are not guilty of actual sins, as in infants. Now man's sins are actually remitted before he be actually guilty of them.

The question is, how either sin original is remitted, or how any work of Satan is dissolved by Baptism; and this question, in the general, is rightly resolved, by saying, "They are remitted by faith." But this general resolution sufficeth not, unless we know the object of our faith in this particular. Now the particular object of our faith, of that faith by which sins (whether by Baptism or otherwise) are remitted, is not our general belief in **CHRIST**; even our belief in **CHRIST** dying for us in particular, will not suffice, unless it include our belief of the everlasting virtue of His bloody sacrifice, and of His everlasting priesthood for purifying and cleansing our souls. No sins be truly remitted unless they be remitted by the office or exercise of His priesthood; and whilst so remitted they are not remitted by any other sacrifice than by the sole virtue of His body and blood, which He "once offered for all," for the sins of all. It is not the virtue or efficacy of the consecrated water in which we were washed, but the virtue of His blood which was once shed for us, and which, by Baptism, is sprinkled upon us, or communicated unto us, which immediately cleanseth us from all our sins. From this everlasting virtue of this His bloody sacrifice, faith, by the ministry of Baptism, is immediately gotten in such as had it not before. And in such as have faith before they be baptized, the guilt of actual sins is remitted by the exercise or act of faith, as it apprehends the everlasting efficacy of this sacrifice, and by the prayer of faith, and supplication unto our High Priest. Faith, then, is as the mouth or appetite by which we receive this food of life, and is a good sign of health; but it is the food itself received which must continue health and strengthen spiritual life in us; and the food of life is no other than **CHRIST'S** body and blood; and it is our High Priest Himself which must give us this food.

Baptism, saith St. Peter, (1 Pet. iii. 20.) doth save us. What Baptism doth save us? not the putting away the filth of the flesh,

(yet this is the immediate effect of the water in Baptism,) but the answer (or stipulation) of a good conscience towards GOD ! But how doth this kind of Baptism, or this concomitant of Baptism, save us ? The Apostle, in the same place, tells us, "by the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST." "The answer or stipulation of a good conscience," includes an illumination of our spirits by the Spirit of GOD ; a qualification by which we are made sons of light, being before the sons of darkness. But, that by this qualification we become the sons of light ; that this qualification is, by Baptism, wrought in us ; that by this qualification, however wrought in us, we are saved from our sins ; all this is immediately from the "virtue of CHRIST'S Resurrection." That is, as you have heard before, he was consecrated by the sufferings of death to be an everlasting Priest, and by his resurrection from death, his body and blood became an everlasting propitiation for sins, an inexhaustible fountain of grace by which we are purified from the dead works of sin.

Ibid.—Of Christ's session at the right hand of God. ch. xvii.
p. 170.

[St. Paul] saith, "that all that are baptized are dead to sin ;" that is, first, they are "dead unto it by solemn vow or profession." Secondly, they are said to be "dead unto sin, or sin to be dead in them," inasmuch as they in Baptism receive an antidote from God by which the rage and poison of it might easily be assuaged or expelled, so they would not either receive that grace or means which God in Baptism exhibits unto them in vain, or use it amiss. So we may say that any popular disease is quelled or taken away, after a sovereign remedy be found against it, which never fails ; so men will seek for it, reasonably apply for it, and observe that diet which the physician, upon the taking of it, prescribes unto them. Some in our times there be (and more, I think, than have been in all the former) which deny all baptismal grace. Others there be which grant some grace to be conferred by Baptism, even unto infants ; but yet these restrain it only to infants elect. And this they take to be the meaning of our Church's Catechism, wherein children are taught to believe [That as CHRIST, the second person in the Trinity, did redeem them and all mankind ; so the Holy Ghost (the third person) doth sanctify them and all the elect people of GOD.]

But can any man be persuaded that it was any part of our Church's meaning, to teach children when they first make profession of their faith, to believe, that they are of the number of the elect ; that is, of "such as cannot finally perish ?" This were to teach them their faith backwards, and to seek the kingdom of heaven not *ascendendo*, by ascending, but *descendendo*, by descending from it. For higher than thus St. Paul himself,

in his greatest perfection, could not possibly reach ; no, nor the blessed angels, which have kept their first station almost these 6000 years. Yet certain it is, that our Church would have every one, at the very first profession of his faith, to believe that he is one of the elect people of God.

LAUD, ARCHBISHOP AND MARTYR.—*Conference with Fisher, § 15.*

First, that Baptism is necessary to the salvation of infants (in the ordinary way of the Church, without binding God to the use and means of that sacrament, to which he hath bound us) is expressed in St. John iii. "Except a man be born of water," &c. So, no baptism, no entrance. Nor can infants creep in any other ordinary way. And this is the received opinion of all the ancient Church of CHRIST.

And, secondly, That infants ought to be baptized, is first plain by evident and direct consequence out of Scripture. For if there be no salvation for infants in the ordinary way of the Church but by Baptism, and this appear in Scripture, as it doth, then out of all doubt, the consequence is most evident out of that Scripture, that infants are to be baptized, that their salvation may be certain. For they which cannot help themselves, must not be left only to extraordinary helps, of which we have no assurance, and for which we have no warrant at all in Scripture, while we, in the mean time, neglect the ordinary way and means commanded by CHRIST. Secondly, it is very near an expression in Scripture itself. For when St. Peter had ended that great Sermon of his, Acts ii., he applies two comforts unto them, verse 38, "Amend your life," &c. And then, v. 39, he infers, "For the promise is made," &c. The promise ; what promise ? What ? why the promise of sanctification by the Holy Ghost. By what means ? Why, by Baptism. For it is expressly, "Be baptized, and ye shall receive." And as expressly, "This promise is made to you and to your children."

BRAMHALL, ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Of persons dying without Baptism, p. 979.*

The discourse which happened the other day, about your little daughter, I had quite forgotten till you were pleased to mention it again last night. If any thing did fall from me, which gave offence to any there present, I am right sorrowful, but I hope there did not ; as, on the other side, if any occasion of offence had been given to me, I should readily have sacrificed it to that reverend respect, which is due to the place your table, an-

ciently accounted a sacred thing, and to the lord of it, yourself. This morning, lying musing in my bed, it produced some trouble to me, to consider how passionately we are all wedded to our own parties, and how apt we are all to censure the opinions of others before we understand them, while our want of charity is a greater error in ourselves, and more displeasing to Almighty God, than any of those supposed assertions which we condemn in others, especially when they come to be rightly understood. And to show this particular breach is not so wide, nor the more moderate of either party so disagreeing, as is imagined, I digested these sudden meditations, drawn wholly, in a manner, from the grounds of the Roman schools; and so soon as I was risen, I committed them to writing.

First, there is a great difference to be made between the sole want of Baptism upon invincible necessity, and the contempt or wilful neglect of Baptism when it may be had. The latter we acknowledge to be a damnable sin, and, without repentance and God's extraordinary mercy, to exclude a man from all hope of salvation. But yet if such a person, before his death, shall repent and deplore his neglect of the means of grace, from his heart, and desire, with all his soul, to be baptized, but is debarred from it invincibly, we do not, we dare not pass sentence of condemnation upon him; nor yet the Roman Catholics themselves. The question then is, whether the want of Baptism, upon invincible necessity, do evermore infallibly exclude from heaven?

Secondly, we distinguish between the visible sign, and the invisible grace; between the exterior sacramental ablution, and the grace of the sacrament, that is, interior regeneration. We believe that whosoever hath the former, hath the latter also, so that he do not put a bar against the efficacy of the sacrament by his infidelity or hypocrisy, of which a child is not capable. And therefore our very Liturgy doth teach, that a child baptized, dying before the commission of actual sin, is undoubtedly saved.

Thirdly, we believe that without baptismal grace, that is, regeneration, no man can enter into the kingdom of God. But whether God hath so tied and bound himself to His ordinances and sacraments that He doth not or cannot confer the grace of the sacraments, extraordinarily, where it seemeth good to His eyes, without the outward element: this is the question between us.

HAMMOND, PRESBYTER, CONFESSOR, AND DOCTOR.—*Sermon*
XV.—*A New Creature.*

It is observable, that our state of nature and sin is, in Scripture, expressed ordinarily by old age, the natural sinful man; that is, all our natural affections that are born and grow up with us, are called the old man; as if, since Adam's fall, we were de-

crepit and feeble, and aged as soon as born, as a child begotten by a man in a consumption never comes to the strength of ■ man, is always weak, and crazy, and puling, hath all the imperfections and corporal infirmities of age before he is out of his infancy. And, according to this ground, the whole analogy of Scripture runs; all that is opposite to the old decrepit state, to the dotage of nature, is new. The new covenant, Mark i. 27. The language of believers, new tongues, Mark xvi. 17. A new commandment, John xiii. 34. A new man, Eph. ii. 15. In sum, the state of grace is expressed by πάντα καινά, all is become new, 2 Cor. v. 17. So that old and new, as it divides the Bible, the whole state of things, the world; so it doth that to which all these serve, man; every natural man which hath nothing but nature in him, is an old man, be he never so young, is full of years, even before he is able to tell them. Adam was a perfect man when he was but a minute old, and all his children are old even in the cradle, nay, even dead with old age, Eph. ii. 5. And, then, consequently, every spiritual man, which hath somewhat else in him than he receiveth from Adam, he that is born from above, John iii. 3, γεννηθῆναι ἀνωθεν, (for it may be so rendered from the original, as well as born again, as our English read it), he that is by God's Spirit quickened from the old death, Eph. ii. 5, he is, contrary to the former, ■ new man, a new creature; the old eagle hath cast his beak and is grown young; the man, when old, hath entered the second time into his mother's womb, and is born again; all the grey hairs and wrinkles fall off from him, as the scales from blind Tobit's eyes, and he comes forth a refined, glorious, beauteous new creature: you would wonder to see the change. So that you find, in general, that the Scripture presumes it, that there is a renovation, a casting away the old coat, a youth and spring again in many men, from the old age and weak bedrid state of nature. Now that you may conceive wherein it consists, how this new man is brought forth in us, by whom it is conceived, and in what womb it is carried, I will require no more of you, than to observe and understand with me, what is meant by the ordinary phrase in our divines, a new principle, or inward principle of life, and that you shall do briefly thus. A man's body is naturally a sluggish, inactive, motionless, heavy thing, not able to stir or move the least animal motion, without ■ soul to enliven it; without that, it is but a carcase, as you see at death, when the soul is separated from it, it returns to be but a stock or lump of flesh; the soul bestows all life and motion on it, and enables it to perform any work of nature. Again, the body and soul together, considered in relation to somewhat above their power and activity, are as impotent and as motionless as before the body without the soul. Set a man to remove a mountain, and he will heave, perhaps, to obey

your command, but in event will do no more towards the displacing of it, than a stone in the street could do ; but now, let an omnipotent power be annexed to this man, let a supernatural spirit be joined to this soul, and then will it be able to overcome the proudest, stoutest difficulty in nature. You have heard, in the Primitive Church, of a grain of faith removing mountains ; and believe me, all miracles are not yet outdated. The work of regeneration, the bestowing of a spiritual life on one dead in trespasses and sins, the making of a carcase walk, the natural old man to spring again, and move spiritually, is as great a miracle as that.

For the third question, when this new principle enters : first you are to know, that it comes into the heart in a threefold dition ; first, as an harbinger ; secondly, as a private secret guest ; thirdly, as an inhabitant or housekeeper. As it is an harbinger, so it comes to fit and prepare us for itself ; trims up, and sweeps, and sweetens the soul, that it may be readier to entertain him when he comes to reside ; and that he doth (as the ancient gladiators had their *arma pralusoria*) by skirmishing with our corruptions, before he comes to give them a pitched battle ; he brandishes a flaming sword about our ears, and as by a flash of lightning, gives us a sense of a dismal, hideous state ; and so somewhat restrains us from excess and fury ; first, by a momentary remorse, then by a more lasting, yet not purifying flame, the spirit of bondage. In sum, every check of conscience, every sigh for sin, every fear of judgment, every desire of grace, every motion or inclination toward spiritual good, be it ever so short-winded, is *prælium spiritus*, a kind of John Baptist to CHRIST, something that God sent before "to prepare the ways of the LORD." And thus the Spirit comes very often ; in every affliction, every disease, (which is part of God's discipline, to keep us in order,) in brief, at every sermon that works upon us at the hearing : then, I say, the lightning flashes in our eyes ; we have a glimpse of his Spirit, but cannot come to a full sight of it : and thus he appears to many, whom he will never dwell with. Unhappy men, that cannot lay hold on him, when he comes so near them ! and yet somewhat more happy than they that never came within ken of him ; stopt their ears when he spake to them even at this distance. Every man in the Christian Church hath frequently, in his life, a power to partake of God's ordinary preparing graces : and it is some degree of obedience, though no work of regeneration, to make good use of them ; and if he without the inhabitation of the Spirit, cannot make such use as he should, yet to make the best he can : and thus, I say, [i. e. in a parallel way] the Spirit appears to the unregenerate, almost every day of our lives. 2dly, when this Spirit comes a guest to lodge with us, then he is said to enter ; but till by actions and frequent

obliging works, he makes himself known to his neighbours, as long as he keeps his chamber, till he declare himself to be there, so long he remains a private secret guest, and that is called the introduction of the form, that makes a man to be truly regenerate; when the seed is sown in his heart, when the habit is infused, and that is done sometimes discernibly, sometimes not discernibly, but seldom, as when Saul was called in the midst of his madness, Acts ix., he was certainly able to tell a man the very minute of his change, of his being made a new creature. Thus they which have long lived in an enormous Antichristian course, do many times find themselves stricken on a sudden, and are able to date their regeneration, and tell you punctually how old they are in the Spirit. Yet because there be many preparations to this Spirit, which are not this Spirit, many presumptions in our hearts false grounded, many tremblings and jealousies in those that have it, great affinity between faith natural and spiritual: seeing it is a Spirit that thus enters, and not as it did light on the Disciples, in a bodily shape, it is not an easy matter for any one to define the time of his conversion. Some may guess somewhat nearer than others, as remembering a sensible change in themselves; but, in a word, the surest discerning of it is in its working, not at its entering. I may know that now I have the Spirit, better than at what time I came to it. Undiscernibly God's supernatural agency interposes sometimes in the mother's womb, as in John Baptist springing in Elizabeth at Mary's salutation, (Luke i. 41.) and perhaps in Jeremy, (Jer. i. 5;) "Before thou camest out of the womb, I sanctified thee," and (in Isa. xlix. 5.) "The LORD that formed me from the womb to be his servant." But this divine address attends most ordinarily till the time of our Baptism, when the Spirit, accompanying the outward sign, infuses itself into their hearts, and there seats and plants itself, and grows up with the reasonable soul, keeping even their most luxuriant years within bounds; and as they come to an use of their reason, to a more and more multiplying this habit of grace into holy spiritual acts of faith and obedience; from which it is ordinarily said, that infants baptized have habitual faith, as they may be also said to have habitual repentance, and habits of all other graces, because they have the root and seed of those beauteous, healthful flowers, which will actually flourish there when they come to years. And this, I say, is so frequent to be performed at Baptism, that ordinarily it is not wrought without that means, and in those means we may expect it, as our Church doth in our Liturgy, where she presumes, at every Baptism, that it hath pleased God to regenerate the infant by his Holy Spirit. And this may prove a solemn piece of comfort to some, who suspect their state more than they need, and think it impossible that they should be in a regenerate condition, because they have not as yet found any such notable change in

themselves, as they see and observe in others. These men may as well be jealous they are not men, because they cannot remember when their soul came to them: if they can find the effects of spiritual life in themselves, let them call it what they will, a religious education, or a custom of well-doing, or an unacquaintedness with sin; let them comfort themselves in their estate, and be thankful to God who visited them thus betimes; let it never trouble them that they were not once as bad as other men, but rather acknowledge God's mercy, who hath prevented such a change, and by uniting them to Him in the cradle, hath educated and nursed them up in familiarity with the Spirit.

TAYLOR, BISHOP, CONFESSOR, AND DOCTOR.—*Life of Christ*, sect. 9.—*On Baptism*, part ii. 16.

Thirdly, in baptism we are born again; and this infants need in the present circumstances, and for the same great reason that men of age and reason do. For our natural birth is either of itself insufficient, or is made so by the fall of Adam, and the consequent evils, that nature alone, or our first birth, cannot bring us to heaven, which is a supernatural end, that is, an end above all the power of our nature as now it is. So that if nature cannot bring us to heaven, grace must, or we can never get thither; if the first birth cannot, a second must: but the second birth spoken of in Scripture is baptism; "a man must be born of water and the Spirit." And therefore baptism is λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, "the laver of a new birth." Either then infants cannot go to heaven any way that we know of, or they must be baptized. To say they are left to God, is an excuse, and no answer; for when God hath opened the door, and calls that the "entrance into heaven," we do not leave them to God, when we will not carry them to Him in the way which He hath described, and at the door which Himself hath opened: we leave them indeed, but it is but helpless and destitute: and though God is better than man, yet that is no warrant to us; what it will be to the children, that we cannot warrant or conjecture. And if it be objected, that to the new birth are required dispositions of our own, which are to be wrought by and in them that have the use of reason; besides that, this is wholly against the analogy of a new birth, in which the person to be born is wholly a passive, and hath put into him the principle that in time will produce its proper actions; it is certain that they that can receive the new birth, are capable of it. The effect of it is a possibility of being saved, and arriving to a supernatural felicity. If infants can receive this effect, then also the new birth, without which they cannot receive the effect. And if they can receive salvation, the effect of the new birth, what hinders them but they may receive that, that is in order to that

effect, and ordained only for it, and which is nothing of itself, but in its institution and relation, and which may be received by the same capacity, in which one may be created, that is, a passivity, or a capacity obediential?

Fourthly: concerning pardon of sins, which is one great effect of baptism, it is certain that infants have not that benefit, which men of sin and age may receive. He that hath a sickly stomach, drinks wine, and it not only refreshes his spirits, but cures his stomach: he that drinks wine, and hath not that disease, receives good by his wine, though it does not minister to so many needs; it refreshes, though it does not cure him: and when oil is poured upon a man's head, it does not always heal a wound, but sometimes makes him a cheerful countenance, sometimes it consigns him to be a king, or a priest. So it is in baptism: it does not heal the wounds of actual sins, because they have not committed them; but it takes off the evil of original sin; whatsoever is imputed to us by Adam's prevarication, is washed off by the death of the second Adam, into which we are baptized.

HEYLIN, PRESBYTER AND CONFESSOR.—*On the Apostles' Creed*, Art. x. Chap. vi.

In which, [Article the 27th] lest any should object, as Dr. Harding did against Bishop Jewell, that we make baptism to be nothing but a sign of regeneration, and that we dare not say, as the Catholic Church teacheth, according to the Holy Scriptures, "That in and by baptism, sins are fully and truly remitted, and put away," we will reply with the said most reverent and learned prelate, (a man who well understood the Church's meaning,) That we confess, and have ever taught, that in the Sacrament of Baptism, by the death and blood of CHRIST, is given remission of all manner of sins; and that not in half, or in part, or by way of imagination and fancy, but full, whole, and perfect of all together; and that if any man affirm, that "Baptism giveth not full remission of sins," it is no part nor portion of our doctrine. To the same effect also saith judicious Hooker, "Baptism is a Sacrament," &c. [quoted above]. But because these were private men, neither of which, for aught appears, had any hand in the first setting out of the Book of Articles, (which was in the reign of King Edward the Sixth,) though Bishop Jewell had in the second edition, when they were reviewed and published in Queen Elizabeth's time; let us consult the Book of Homilies, made and set out by those who composed the Articles; and there we find, That by God's mercy and the virtue of that sacrifice which our High Priest and SAVIOUR CHRIST JESUS, the Son of GOD, once offered for us upon the cross, we do obtain GOD's grace, and remission, as well of our original sin in baptism, as

of all actual sin committed by us after baptism, if we truly repent and turn unfeignedly unto Him again. Which doctrine of the Church of England, as it is consonant to the Word of God in Holy Scripture, so is it also most agreeable to the common and received judgment of pure antiquity. For in the Scripture it is said expressly by St. Peter, &c. &c. This also was the judgment of the ancient writers, and that too long before the starting of the Pelagian heresies, to which much is ascribed by some as to the advancing of the efficacy and fruit of baptism, by succeeding Fathers. For thus Tertullian: "Now (saith he) do the waters daily preserve the people of God, death being destroyed and overthrown by the washing away of sins; for where the guilt is taken away, there is the punishment remitted also." St. Cyprian thus: "That the remission of sins, whether given in baptism, or by any other of the sacraments, is properly to be ascribed to the Holy Ghost." The African Fathers in full Council do affirm the same, and so doth Origen also for the Alexandrian, of both which we shall speak anon in the point of Pædobaptism. Thus Nyssen for the Eastern churches: "Baptism (saith he) is the expiation of our sins, the remission of our offences, the cause of our new birth and regeneration." Thus do the Fathers in the Constantinopolitan Council profess their faith in one baptism (or being only once baptized) "for the remission of sins." And finally, that this was the doctrine of the Church in general, before Augustine's time, who is conceived to be the first that did advance the power and efficacy of baptism to so great a height, in opposition to the Pelagian heresies, appears by a byword grown before his time into frequent use; the people being used to say, when they observed a man to be too much addicted to his lusts and pleasures, Let him alone to take his pleasure, "for as yet the man is not baptized." More of this we shall see anon in that which follows. Nor is this only *Primitive*, but good *Protestant* doctrine, as is most clear and evident by that of Zanchius, whom only I shall instance in, of the later writers. "When the minister baptizeth, I believe that CHRIST with his own hand reacheth as it were from heaven, besprinkleth the infant with his blood to the remission of sins, by the hand of that man whom I see besprinkling him with the waters of baptism." So that I cannot choose but marvel how it comes to pass, that it must now be reckoned for a point of Popery, that the "Sacraments are instrumental causes of our justification," or of the "remission of our sins," or that it is a point of learning, of which neither the Scriptures, nor the reformed religion, have taught us anything. So easy a thing it is to blast that with Popery, which any way doth contradict our own private fancies.

ALLESTRIE, PRESBYTER.—Serm. ii. p. 23.

In our Israel by our covenant there is as much of this required, for we were all initiated into our profession by washing, “regenerated in a laver,” and “born again of water,” becoming so *Tertullian’s sanctitatis designati*, set aside for holiness, consecrated to cleanness, and made the votaries of purity: how clean a thing then must a Christian be who must be washed into the name? nor is he thus washed only in the font, there was a more inestimable “fountain opened for sin and uncleanness.” (Apoc. xi. 5.) “JESUS CHRIST hath washed us in his own blood;” and Heb. ix. 14. “The blood of CHRIST did purge our consciences from dead works to serve the living GOD.” How great is our necessity of being clean, when to provide a means to make us so, GOD opens his Son’s side, and our laver is drawn out of the heart of CHRIST. Yet we have more effusions to contribute to it. (1 Cor. vi. 11.) “But ye are washed,” &c. and we must “be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire.” A laver of flame also to wash away our scurfe as well as sallages, and beyond all these, some of us have been purged too with the fiery trial, and molten in the furnace of affliction, to separate our dross and purify us from alloy, that we may be clean and refined too, may become Christians of the highest *correct*.

BARROW, PRESBYTER AND DOCTOR.—*Of the Holy Ghost.*
Serm. xlv. vol. iii. p. 370.

The memorial therefore of that most gracious and glorious dispensation, [of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, &c.] the Christian Church wisely and piously hath continually preserved, obliging us at this time peculiarly to bless GOD for that incomparable and inestimable gift conferred then most visibly upon the Church, and still really bestowed upon every particular member duly incorporated thereinto.

I say bestowed upon every particular member of the Church, for the evangelical covenant doth extend to every Christian; and a principal ingredient thereof is the collation of this Spirit, which is the finger of GOD, whereby (according to the Prophet Jeremy’s description of that covenant) “GOD’s law is put into their inward parts, and written in their hearts!” inscribed (as St. Paul allusively speaketh) not with ink, but by the Spirit, &c.; not only as the Jewish law, represented from without to the senses, but impressed within upon the mind and affections; whence GOD’s Spirit is called the Spirit of promise, the donation thereof being the peculiar promise of the Gospel; and the end of our SAVIOUR’S undertaking is by St. Paul declared, “that we might receive the promise of the Spirit by faith;” that is, by embracing Christianity

might partake thereof, according to God's promise; and the apostolical ministry or exhibition of the Gospel is styled "the ministration of the Spirit," and tasting "of the heavenly gift, and participation of the Holy Ghost," is part of a Christian's character; and the inception of Christianity is described by St. Paul, "But we are bound to give thanks," &c. (2 Thess. ii. 13.) and our SAVIOUR instructed Nicodemus, that no man can enter into the kingdom of God (that is, become a Christian, or subject of God's spiritual kingdom,) without being regenerated by water, and by the Spirit, that is, without baptism, and the spiritual grace attending it, according as St. Peter doth in the words adjoining to our text imply, that the reception of the Holy Spirit is annexed to Holy baptism: "Repent (saith he) and be baptized every one," &c. "for the promise (that great promise of the Holy Ghost) is unto you," &c. that is, the Holy Spirit is promised to all, how far soever distant in place and time, whoever shall be invited unto, and shall embrace the Christian profession. St. John also maketh it to be a distinctive mark of those, in whom CHRIST abideth, and who dwell in CHRIST, that is, of all true Christians, to have this Spirit; "Hereby [saith he] we know that he abideth in us by the Spirit," &c. . . . and St. Paul denieth him to be a good Christian who is destitute thereof. "Now (saith he) if any man have not the Spirit," &c. "and know ye not, (saith he to the Corinthians) that ye are the temple," &c. that is, Do ye not understand this to be a common privilege of all Christians, such as ye profess yourselves to be? And the conversion of men to Christianity he thus expresseth, "After the kindness and love of God our SAVIOUR," &c. (Tit. iii. 4.) And all pious dispositions qualifying us for entrance into heaven and happiness (faith, charity, devotion, every grace, every virtue) are represented to be the fruits of the Holy Spirit. And the union of all Christians into one body; the Catholic society of all truly faithful people, doth according to St. Paul, result from this one Spirit, as a common soul animating and actuating them: "For (saith he) by one Spirit are they all baptized," &c.

In fine, whatever some few persons, or some petty sects (as the Pelagians of old, the Socinians now) may have deemed, it hath been the doctrine constantly, and with very general consent delivered in the Catholic Church, that to all persons by the holy mystery of baptism duly initiated to Christianity, or admitted into the communion of CHRIST's body, the grace of God's Holy Spirit certainly is bestowed, enabling them to perform the conditions of piety and virtue then undertaken by them; enlightening their minds, rectifying their wills, purifying their affections, directing and assisting them in their practice; the which holy gift (if not abused, ill treated, driven away, or

quenched by their ill behaviour) will perpetually be continued, improved, and increased to them; it is therefore by Tertullian (in his prescriptions against heretics,) reckoned as part of that fundamental rule which was grounded upon the general tradition and consent of the Christian Church, that "CHRIST had sent the virtue of the Holy Ghost, in his room, which doth act believers;" to which that article doth answer of the Apostolical creed, in which we profess to believe the Holy Ghost, meaning, I suppose, thereby, not only the bare existence of the Holy Ghost, but also its gracious communication and energy.

THORNDIKE, PRESBYTER.—Book iii. Chap. viii.

It is demanded in the second place, what is that regeneration by the Holy Ghost, and wherein it consists, whereof infants that are baptized can be thought capable. For the wild conceits of those that imagine them to have faith in CHRIST (which without actual motion of the mind, is not), require miracles to be wrought of course, by baptizing, that the effect thereof may come to pass. And if the state of grace (which the habitual grace of God's Spirit either supposeth or inferreth) is not to be attained but by the resolution of embracing the covenant of grace, (as, by all the premises, it is not otherwise attended,) it will be every whit as hard to say what is that habitual grace, that is said to be poured into the souls of infants that are baptized, being nothing else but a facility in doing what the Covenant of Grace requireth. But, if we conceive the regeneration of Infants that are baptized to consist in the habitual assistance of God's Spirit, the effects whereof are to appear, in making them able to perform that which their Christianity requires at their hands, so soon as they shall understand themselves to be obliged by it; we give reason enough of the effect of their baptism, whether they die or live, and yet become not liable to any inconvenience. For supposing the assistance of God's Spirit assigned them by the promise of baptism, to take effect when their bodily instruments enable the soul to act as Christianity requireth; if the soul, by death, come to be discharged of them, can any thing be said why original concupiscence, which is the law of the members, should remain any more, to impeach the subjection of all faculties to the law of God's Spirit? Or will it be any thing strange, that when they come to be taught Christianity, the same Spirit of God should be thought to sway them, to embrace it of their own choice, and not only in compliance with the will of their parents? Yet is this no more than the regeneration of infants by water and the Holy Ghost importeth; that the Spirit of God should be habitually present to make those reasons which God hath given to convince the world, that they ought to be Christians, both dis-

cernible to the understanding, and weighing down the choice ; whereas, those that are converted from being enemies to God, (that is to say, at those years when no man can be converted to God, that is not His enemy before), though the Spirit of God knock at their hearts without, striving to cast out the strong man that is within doors, and to make a dwelling for itself in the heart, are possessed by a contrary principle, till they yield God's Spirit that entertainment which God requireth.

PEARSON, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—*Exposition of the Creed,*
Article ix.

Being therefore we are that the preaching remission of sins belongeth not only certainly, but in some sense peculiarly, to the Church of CHRIST, it will be next considerable how this remission is conferred upon any person in the Church.

It is certain that forgiveness of sins was promised to all who were baptized in the name of CHRIST ; and it cannot be doubted but all persons who did perform all things necessary to the receiving the ordinance of baptism, did also receive the benefit of that ordinance, which is *remission of sins*. "John did baptize in the wilderness, and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins." (Mark i. 4.) And St. Peter made this exhortation of his first sermon, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of JESUS CHRIST, for the remission of sins." (Acts ii. 38.) In vain doth doubting and fluctuating Socinus endeavour to evacuate the evidence of this Scripture ; attributing the remission either to repentance, without consideration of baptism, or else to the public profession of faith made in baptism ; or if any thing must be attributed to baptism itself, it must be nothing but a declaration of such remission. For how will these shifts agree with that which Ananias said unto Paul, without any mention either of repentance or confession, "Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins : " (Acts xxii. 16.) and that which St. Paul, who was so baptized, hath taught us concerning the Church, that CHRIST doth "sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water." (Eph. v. 26.) It is therefore sufficiently certain that baptism, as it was instituted by CHRIST after the pre-administration of St. John, wheresoever it was received with all qualifications necessary in the person accepting, and conferred with all things necessary to be performed by the person administering, was most infallibly efficacious, as to this particular, that is, to the remission of all sins committed before the administration of this sacrament.

BULL, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—Sermon vii.

“And besides this,” &c. (2 Pet. i. 5.) As if he had said, You have now, God be thanked, escaped the pollutions of the world, and are truly, I hope, converted to Christianity, and in baptism have been regenerated by the Holy Ghost (that he means by their being *made partakers of the divine nature*.) This indeed is a very great achievement, and an invaluable mercy of God, vouchsafed to you ; yet I beseech you, rest not here : but *besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue, &c.*

COMBER, PRESBYTER.—Part iii. sect. iii. p. 201.

We must not presently turn our backs upon God so soon as the holy rite [baptism] is finished, but complete the solemnity by thanksgiving and prayer ; and that we may do both, not only with the spirit, but with understanding, the minister doth here teach us what must be the subjects of our praises and petitions. I. Our praises must look back upon the grace already showed, and the benefits which are already given to this infant, which are principally two : 1. Internally it is regenerated ; 2. Externally it is grafted into CHRIST'S Church, for which we must give hearty thanks to Almighty God. To which we must add, II. Our prayers, which must look forward upon the grace which will be needful to enable it to live answerable to this estate into which it is admitted ; and this we must beg of Almighty God also, or else the former blessings will be altogether in vain. Now all this is plain, that no more would need to be added, but only that some with Nicodemus are apt to say, “How can these things be ?” (John iii. 9.) Judging it impossible that so great a matter as regeneration can be effected so soon, and by so mean an instrument as they account it ; whereas the effect is to be ascribed to the divine power of the Author, not to the intrinsic efficacy of the outward means : yet in regard we can never bless God heartily for a mercy unless we believe He hath bestowed it, we must labour to remove these scruples by a fuller account of this baptismal regeneration, that we may not withhold the divine praises, by our doubting and unbelief. The word regeneration is but twice (that I know of) used in Scripture ; first, Matt. xix. 28. “Ye that have followed me in the regeneration ;” where though (by altering the point—“followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man,” &c.) it may signify the resurrection ; yet as we read, it signifies the renewing of men by the Gospel and baptism. Secondly, (Tit. iii. 5.) “He saved us by the laver of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost,” which is a paraphrase upon that of our Saviour, (John iii.) “Except a man be born of water,” &c. And, because persons come to age before their conversion,

are first taught and persuaded by the Word of God, the language of Holy Writ enlarges the metaphor, and saith, Such as are begotten by the Word of God, (1 Cor. iv. 15.) and then born again or regenerated in baptism. In like manner speak the Fathers, who do constantly and unanimously affirm, that we are regenerated in, or by baptism. So that we must next enquire wherein this regeneration doth consist. And first, whereas both children and those of riper years are by nature dead in sin, so that they lie under the guilt and power thereof : our gracious Father doth here in baptism seal a covenant with us, wherein He promiseth to pardon us ; and when this deadly load is removed, the soul receives as it were a new life, and takes new hopes and courage, being restored to the divine favour, and being set free from the sad expectations of unavoidable condemnation for former sin, original in infants, and both it and actual in those of riper years. Before this covenant we were dead in law, and by the pardon of our sins we are begotten again to a lively hope ; and herein stands the first particular of our regeneration, viz. in the remission of sins, wherefore both Scripture and antiquity teach us, that baptism is the means for remission of sin, and hence they join pardon and regeneration commonly together, because this forgiveness puts us into a new estate, and an excellent condition in comparison of that which our natural birth had left us in.

Secondly : But further, by baptism we gain new relations, and old things being done away all things become new, &c. Thirdly : Our corrupt nature is changed in baptism, and there is a renovation effected thereby, both as to the mortification of the old affections, and the quickening of the new, by the Holy Spirit, which is hereby given to all that put no bar or impediment unto it. This was the Ancients' doctrine, who affirmed a real change to be wrought, and believed the Spirit to be therein bestowed as God had promised, (Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26.) "That he would sprinkle clean water," &c. And it is manifest that in the first ages of the Church there were abundant of gifts and graces miraculously bestowed upon Christians in their baptism, and no doubt if the catechumens of our days who are at age, would prepare themselves as strictly by repentance, fasting, and prayer, as they of old did, they should find incomparable effects of this sacred laver, if not in as miraculous measures, yet to as real purposes ; that is, they should be truly regenerated, and their hearts changed by the influence of the Divine Spirit. But some may doubt whether infants be regenerate in this sense, because they are not capable of giving any evidences of receiving the Spirit, nor doth there any immediate effects of their regeneration appear ; hence the Pelagians denied it, but they are therefore condemned by the Milevitan Council, Can. ii. and confuted by St. Aug. ad Bon. lib. iii. It is confessed they can show no visible

signs of spiritual life in the operations thereof, no more can they of their having a rational soul, for some time, and yet we know they have the power of reason within them; and since all infants are alike, either all do here receive a principle of new life, or none receive it; wherefore I see no reason why we may not believe as the ancients did, that God's grace (which is dispensed according to the capacity of the suscipient) is here given to infants to heal their nature, and that He bestowed on them such measures of His Spirit as they can receive; for the malignant effects of the first Adam's sin are not larger than the free gift obtained by the second Adam's righteousness. (Rom. v. 15, 18.) And if it be asked how it comes to pass then, that so many children do afterwards fall off to all impurity? I answer, so do too many grown persons also, and neither infants nor men are so regenerated in this life, as absolutely to extinguish the concupiscence: for the flesh still will lust against the Spirit: but thus God gives the Spirit also to lust against the flesh. (Gal. v.)

KEN, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Exposition of Church Catechism*, p. 136.

Glory be to thee, O most indulgent Love, who in our baptism dost give us the Holy Spirit of Love, to be the principle of new life, and of love in us, to infuse into our souls a supernatural, habitual grace, and ability to obey and love thee, for which all love, all glory be to thee.

Glory be to thee, O compassionate Love, who, when we were conceived and "born in sin," of sinful parents, when we sprang from a root wholly corrupt, and were all "children of wrath," hast in our baptism "made us children" of thy own heavenly Father by adoption and grace; when we were heirs of hell, hast made us heirs of heaven, even joint heirs with thy own self, of thy own glory; for which, with all the powers of my soul, I adore and love thee.

PATRICK, BISHOP.—*On Baptism*, p. 441.

The sum of all is, that hereby we are regenerated and born again. It is the sacrament of the new birth, by which we are put into a new state, and change all our relations; so that whereas before we were only the children of Adam, we are now taken to be the children of God; such of whom He will have a fatherly care, and be indulgent and merciful unto. We have now a relation likewise to CHRIST as our Head, and to the Holy Ghost as the Giver of life and grace. Yea, herein He grants remission of sin, and we are sanctified, and set apart to His uses. We being hereby given to Him, and He accepting of us, do be-

come His possession and proper goods, and cannot without being guilty of the foulest robbery, sin against GOD. We are made hereby the temples of the Holy Ghost, the place where He, and nothing else, is to inhabit; and being by this consecrated to Him, He likewise then enters upon His possession, and we are said thereby to receive the Holy Ghost; so that if we run into sin, we defile His house, and commit the greatest profaneness and impiety, and may be said very truly to do despite to the Spirit of GOD whereby we were sanctified.

BEVERIDGE, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—*On admission into the Church by Baptism.* Vol. i. Sermon. xxxv. p. 304.

By what he means by being "born of water and the Spirit," is now made a question: I say now, for it was never made so till of late years. For many ages together none doubted of it, but the whole Christian world took it for granted, that our Saviour, by these words, meant only that except a man be baptized according to His institution, he cannot enter into the kingdom of GOD; this being the most plain and obvious sense of the words, forasmuch as there is no other way of being born again of water, as well as of the Spirit, but only in the Sacrament of Baptism.

To understand what He means by being born again, we must call to mind what He saith in another place, "My kingdom is not of this world;" (John xviii. 36.) though it is in this world, it is not of it; it is not a secular or earthly kingdom, but a kingdom purely spiritual and heavenly: "It is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;" (Rom. xiv. 17.) And therefore when a man is born into this world, he is not thereby qualified for the kingdom of GOD, nor hath any right or title to it, no more than as if he had not been born at all; but before he enter into that, he must be born again, he must undergo another kind of birth than he had before; he was before born of the flesh, he must now be born of the Spirit; otherwise he cannot be capable of entering into such a kingdom as is altogether spiritual. Thus our Lord himself explains his own meaning in my text, by adding immediately in the next words, "That which is born of the flesh, is flesh," &c. . . . As if He had said, He that is born, as all men are at first, only of the flesh, such a one is altogether carnal and sensual; and so can be affected with nothing but the sensible objects of this world. But he that is born of the Spirit of GOD, thereby becomes a spiritual creature, and so is capable of those spiritual things of which the kingdom of GOD consisteth, "even of righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." And he whose mind is changed, and turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto GOD, is truly said to be born again; because he is quickened with another kind of

life than he had before ; and to be born of the Spirit of God, because it is by it that this new and spiritual life is wrought in him. So that he is now born into another world, even into the kingdom of God, where he hath God himself, of whom he is born, for his Father, and the kingdom of God for his portion and inheritance. And therefore it is, that except a man be thus born of the Spirit, it is impossible he should enter into the kingdom of God, seeing he can enter into it no other way, than by being born of the Spirit.

But that we may thus be born of the Spirit, we must be born also of water, which our Saviour here puts in the first place. Not as if there was any such virtue in water, whereby it could regenerate us, but because this is the rite or ordinance appointed by CHRIST, wherein to regenerate us by his Holy Spirit ; our regeneration is wholly the act of the Spirit of CHRIST. But there must be something done on our parts in order to it, and something that is instituted and ordained by CHRIST himself, which in the Old Testament was circumcision ; in the New, baptism, or washing with water ; the easiest that could be invented, and the most proper to signify His cleansing and regenerating us by his Holy Spirit. And seeing this is instituted by CHRIST himself, as we cannot be born of water without the Spirit, neither can we, in an ordinary way, be born of the Spirit without water, used or applied in obedience and conformity to His institution. CHRIST hath joined them together, and it is not in our power to part them : he that would be born of the Spirit, must be born of water too. . . .

As baptizing necessarily implies the use of water, so our being made thereby disciples of CHRIST, as necessarily implies our partaking of His Spirit : For all that are baptized, and so made the disciples of CHRIST, are thereby made the members of His body ; and are therefore said to be baptized into CHRIST, (Rom. vi. 5. Gal. iii. 27.) But they who are in CHRIST, members of His body, must needs partake of the Spirit that is in Him their Head. Neither doth the Spirit of CHRIST only follow upon, but certainly accompanies the Sacrament of Baptism, when duly administered according to His institution. For as St. Paul saith, "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body." (1 Cor. xii. 13.) So that in the very act of baptism, the Spirit unites us unto CHRIST, and makes us members of His body ; and if of His body, then of His Church and kingdom, that being all His body. And therefore all who are rightly baptized with water, being at the same time baptized also with the Holy Ghost, and so born of water and the Spirit, they are, *ipso facto*, admitted into the kingdom of God, established upon earth, and if it be not their own fault, will as certainly attain to that which is in heaven.

Ibid. p. 306.—This I would desire all here present to take spe-

cial notice of, that you may not be deceived by a sort of people risen up among us, who being led, as they pretend, by the light within them, are fallen into such horrid darkness, and damnable heresies, that they have quite laid aside the Sacrament of Baptism, and affirm, in flat contradiction to our Saviour's words, that they may be saved without it. I pray God to open their eyes, that they may not go blindfold into eternal damnation. And I advise you all, as you desire not to apostatize from the Christian religion, and as you tender your eternal salvation, take heed that you be never seduced by them, under any pretence whatsoever; but rather, if you be acquainted with any of them, do what you can to turn them from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God again; that they may obtain forgiveness of their sins, and inheritance among them who are sanctified by faith in Him, who saith, "Except a man be born of water," &c.

Not only a man, in contradiction to a child, or a woman, but as it is in the original, *ἐὰν μὴ τις*, except any one, any human creature whatsoever, man, woman, or child, "except he be born of water," &c. . . . So that our Lord is so far from excluding children from baptism, that He plainly includes them, speaking in such general terms, on purpose that we may know that no sort of people, old or young, can ever be saved without it. And so He doth too, where He commands, as was observed before, that "All nations should be made disciples by being baptized in the name of," &c. . . . For, under all nations, children must needs be comprehended, which make a great, if not the greatest part of all nations. And although these general expressions be sufficient to demonstrate the necessity of Infant Baptism, yet foreseeing that ignorant and unlearned people would be apt to wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction, He elsewhere commands children particularly to be brought unto Him, saying, "Suffer the little children," &c. (Mark x. 14.) But if the kingdom of God consist of children, as well as other people, they must of necessity be baptized, or born of water and the Spirit; for otherwise, He Himself saith, "They cannot enter into the kingdom."

Hence it is, that we find the Apostles baptizing whole families, children, if any, as well as others: and the whole Catholic Church, in all places and ages ever since, hath constantly admitted the children of the believing parents into the Church, by baptizing them according to the institution and command of our Saviour; none ever making any question of it, but all Christians, all the world over, taking it for granted that it ought to be done, till of late years.

SHARP, ARCHBISHOP.—Vol. v. Sermon v. p. 71.

There is the same relation between CHRIST and Christians,

that there is between the vine and the branches ; the same necessity of communication of vital influences from the root to the branch in the one as in the other : which communication of influences is made by the Holy Spirit of God, derived from CHRIST, and diffusing Himself into every particular member of the whole body of Christians. Hence it is Christians are so frequently called the Temples of the Holy Ghost. " Know ye not," saith St. Paul, " that ye are," &c. ; and, again, " Know ye not," that your bodies are the members, &c. which he explains presently after thus : " Know ye not that your bodies are the Temples," &c. And the same St. Paul, in the eighth to the Romans, lays the foundation of our relation to CHRIST, and our hopes of eternal life, in the very thing, viz. the Spirit of God his dwelling in us ; as may be there seen more at large.

This, then, being the privilege of all Christians, that by their being consecrated to CHRIST, they have a right to the continual presence of the Holy Ghost in their souls ; or, if you will, God hath so great a right and property in them, that He sends down His Holy Spirit to take possession of them, in order to the securing and sealing them for His own in the other world ; we may easily, from hence, gather what it is to *grieve the Holy Spirit*, (which is the thing we are now inquiring into,) viz. : We then grieve Him, when being already Christians in profession, we either will not vouchsafe Him a lodging in our hearts, which He doth desire ; and, in order to the obtaining it, makes frequent applications to our souls by His holy motions ; or, when we have already given Him entertainment, we carry ourselves so unbecomingly towards Him, as to tempt Him to forsake us. We then grieve the Holy Spirit, when, having taken upon ourselves the covenant of Baptism, and thereby consecrated and consigned ourselves to God, we either refuse to admit the Spirit to take possession of us, or having admitted Him, do not show that respect, nor observe that decency, nor express that kindness, that is due to so worthy a guest ; but by our rude, and unmannerly, and ill-natured behaviour towards Him, put such affronts upon Him as highly provoke Him to quit his habitation.

SCOTT, PRESBYTER.—*Christian Life*, chap. ii. sect. i. p. 354.

Second sort of the Holy Ghost's operations, viz. that which He ordinarily doth, and always hath done, and will always continue to do ; for, upon the cessation of these His miraculous operations, the Holy Ghost did not wholly withdraw Himself from mankind, but He still continues mediating with us under CHRIST, in order to the reconciling our wills and affections to God, and subduing that inveterate malice and enmity against Him, which our degenerate nature hath contracted. For it is by

this blessed Spirit that CHRIST hath promised to be with us to the end of the world. (Matt. xxviii. 20.) And CHRIST Himself hath assured us, that upon His ascension into heaven He would "pray His Father, and He should give us another Comforter," meaning this Holy Ghost, "that he might abide with us for ever;" (John xiv. 16;) and, accordingly, the Holy Ghost is vitally united to the Church of CHRIST, even as souls are united to their bodies. For as there is one Body, the Church, so here is one Spirit, *i. e.* the Holy Ghost, which animates that Body, (Eph. iv. 4,) and hence the unity of the Church is in the foregoing verse called the unity of the Spirit; because as the soul by diffusing itself through all the parts of the body, unites them together, and keeps them from flying abroad, and dispersing into atoms, so the Holy Spirit, by diffusing Himself throughout this mystical Body, joins and unites all its parts together, and makes it one separate and individual corporation. So that, when by Baptism we are once incorporated into this body, we are entitled to, and do at least, *de jure* participate of the vital influences of the Holy Ghost, who is the soul of it; and accordingly, as Baptism joins us to that body, of which this Divine Spirit is the soul; so it also conveys that Divine Spirit to us. So that, as in natural bodies, those ligaments which unite and tie the parts to one another, do also convey life and spirit to them all; so also in this mystical body, those federal rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which are, as it were, its nerves and arteries, that join and confederate its members to one another, are also the conveyance of that spiritual life from the Holy Ghost, which moves and actuates them all. And hence the "washing of regeneration," and "the renewing of the Holy Ghost," the "being born of water and of the Holy Ghost," are put together as concurrent things; and in Acts ii. 38. Baptism is affirmed to be necessary to our receiving the Holy Ghost; and if by baptism we receive the Holy Ghost, that is a right and title to His grace and influence, then must the Holy Ghost be still supposed vitally united to the Church, whereof we are made members by our Baptism, and, like an omnipresent soul, to be diffused all through it, and to move and actuate every part of it by His heavenly grace and influence.

JENKIN, PRESBYTER.—*On Christian Religion*, vol. ii. p. 427.

Baptism is very agreeable to the nature of the Christian Religion, being a plain and easy rite, and having a natural significance of that purity of heart, which it is the design of the Gospel to promote and establish in the world; and it is fitted to represent to us the cleansing of our souls by the blood of CHRIST, and the grace of purity and holiness, which is conveyed in this

sacrament, and the spirit of regeneration which is conferred by it. Tit. iii. 5.

SHERLOCK, BISHOP.—Vol. ii. Disc. vii.

You see the power of Baptism, and the blessings that are annexed to it, to which all are entitled who partake in the Baptism of CHRIST: for Himself He was neither born nor baptized but for our sakes; that the blessings of both might descend on us, who, through faith, are heirs together with Him of the promises of GOD.

By Baptism the gates of heaven are set open to us, and the way paved for our return to our native country. By Baptism we are declared to be such sons of GOD in whom He will delight, and whom He will appoint to be heirs of His kingdom. By Baptism we receive the promise of the Spirit, by which we cry, Abba, Father.

Are not these great privileges? And is not here room for mighty expectations? And yet how unsuitable to these claims do the circumstances of a Christian's life often appear? He is upon the road to heaven, you say, and the gates stand open to receive him; but how does he stumble and fall like other men, and sometimes lose his way, and wander long, bewildered in night and darkness? Or, if he keeps the road, how lazily does he travel, as if he were unwilling to come to his journey's end, and afraid to see the country which he is going to possess? The Christian only, of all men, pretends to supernatural power and strength, and an intimate acquaintance with the Spirit of GOD; and yet how hardly does he escape the pollutions of the world, and how often look back, with languishing eyes, upon the pleasures, riches, and honours of this life? And though he boasts of more than human strength, yet how does he sometimes sink below the character and dignity even of a man? Ye sons of God, for such ye are, how do ye die like the children of men, and how like is your end to theirs?

And what must we say of these things? Is the promise of GOD become of none effect? Is Baptism sunk into mere outward ceremony, and can no longer reach to the purifying the heart and mind? The fact must not be disputed; it is too evident, at least in these our days, that the lives of Christians do not answer to the manifold gifts and graces bestowed on them.

WALL, PRESBYTER.—*On Infant Baptism*, part ii. chap. vi.

I believe Calvin was the first that ever denied this place (John iii. 5.) to mean Baptism. He gives another interpretation, which

he confesses to be new. This man did, indeed, write many things in defence of Infant Baptism. But he has done ten times more prejudice to that cause, by withdrawing (as far as in him lay) the strength of this text of Scripture (which the ancient Christians used as a chief ground of it) by that forced interpretation of his, than he has done good to it by all his new hypotheses and arguments. What place of Scripture is more fit to produce, for the satisfaction of some plain and ordinary man, (who, perhaps, is not capable of apprehending the force of the consequences by which it is proved from other places,) that he ought to have his child baptized, than this, (especially if it were translated in *English*, as it should be,) where our SAVIOUR says, that no *person* shall come to heaven without it? meaning, at least in God's *ordinary* way.

POTTER, ARCHBISHOP.—*Of Church Government*, chap. i.
p. 14.

Whoever wilfully neglects to be made a member of the Christian Church, does, by necessary consequence, deprive himself of all the privileges which belong to it; just as in any civil corporation they who are not members of it can plead no right to any of its privileges. This has already been shown to be the sense of CHRIST, and the same is constantly affirmed by the Christian writers of all ages. "They who do not come into the Church [saith Irenæus] do not partake of the Spirit, but deprive themselves of life." For where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God. And in St. Cyprian's opinion, he cannot have God for his Father who has not the Church for his Mother.

Hence the privileges of the Christian Church, such as Remission of Sins, the Grace of the Holy Spirit, and Eternal Life, are commonly said to be annexed to Baptism, this being the constant rite of initiation into the Church. Thus, in Ananias's exhortation to St. Paul, "Arise, and be baptized," &c. St. Barnabas expressly affirms, that "Baptism procures remission of sins;" and proves, from the Scriptures, that they who are baptized, are received into God's favour, whereas all the rest of mankind lie under His displeasure. Peter thus exhorts his new converts: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you," &c. Our blessed SAVIOUR joins Faith and Baptism together, as necessary conditions of salvation: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit," &c. And in another place, "He that believes, and is baptized, shall be saved." From these, and like passages of Scripture, the Primitive Church constantly inferred, that where the Gospel had been sufficiently propounded, no man could be saved, without Baptism actually obtained, or earnestly desired. Whence Tertullian calls it the "happy sacrament of water, where-

by we are washed from the sins of our former blindness, and delivered into eternal life." And Cyprian gives this reason, why the Baptism of infants should not be delayed so long as the eighth day after their birth, that (since it is said in the Gospel, that "the Son of Man came not to destroy men's souls, but to save them") it is our duty, as far as in us lies, to take care that no soul shall be destroyed.

NELSON, CONFESSOR.—*Festivals and Fasts*, p. 115.

By this means [by Baptism] the children of believers are entered into covenant with God under the Gospel, as they were under the Law by circumcision; and that infants are capable of this federal relation, is plainly declared by Moses; (Deut. xxix. 11;) and since they are the offspring of Adam, and consequently obnoxious to death by his fall, how can they be made partakers of that redemption which CHRIST hath purchased for the children of God, if they do not enjoy the advantage of that method which is alone appointed by CHRIST for them to become members of God's kingdom? For JESUS himself has assured us, "Except one be born of water," &c. . . . And therefore it was the constant custom of the Primitive Church to administer Baptism to infants for the remission of sins. And this practice was esteemed, by the best tradition, to be derived from the Apostles themselves.

WATERLAND, PRESBYTER.—*On Regeneration*. 2.

The second is the case of infants. Their innocence and incapacity are to them instead of repentance, which they do not need, and of actual faith, which they cannot have. They are capable of being savingly born of water and the Spirit, and of being adopted into sonship with what depends thereupon; because, though they bring no virtues with them, no positive righteousness, yet they bring no obstacle, no impediment. They stipulate, they enter into contract, by their sureties, upon a presumptive and interpretative consent: they become consecrated in solemn form to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; pardon, mercy, and other covenant privileges are made over to them; and the Holy Spirit translates them out of their state of nature (to which a curse belongs) to a state of grace, favour, and blessing; this is their regeneration.

KETTLEWELL, PRESBYTER AND CONFESSOR.—*On the Creed—Article, Forgiveness of Sins*, p. 685.

Ques.—For whose sake doth ALMIGHTY GOD allow us all this benefit of forgiveness?

Ans.—For JESUS CHRIST, who, as you have seen, died for our sins, and gave His blood a ransom, to purchase for us this pardon of them. “He is set forth a propitiation,” &c. (Rom. iii. 25.) And thus we shall receive all this mercy for His sake, when, with the disposition before expressed, we devoutly pray to God for it in His name.

Ques.—By the promises of the Gospel, I see that this forgiveness is assured to all Christians upon the terms which you have described. But is it in any signs and tokens outwardly dispensed to them?

Ans.—Yes; both in the Holy Sacraments and in the sacerdotal Absolution. Which ways of ministering this forgiveness, as well as the forgiveness itself, are noted in some ancient Creeds: this article being thus professed in St. Cyprian’s Form at Baptism: “I believe the Remission of Sins by the Church.”

Ques.—Is this forgiveness dispensed to us in the Sacrament of Baptism?

Ans.—Yes; and that most amply, the water of Baptism washing off the stain of all former sins. “Be baptized, and wash away thy sins,” said Ananias to Saul; “Repent, and be baptized for the Remission of Sins,” said St. Peter to the Jews; and, “He hath saved us by the Laver of Regeneration;” *i. e.* the Water of Baptism, and the Renewing of the Holy Ghost. (Tit. iii. 5.) So that whatever pollutions men had upon them, if they come to Baptism with true faith and repentance, they are thereby made clean again.

HICKES, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Christian Priesthood*.

It belonged to the Apostles and Presbyters, by virtue of their sacerdotal office and ministry, to be advocates and intercessors with God I need not insist upon their power of baptizing for the remission of sins with fasting and prayer, which was a most solemn act of expiation for washing away all the past sins of the baptized.

JOHNSON, PRESBYTER.—*Unbloody Sacrifice*.—Vol. i. ch. ii. sect. 1. p. 165.

I think the only immediate effect of the Spirit in Baptism, is the remission of all sin, and removing our natural disability to

the worship and service of God, and the sentence of condemnation under which we were all born : (Rom. v. 16.) and that other graces are wrought in us by that Holy Spirit, which by Baptism receives us under its protection, gradually, and according to the capacity of the recipient ; and this doctrine I learnt from those words of St. Barnabas, in his Epistle. cap. vi. : " After, therefore, that CHRIST had renewed us by the remission of our sins, he made us [in] another shape, so as to have an infant-like soul, even as he himself reformed us : " where he plainly makes renovation to consist in forgiving sins : and makes the new moulding, or reformation of our minds, to be not performed at the same time with the other, or all at once, but to be consequent upon the former renovation : and CHRIST is always thus reforming us, from our Baptism to our death. And I look on these words of St. Barnabas to be a better explication of the renovation, or regeneration of Christians by Baptism, than whole volumes of modern writers upon the same subject. And I may here very reasonably observe, that as the Holy Spirit is present in our Baptism, to seal the remission of sins, and to infuse the beginnings of Christian Life ; for He is present in confirmation, to shed further influences on them that receive it, for the further suscitation of the gift of God bestowed in Baptism and in the Eucharist, as will hereafter appear at large for our further progress and increase in grace.

LESLIE, PRESBYTER AND CONFESSOR.—*On Water Baptism*, § 5.

The end of CHRIST's Baptism was, to instate us into all the unconceivable glories, and high eternal prerogatives which belong to the members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones, (Eph. v. 30.) that we might receive the adoption of sons. (Gal. iv. 5.) Henceforth no more servants, but sons of God, and heirs of heaven ! These are ends so far transcendent above the ends of all former Baptisms, that, in comparison, other Baptisms are not only less, but none at all ; like the glory of the stars in presence of the sun, they not only are a lesser light, but when he appears they become altogether invisible.

And as a pledge or foretaste of these future and boundless joys, the gift of the Holy Ghost is given upon earth, and is promised as an effect of the Baptism of CHRIST : as Peter preached (Acts ii. 38.) " Repent, and be baptized," &c. And (Gal. iii. 27.) " As many of you as have been baptized into CHRIST have put on CHRIST."

This of the gift of the Holy Ghost was not added to any Baptism before CHRIST's, and does remarkably distinguish it from all others.

WILSON, BISHOP, CONFESSOR AND DOCTOR.—*Maxims of Piety*,
Vol. i. p. 310.

The Holy Spirit at Baptism takes possession of us, and keeps possession, till men grieve Him; then He forsakes us, and an evil spirit succeeds.

By Baptism we contract and oblige ourselves, all our life long, to complete and perfect the image of JESUS CHRIST in ourselves. The blessings and excellencies of Baptism :—It separates us from Adam, and engrafts us into CHRIST.—It is a resurrection from sin to grace.—It discharges us from the debt owing to the justice of GOD, by our sins, now fully satisfied by faith in the suffering and death of CHRIST.—It cancels the law of death and malediction which was against us.—In Baptism our sins did indeed die, and were buried; but the seed and root remain in us. These we are to mortify all our lives long.

BINGHAM, PRESBYTER.—*On Lay Baptism*, part ii. ch. vi.

..... What it [indelible character] was taken to signify in Baptism? For an indelible character was always supposed to be imprinted as much in Baptism as in ordination; though I do not remember that any ancient Council expressly used that term about either, but only say something that may be reckoned equivalent to it; and that is this, as it relates to Baptism: that a man, who is once truly baptized, can never do any thing that can so far erase or cancel his Baptism, as that he shall need, upon any occasion, to be re-baptized with a second Baptism. Thus far the ancients believed an indelible character in Baptism. Though a man turns his back on Christianity, and totally apostatize and fall away from the profession of it; though he turn heretic or schismatick; though he excommunicate himself, or be excommunicated by the Church; though he embrace Paganism or Judaism, or any other opposite Religion; though he curse and blaspheme CHRIST in a synagogue or in a temple, as many of the old apostates did; though he become a *Julian* or an *Ecebolius*, and “trample under foot the Son of God, and count the Blood of the Covenant an unholy thing, and do despite to the Spirit of Grace;” yet, after all, if this man turn again to Christianity, he was not to be received by a second Baptism. His repentance, and the Church’s absolution, was sufficient in that case to re-instate him in his ancient profession, and he was not to be re-baptized to be made again a Christian. The Church had but one Baptism for the remission of sins, and the virtue of that was so far indelible, that it would always qualify the man that had received it, to be admitted to communion again after the greatest apostasy, only by a true re-

penitance and reconciliatory imposition of hands, without re-baptizing. This was what the ancients understood by what we now call the indelible character of Baptism. But they were far from thinking that a man who was such an apostate had any right or authority whilst he was an apostate, to challenge any of the common privileges of a Christian. They did not think, whilst he was a Pagan or a Jew, that he was properly a member of the Christian Church still, because of his Baptism; or that he had any right to be called Christian, or to be admitted to the prayers of the Church, and much less to the communion with other faithful laymen: and yet, after all, there was so much of a *Christian* in him, by virtue of his Baptism, that he needed not to be baptized again as a mere *Jew* or *Pagan*. His Baptism was such as nothing could obliterate; it would remain with him when he was an apostate, and either go to hell with him to his condemnation, or bring him back to heaven and the Church by way of repentance, not re-baptization. Now, if any one should ask whether such an apostate, while he continued an apostate, was a Christian? the answer must be in the negative; but yet there is something of a Christian in this apostate, that is, his Baptism; in respect of which he is not so perfectly a no-Christian, as one that never was baptized.

SKELTON, PRESBYTER.—Vol. ii. Disc. xxi.

Our blessed Saviour and Mediator, who hath procured the benefit of this covenant for us by the "sacrifice of His Blood," hath appointed the Sacrament of Baptism as the means whereby the contracting parties, God and the new Christian, solemnly plight their promises to each other; and hath likewise made the other Sacrament, that of His Last Supper, the seal which renews and confirms the covenant with every penitent transgressor. In both He communicates the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which "helps our infirmities," and enables us, if we are not shamefully wanting to ourselves, to observe and perform the conditions promised on our part.

We have already seen, in general, what we are to expect as the fruits of peace with God; namely, eternal life, eternal happiness and glory. Our present assurance of this is represented in various lights by the Scriptures. We are made one with CHRIST, as He is one with the Father. We are united into one Church, or Spiritual Body, whereof "He is the head." All together "we are the body of CHRIST, and members in particular." Thus joined to Him, who is by nature the Son of God, we also become, by a "new birth in Baptism," the adopted sons or children of God. "We have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father;" and being taken into the

family of God, are made His children by "faith in JESUS CHRIST." The provision made for us is suitable to the grandeur of our new relation; no less than an eternal kingdom, "which it is the Father's good pleasure to give us," as His beloved children, and, consequently, "heirs of God, and joint heirs with CHRIST;" inasmuch that being one with Him, "where He is there shall we be also," partakers both of His nature, and His inheritance in happiness and glory. We need not say, since these are the promises of God, that they cannot possibly fail of performance, provided we do our utmost to fulfil the promises made on our part.

HORNE, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—Vol. ii. Disc. xviii.

The first portion of sanctifying grace is given at Baptism, which is the seal of justification, and the beginning of sanctification; inasmuch as the sinner being thus sacramentally buried with CHRIST into His death, arises with Him in the power of His resurrection, justified from the guilt of sin through repentance and faith in His blood, and renewed unto holiness by the operation of His Spirit. This total renewal, at first conferred by the baptismal laver, is styled *regeneration*, and answers in things natural to the birth of an infant. But then, as an infant, though born complete in all its parts, yet comes to its full stature and strength by slow and imperceptible degrees; by being supplied with proper kinds of food for its nourishment when in health, and proper medicines for its recovery when otherwise; so is it with the regenerate spirit of a Christian: while it is (as St. Peter calls it) a babe in CHRIST, it must be fed with the milk of the word; when it is more grown in grace, with the strong meat of its salutary doctrines; when it is infirm, it must be strengthened by the comforts of its promises; and when sick, or wounded by sin, it must be recovered and restored by godly counsel and wholesome discipline, by penance and absolution, by the medicines of the word and sacraments as duly and properly administered in the Church, by the lawfully and regularly appointed delegates and representatives of the Physician of souls. This gradual and complex work of our sanctification is carried on, through our lives, by the Spirit of God, given, in due degree and proportion, to every individual for that purpose. And it is marvellous to behold, as the excellent Bishop Andrews observes, how, from the laver of regeneration, to the administration of the *viaticum*, this good Spirit helpeth us, and poureth His benefits upon us, having a grace for every season. When we are troubled with erroneous opinions, He is the Spirit of truth; when assaulted with temptations, He is the Spirit of holiness; when dissipated with worldly vanity, He is the Spirit of compunction; when

broken with worldly sorrow, He is the Holy Ghost the Comforter. It is He who, after having regenerated us in our baptism, confirms us by the imposition of hands; renews us to repentance, when we fall away; teaches us, all our life long, what we know not; puts us in mind of what we forget; stirs us up when we are dull; helps us in our prayers; relieves us in our infirmities; consoles us in our heaviness; gives us songs of joy in the darkest night of sorrow; seals us to the day of our redemption; and raises us up again in the last day; when that which was sown in grace shall be reaped in glory, and the work of sanctification, in spirit, soul, and body, shall be completed.

JONES, PRESBYTER.—*On the figurative Language of the Holy Scriptures.* Lect. vi. p. 156.

As the Ark was prepared by Noah, so hath CHRIST prepared His Church, to conduct us in safety through the waves of trouble and the perils of the world, in which so many are lost. And as the waters of the flood carried Noah and his family into a new world after the old was drowned; so do the waters of baptism carry us into a new state with JESUS CHRIST, who passed over the waves of death, and is risen from the dead. And this practical inference is to be made in favour of the ordinance of the Church, that as the ark could not be saved but by water, so must all the Church of CHRIST be baptized.

Ibid. p. 167.—We know that Satan has not that sovereignty over baptized Christians as he hath over men in the state of nature. After baptism a Christian is no longer the subject of that tyrant, but the child of God, who undertakes thenceforth to conduct him through all the trials and dangers of this life to the inheritance promised to the fathers.

HEBER, BISHOP.—*Sermons in England.* xviii.

It (justification) is the same with that regeneration of which baptism is the outward symbol, and which marks out, wherever it occurs, (that it ordinarily occurs in baptism, I am for my own part firmly persuaded,) our admission into the number of the children of God, and the heirs of everlasting happiness. It is the commencement of that state of salvation, in which, if a man continues, death has no power over him, in as much as the grave, which our nature so greatly fears, is to him no extinction of life, but a passage to a life more blessed and more glorious.

JEBB, BISHOP—*Pastoral Instructions*. Disc. vi. p. 112.

But how, may it be asked, are the benefits and blessings of spiritual regeneration conferred upon infants in their tender years? To this inquiry we need not be careful to reply: we need only state, that in this, as in various other instances, it hath pleased Almighty God to set limits to the presumptuousness of human curiosity; and thus, at once to try our humility and our faith. It is enough for us, rest assured, that God is now, and ever, the same all-good and gracious Parent; that, as in times past, it was "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he perfected praise:" and as "He revealed unto babes those things which were hidden from the wise and prudent," so He is, at all times, abundantly able to pour forth the dew of His blessing upon infants who are faithfully brought to the baptism of his Son. It is enough for us to believe and cherish the prevalent sentiment of the universal Church, as it has been maintained from the age of the Apostles, that at the time of baptism, a new nature is divinely communicated, and gracious privileges are especially vouchsafed, in such measure and degree that, whosoever are clothed with this white garment, may, through God's help, "keep their baptism pure and undefiled, for the remainder of their lives, never wilfully committing any deadly sin."

VAN MILDERT, BISHOP.—*Bampton Lectures*, vi.

Regeneration is represented, by a certain class of interpreters, as an instantaneous, perceptible, and irresistible operation of the Holy Spirit upon the heart and mind; which, whether the person have been baptized or not, affords the only certain evidence of his conversion to a saving and justifying faith. By others, it is regarded as a continued and progressive work of the Spirit, or as a state commencing in baptism, but not completed until, by perseverance to the end, the individual has "finished his course, and is about to enter upon his final reward." Others again, separating what the Scriptures state to be joined together in the work of the new birth, maintain a distinction between baptismal and spiritual regeneration; the former taking place in the Sacrament of Baptism; the latter subsequent to it, and, whether progressive or instantaneous in its operation, equally necessary with baptism to a state of salvation.

But here the analogy of faith seems to be violated throughout. For how can any of these views of regeneration consist with the plain and simple notion of it as an entrance upon a new state, or a sacramental initiation into the Christian covenant? Nay, how can they consist with the terms and conditions of the covenant it-

self? If the Gospel be a covenant, admission into which, on the terms of faith and repentance, gives an immediate title to its present privileges, with an assurance of the spiritual helps necessary for the attainment of salvation; and if baptism be the divinely-appointed means of admission into that covenant, and of a participation in those privileges; is not the person so admitted actually brought into a new state? Has he not obtained that thing which by nature he cannot have? "And being thus regenerated and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost," to what subsequent part of his Christian life can a term so peculiarly expressive of his first entrance upon it be with propriety applied?

MANT, BISHOP.—*Bampton Lectures*, vi.

Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, &c. . . . It should appear, I say, that he was here alluding by anticipation to the Sacrament of Baptism, which he intended to ordain: and to that supernatural grace, which was thereby to be conferred through the instrumentality of water, and by the Holy Ghost; adopting, not only the ceremony itself, which he meant to exalt to more noble and spiritual purposes, but also the very term by which the Jews had described the change wrought in the baptized, although he undoubtedly employed it, in a similar sense indeed, but in an infinitely more dignified sense. To the proselyte from heathenism to the Jewish faith, baptism had been a death to his natural incapacities, and a new birth to the civil privileges of a Jew: to him, who should be admitted to a profession of the Christian faith, and who should be "born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh," &c. . . . it was to be a death unto sin, and a new birth unto those spiritual privileges, which should accompany his deliverance "from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God." The Jewish proselyte had been baptized with water: the Christian was to be baptized, not with water only, but with the Holy Ghost.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

No. 77.

ON THE DANGER OF RIDICULE IN RELIGION.

[The following is Dr. PUSEY's answer to an Anonymous Pamphlet, reflecting on these Tracts, which appeared in the end of March 1836. The Pamphlet professed to be a "*Pastoral Epistle from the Pope to some Members of the University of Oxford.*" Dr. PUSEY's answer was entitled "*An Earnest Remonstrance to the Author of the Pope's Letter, on the Danger of Ridicule in Religion.*" Tract 74 was added to it as an Appendix. Two extracts have been added by the Author in the second reprint.]

SIR,—Two reasons induce me to appeal to you, in reference to your recent Letter: First, that I have escaped your censures: Secondly, that (if report speaks right) you are one from whose straight-forwardness, sincerity, and love of truth, I once anticipated much. In both ways, therefore, I am freed from the risk of personal feelings.

I would, then, regard you as the representative of a certain class, (as every one is, more or less;) and would direct my observations to an evil prevalent in these times, not to you. That evil (and there could scarcely be a greater) is the use of banter and jest in things serious. It is true that the minds of a large portion of our countrymen seem to have become so inured to this, that persons have even despaired of addressing them, except in a tone even lower than that low tone to which they have sunk. It is true, that even among the better-instructed orders, persons, in their degree serious-minded, have often thought themselves obliged to condescend to the conventional language of the day, as their only hope to gain a hearing. It is true, also, that the appetite has grown with its unwholesome nourishment; and now, as by a self-created necessity, all seem to be absorbed into the tide; and it is rare to find any cause advocated in the plain, open, straightforward tone which was once the characteristic of our land. Not simply our periodical literature, or our journals, but our courts of law, and that branch of the legislature which is liable to be affected by popular taste, are infected by the malaria of this destructive habit. Man's happiness, or God's displeasure, domestic misery or national sin, are continually a jest. Adultery, fornication, theft, drunkenness, lying, are daily matters of sport. If justice is to be perverted, men's minds blinded to sin,

escape unpunished, a jest is the refuge; caricatures are the vehicles of public instruction, and "a mock at sin" the source of public amusement.

It is indeed strange, and a lamentable part of this sad merriment, that many right-minded people are so little sickened at it, or so little express their weariness. But so it is with every other prevailing sin; those who live amidst it are, in their several degrees, infected by it: the fineness of our moral perceptions is blunted by the very acquaintance with sin, all mention whereof we at first loathed; our ears become untuned to the chords of Heaven, by listening constantly to the jarring sounds of earth, and are less offended by their discordancy. Most men feel themselves compelled to an over-acquaintance with the things of the day, and so are insensibly inured to its wretchedness, and deem it irremediable. They are indeed mistaken; the more earnest spirit is not fled: it sleeps only, or rather is drugged by these continued poisonous appliances; and brighter days may yet come, when our countrymen shall again be spoken to, not as members of a vast machine, or as the slaves of temporal interests, but as responsible immortal agents, as Christians, as members of Christ the Son of God.

It is one consolation, that if all our outward privileges, yea, every thing except truth, be lost, then the temptation of appealing to any other principle but truth and holiness, will be removed also.

These however have been, in many cases, worldly things, treated of by men of this world: a pernicious principle was admitted; but the source of truth and holy earnestness was not yet poisoned; banter had not yet been employed upon things Divine. This is now inadvertently commenced, and the more dangerously because inadvertently. Hitherto it had scarcely been found except among Infidels.

I would then, Sir, request you for a while to lay aside the thoughts of the amusement which your Letter has caused to yourself or others, and to consider in earnestness some of the evils into which it has betrayed you, and may and must betray others. I will confine myself to three:—

1. Irreverent treatment of holy things.
2. Sacrifice of truth.
3. False insinuation, and consequently slandering.

And these I impute, not to yourself: on the contrary, I think that, in your natural character, you would be very far from them. I would speak of them only as inseparable consequences of the line which you have taken.

1. **IRREVERENCE.**—It may suffice, Sir, to mention some of the subjects which were necessarily brought into your ill-advised jest.

1. Persons' belief as to our Lord's presence in the Communion.

2. The mode in which the Commission ordained for the preaching and maintenance of the everlasting Gospel has been continued to this day.

3. The maintenance of the form of our public worship, and the doctrines therein contained.

4. The comfort which the dying Christian obtains from the provisions of our Church.

5. The unity of the Church of Christ.

6. The Authority of His bishops, or of His Church.

7. The quiet frame of mind of a simple, undisputing Christian.

It is not here the question, whether any of the writers whom you ridicule, over-stated the truth upon any of these points. I am convinced that they have not. But granting that they had, is ridicule a safe, a Christian, a godly, weapon to employ in such matters? Is it possible that those who should have been thereby made ashamed of, or scared from, any of those statements, would approach the consideration of the truth itself with that deep and considerate earnestness and reverence of mind which the subject requires,—if, indeed, you yet hold that there be any truth at all connected even with these subjects? Is it not too probable that the infection of this ridicule will extend to other truths; some of which, I presume, you would not wish to see thus assailed? since the efficacy of Baptism, the strengthening of the believer's soul by the Body and Blood of his Lord in the holy Eucharist, the Divinity of our Redeemer, and His sacrifice for sin, have been, and still are by some, represented as relics of Popery? The Socinians, and, more recently, the Rationalists of Germany, regarded or represented themselves as carrying on the work of the first Reformers, in purging Christianity from Papal corruptions.

Ridicule cannot be employed with impunity as a test of truth: error and truth often lie so closely together, nay, most religious error has so much of truth mingled up with it, that the very love of truth ought to preclude the use of jesting; not to say that the fearfulness of the subject, and the majesty of Almighty God, might well instinctively awe man into sobriety. For, through this close connexion of truth and error, mire cannot be cast at error, without defiling the truth also. To take the most palpable errors,—Could a man jest at Transubstantiation, and not thereby unfit his mind for the reception of the holy mystery of the Communion? or would not a mocking at the false doctrine of the Mediation of the Saints lower men's notions of their high and holy state? or has not the jesting, even at the most unreal delusions of the imagination, injured men's faith in the influences of God's Blessed Spirit? Throughout, Sir, we are standing upon holy ground; and it beseems us to pull the shoe

from off our feet, and tread reverently. Let error be removed as a disease, gently handling those who suffer under it, or repressing those who wilfully propagate it; but let us not sport with the Enemy of men's souls.

This subject, however, has been handled by one to whose talents you would perhaps pay deference,—Bp. Warburton; and to him I would refer you. He has not indeed the earnestness or depth of the writers of the seventeenth century, yet he states facts which it were well for this age to lay to heart. For we are now reaping the harvest which the infidels of his day sowed; only in his times men yet looked to principles—in these they regard only their practical efficiency in carrying a point: then the evil was without, now it is admitted within the Church. I will now, then, request your attention to a few extracts only from his Address to the Freethinkers, to whom he dedicates the first three books of the Divine Legation.

“Your writers offer your considerations to the world, either under the character of petitioners for oppressed and injured truth, or of teachers to ignorant and erring men. These sure are characters that, if any, require seriousness and gravity to support them. But so great strangers are we to decorum on our entry on the stage of life, that, for the most part, we run giddily on, in a mixed and jumbled character; but have most an end, a strong inclination to make a farce of it, and mingle buffoonery with the most serious scenes. Hence, even in religious controversy, while the great cause of eternal happiness is trying, and men and angels, as it were, attending the issue of the conflict, we can find room for a merry story.—

“This quality [of making men laugh] causing the writer to be so well received, yours have been tempted to dispense with the solemnity of their character, as thinking it of much importance to get the laugh on their side. Hence *ridicule* is become their favourite figure of speech.—It is inconceivable what havoc false wit makes in a foolish head. ‘The rabble of mankind,’ as an excellent writer [Addison] well observes, ‘being very apt to think, that every thing which is laughed at, with any mixture of wit, is ridiculous in itself. Few reflect on what a great wit [Wycherly] has so ingeniously owned, *‘that wit is generally false reasoning.’*—

“To see what little good is to be expected in this way of wit and humour, one may go further, and observe, that even the ridicule of false virtue hath been sometimes attended with mischievous effects. The Spaniards have lamented, and I believe truly, that Cervantes’s just and inimitable ridicule of *knight-errantry* rooted up with that folly a great deal of that *real honour*. And it was apparent that Butler’s fine satire on *fanaticism* contributed not a little, during the licentious times of Charles II., to bring *sober piety* into disrepute. The reason is evident: there are many lines of resemblance between truth and its counterfeits; and it is the province of *wit* only to find out the *likenesses* in things, and not the talent of the *common admirers of it* to discover the *differences*.”

But if these evils result from ridiculing religious error, what shall be said, if what you have ridiculed be after all the truth? And yet, because ultra-Protestants of the present day think any truth to approximate to Popery, it follows not that it is Popish, or if found in Popery, it follows not that it is untrue, else must all the Catholic verities be untrue also. Whenever you shall be pleased to abandon the ground of ridicule, and to treat questions of religious truth with seriousness, then will we also show, that the positions which you have ridiculed are neither Papistical nor untrue, but that you have been ridiculing the truth. Meanwhile we propose for your consideration a catalogue* of writers (which might easily be swelled to any amount,) who, upon the subject which you have chosen for your chiefest ridicule, and which ultra-Protestants of this day are most ashamed of, have spoken as strongly as they, whom you on that ground decry as Papists: I mean, Apostolical Succession.

I would only observe by the way, since persons in these days dispense lightly with truths, the value whereof they do not understand, that in jesting at the doctrine of apostolical succession you despise a fact, wherein one of the acutest writers of any age or land saw an evidence for the truth of our holy faith. The apostolical succession of ministers is a fact which satisfies Leslie's criteria of the truth of the history wherewith it is connected; and the sceptical Middleton in vain attempted, during above ten years, to find any case, to which Leslie's criteria applied, and which yet was untrue.

I will extract such portion of Leslie's words as may suffice to explain this. (*Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, iii. 2.)

"Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, were instituted as perpetual memorials of these things (the matters of fact recorded in the Gospel of our Blessed Saviour); and they were not instituted in after-ages, but at the very time when these things were said to be done, and have been observed without interruption in all ages through the whole Christian world, down all the way, from that time to this. And Christ Himself did ordain apostles, and other ministers of His Gospel, to preach and administer these sacraments, and to govern His Church, and that always, even unto the end of the world. Accordingly, they have continued by regular succession to this day; and no doubt ever shall, while the earth shall last. So that the Christian clergy are as notorious a matter of fact as the tribe of Levi among the Jews. And the Gospel is as much a law to the Christians as the books of Moses to the Jews; and it being part of the matters of fact related in the Gospel, that such an order of men were appointed by Christ, and to continue to the end of the world, consequently, if the Gospel was a fiction, and invented (as it must be) in some age after Christ, then, at that time, when it was first

* See Appendix. Tracts for the Times, No. 74.

invented, there could be no such order of clergy as derived themselves from the institution of Christ; which must give the lie to the Gospel, and demonstrate the whole to be false. And the matters of fact of Christ being pressed to be true, no otherwise than as there was at that time (whenever the Deists will suppose the Gospel to be forged) not only public sacraments of Christ's institution, but an order of clergy, likewise of His appointment, to administer them; and it being impossible there could be any such things before they were invented, it is as impossible that they should be received when invented."

Of a truth, you know not wherewith you are trifling; and I would mention this rather as an unexpected benefit, derived from adherence to the truth, than as the use of that truth,—an instance how many hidden values every truth contains within it, though but gradually perhaps evolved to us, how much more than we are aware we lose, if we abandon truth.

The progress of error on this head is indeed a warning how men be ashamed of any, even though it seem to them the least portion of the truth committed to their trust: men first suppressed it as invidious, and an obstacle to charity, then were ashamed of it, then disbelieved it, lastly ridicule it. Those of this generation must look to it, lest the fear of avowing their conviction lead to the same result with regard to the sacraments of their Lord; whether they have not already taken the first steps.

II. SACRIFICE OF TRUTH.—This again I would regard as the inevitable result of the use of ridicule; and its ill tendency is the more illustrated by its having corrupted your natural love of fairness. It is part of the character which you have adopted, not of your own. For having once resolved on the fiction which was to be the vehicle of your satire, then the laws of composition required that the fiction should be in keeping, however at variance with the laws of truth. The laws of fiction are indeed stern laws, since they require the sacrifice of whatever is at variance with themselves. Having adopted the fiction of a letter from the Pope to certain members of your Church, as being his emissaries, it became necessary, by disguise, or omission, or perversion, to conceal whatever would have disturbed the unity of the drama. For instance, you play not unfrequently upon the words which one of these writers addresses to the Church of Rome,—"*Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses.*" And who would not echo the wish? Who,—bearing in mind the holy truths which Rome, amid her corruptions, yet holds, how much of the highest Christian truth, which many Protestant bodies have lost, or are in jeopardy of losing, on the mystery of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, and its consequences; or considering, again, the extent of her Communion,—would not wish, and long, and pray, that she might be freed from her anti-Christian servitude; that she, as ourselves have

been, might be restored to her primeval purity, when she was once the guardian of Christian truth; that God would "break the yoke of her burden, the staff on her shoulder, and the rod of her oppressor?" (Is. ix. 4.) Taken then in their obvious sense, the words are the expression of every Christian heart. Your fiction, however, required that they should express a desire for union with Rome AS SHE IS; and in this sense, accordingly, you quote them. The very next words of the writer contradict this. He proceeds (and to prevent the possibility of a mistake, he has printed these words in capitals),—

"But, alas! AN UNION IS IMPOSSIBLE. Their communion is infected with heterodoxy: we are bound to flee it as a pestilence. They have established a lie in the place of God's truth; and by their claim of immutability in doctrine, cannot undo the sin they have committed. They cannot repent. Popery must be destroyed; it cannot be reformed."

Honesty required the insertion of these words; but they would have spoiled the jest, and so they are omitted.

Again, as a member, to all appearance, of our Church, and so having no prejudice against her, it is hardly probable that you should believe what a recent author* has well termed "The fable of the Nag's Head consecration." Bishop Bull calls it "a putid fable;" and even Lingard, who shrinks not from any plausible fable, discards it.† It suited, however, your assumed character, and so, in answer to the words—

"As to the fact of Apostolical succession, every link in the chain is known, from St. Peter to our present metropolitans."

You reply:

"But surely you are aware of all the circumstances of the Nag's Head consecration. This must at least diminish confidence as to the continuity of your links, and compel every reasonable mind to doubt as to the reality of your succession. Even a doubt on such a point is fatal to all the claims of your Church."

* Short's History of the Church of England, chap. viii. § 409.

"Strype has been very particular in recording every thing which was done on this occasion, from the most authentic documents, in order to refute the fable of the Nag's Head consecration, which was promulgated by the Roman Catholics about forty years after the event had taken place, when it might have been supposed that all direct testimony had been lost. The story is, that the bishops met at a tavern which bore that sign, and that when Oglethorp refused to consecrate them, Scory laid a Bible on each of their heads, and bade them rise up bishops. The tale has been refuted as often as brought forward."

The following also is the statement of the Calvinist Professor, John Prideaux: "The public acts are still extant in Mason and others, honestly brought forward, and they sufficiently annihilate this transparent lie of the calumniators. Archbishop Abbot caused them to be shown to certain priests, to convince them of the impudence of this fiction, that so they might at length cease from seducing wickedly their credulous Proselytes." (Controv. de Disciplina Ecclesiæ, p. 243. The Italics are his.)

† Hist. of England, Vol. vii. Note I.

Yet you, Sir, can have no "doubt upon this point;" and still you are raising a doubt in the minds of the ignorant and unwary, and countenancing the only pretext of the Church of Rome to deny us the character of a true Church. Your jest again imposed hard laws upon you.

Again; a lay writer in the Tracts has said,

"Ordination, or, as it is called in the case of bishops, consecration, though it does not precisely come within our definition of a sacrament, is nevertheless a rite partaking, in a high degree, of the sacramental character, and it is by reference to the proper sacraments that its nature can be most satisfactorily illustrated."

Now, this statement is made, not to exalt the priesthood, (although, if we duly "magnified our office," it were to be hoped, that it would be exercised more earnestly,) but to meet the common-place objection to the transmission of orders by a regular unbroken succession from the Apostles, viz: that some of the Bishops, through whom they were transmitted, may have been unholy men. Now, the case of the "proper sacraments" does illustrate this; for since we hold that "the effect of Christ's ordinance is not taken away by the wickedness of evil men," even though they "have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments," forasmuch as "the sacraments be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men," (Art. xxvi.), we cannot consistently object, *à priori*, to the grace of ordination being conveyed down, by virtue of our Lord's institution, even through the hands of evil men. In the words of the layman, (shortly following your extract,) p. 10:

"He who receives unworthily, or in an improper state of mind, either ordination or consecration, may probably receive to his own soul no saving health from the hallowed rite; but while we admit, as we do, the validity of sacraments administered by a priest thus unworthily ordained, we cannot consistently deny that of ordination, in any of its grades, when bestowed by a bishop as unworthily consecrated. The very question of worth, indeed, with relation to such matters, is absurd. Who is worthy? Who is a fit dispenser of the gifts of the Holy Spirit? What are, after all, the petty differences between sinner and sinner, when viewed in relation to Him, whose eyes are too pure to behold iniquity, and who charges His very angels with folly?"

This would have been the question to be considered had you been in earnest; but it was an earnest question, and so afforded no room for pleasantry. You turn aside, then, to lay hold of the expression, "our definition of a sacrament," and make the Pope to say (p. 13):

"We do not blame you, beloved brethren, for its not coming perfectly within your Church's definition of a sacrament; but we feel

convinced that, when opportunity may serve, you will so alter the definition as to increase the number of your sacraments."

Yet since the "layman" distinguished "orders" from the "proper sacraments," it was an ill pleasantry which would represent him as wishing to include them therein, although you need not have gone as far as Rome for a definition which would have included them. St. Augustine's definition of a sacrament, (with which Calvin wishes to show that his own agrees, Instit. iv. 14, I.) had sufficed: "a visible sign of a sacred thing," or "a visible form of invisible grace." The word "sacrament" has namely, (as every one knows,) a larger use, although the "two proper sacraments" have always had their distinct reverence, as not conveying grace only, but directly uniting men with their Redeemer. In this larger sense, however, even foreign reformers have not scrupled to call ordination not merely "a rite, partaking in a high degree of the sacramental character," but "a sacrament." Thus even Calvin says (Instit. iv. 14, 20):

"I am speaking of the sacraments instituted for the use of the whole Church. For the imposition of hands, whereby the ministers of the Church are initiated to their office, as on the one hand *I am not unwilling that it should be called a sacrament*, so on the other I do not count it among the ordinary sacraments."

And again (iv. 19, 31):

"There remaineth imposition of hands, which, *as in true and lawful ordinations, I allow to be a sacrament*, so I deny that it has any place in this farce, (those of Rome,) wherein they neither obey Christ's command, nor regard the end, to which the promise ought to lead us."

And Melancthon (Apolog. Confess. de numero et usu sacram.):

"If orders be understood of the 'ministry of the word,' we should not scruple to call orders a sacrament. For the ministry of the word has the command of God, and magnificent promises, Rom. i. Is. lv. If orders are understood in this sense, neither should I scruple to call imposition of hands a sacrament. For the Church hath the command to appoint ministers, which ought to be most acceptable to us, for we know that God approves that ministry, *and is present thereat*. And it is of moment to set forth and extol, as much as may be, the ministry of the word, against fanatical men, who dream that the Holy Spirit is given, not by the word, but for some preparations of their own if they sit idle," &c.

And again (Loc. de numero sacram.):

"I approve most thoroughly that ordination be added thereto, (to the sacraments,) *i. e.*, the calling to the ministry of the Church, and the public attestation of that calling. For all these are ordained by a command of the Gospel, as Tit. i. 5, and there is added a promise, the greatest of all, which attests that God really worketh effectually by the ministry of those who are chosen by the voice of the

Church, as that universal saying beareth record of the apostles, and all who transmit the word delivered through the apostles, 'The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.' And Christ saith, John xvii., 'I pray not for these alone,' &c., and John xx. 23. Eph. iv. 8—11. Luke x, 16. John xv. 5. 2 Cor. v. 18, 20. 2 Cor. iii. 6. These, and many like sayings, evidently testify that God worketh effectually by this very ministry of those who teach the Gospel, which ministry He wills to preserve in the Church by a continued calling."

We do not, however, need such authorities; we would rather refer you to the wisdom of our English writers, as Hooker, who speaketh of things as being "*as sacraments*," or Archbishop Wake, who objects not to its being called "a kind of Particular Sacrament."

But before you repeat your jest, allow me one earnest question; When one is set apart for the ministry, and the bishop pronounces over him the words,

"Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands,"

do you think that he receives no spiritual benefit? or that no spiritual benefit is thereby implied? if not, are not the words blasphemy? but if the Holy Ghost be thereby bestowed, if the ordained person "receive the Holy Ghost for the office of a priest in the Church of God," is not ordination to him a means of grace, and so, although not a sacrament, does it not "possess in a high degree the sacramental character?" and ought this subject to be treated of in merriment?

Again, a writer after having, in a very interesting paper, pointed out the notices of an extensive Christian ritual contained in Scripture itself, adduced two passages, "in further illustration of the subject" from Tertullian, A. D. 200, and St. Basil, A. D. 350, both of whom maintain the binding character of usages, which, though not in Scripture, had come down from the Apostles by a "continuous tradition." And who would not? Is not our argument against the modern Church of Rome, that she has introduced "a *corrupt* following of the Apostles," (Art. 25.) "*fond things vainly invented*" and grounded upon no "warranty of Scripture, but rather *repugnant* to the Word of God" (Art. 22.)? The ground taken by the Church of Rome is that all *her present* traditions are to be received, as of equal validity with the written word, because she holds them; our ground, that they are not to be so received, because they cannot be proved to be apostolic, and some are corrupt and vainly invented. Our controversy then with Rome is not an *à priori* question on the value of tradition in itself, or at an earlier period of the Church, or of such traditions, as, though not contained in Scripture, are

primitive, universal, and apostolical, but it is one purely historical, that the Romanist traditions not being such, but, on the contrary, *repugnant* to Scripture, are not to be received. It has manifestly, then, nothing to do with the question between Rome and ourselves, what Tertullian and St. Basil held of traditions which could be proved to be apostolical; nor does our accepting traditions of the *universal Church in their day*, involve our accepting those of the *particular Church of Rome*, after so many centuries of corruption, *in the present*.

In your Romanist character it is natural to say,

"These are the principles which have ever guided the Catholic Church; by deviating from these the nations of Europe have fallen into anarchy and confusion; and it is only by zealous efforts, such as our children of the University are now making for the restoration of those principles, that peace and harmony and unity can be reproduced."

But in your real character how will you excuse the fallacy which your assumed one palmed upon your readers? especially when the writer had accompanied his citations with the remark:

"Tertullian is on the one hand, a very early witness for the existence of the general doctrine which this passage contains, while on the other he gives no sanction to the claims of those later customs on our acceptance, which the Church of Rome upholds, but which cannot be clearly traced to primitive times."

Do you really believe that Tertullian and St. Basil bear out the claims of modern Rome? If not, your assumed character was too hard for your honesty—if you do, I leave you to arrange the question with a really learned divine and Bishop of our day:

"In the passage to which reference has just been made, Tertullian speaks of written and unwritten tradition; but the cases in which he lays any stress upon the authority of the latter, are precisely those which our reformers allowed to be within its province—cases of ceremonies and ritual observances. Of these he enumerates several for which no express warrant can be found in Scripture, and which must consequently have been derived solely from tradition; the forms, for instance, observed in baptism, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and in public prayer."

Bishop Kaye is here referring to the very passage of Tertullian, the quotation of which, together with that of St. Basil, calls forth your reprobation; and we cannot do better than refer you, and ultra-Protestants generally, to the masterly manner in which he treats this whole subject, (Tertullian, p. 202—307. ed. 2.) and especially his refutation of Mr. Thirlwall, (p. 297. sqq. note.)

Or I may refer you to the learned Dr. Hammond, "Seasonable exhortations to all true sons of the Church of England, wherein

is inserted a discourse of heresy in defence of our Church against the Romanist." (§ 3.)

I will cite one passage only, but the whole essay is well deserving of study.

"To this also my concession shall be as liberal as any Romanist can wish, that there are two ways of conveying such revelations to us; one in writing, the other by oral tradition; the former in the Gospels and other writings of the Apostles, &c. which make up the Sacred Writ, or Canon of the New Testament; the latter in the Apostles' preachings to all the Churches of their plantation, which are no where set down for us in the Sacred Writ, but conserved as *deposita* by them to whom they were entrusted."

"And although in sundry respects the former of these be much the more faithful, steady way of conveyance, and for want thereof many things may possibly have perished, or been changed by their passage through many hands (thus being on these grounds confessed by Bellarmine himself, that the Scripture is the most certain and safe rule of belief,) yet there being no less veracity in the tongues than the hands, in the preachings than the writings, of the apostles; nay, 'prior sermo quam liber, prior sensus quam stylus,' saith Tertullian; 'the apostles preached before they writ—planted Churches before they addressed epistles to them;' on these grounds, *I make no scruple to grant that apostolical traditions, such as are truly so, as well as apostolical writings, are equally the matter of that Christian's belief, who is equally secured by the fidelity of the conveyance, that as the one is apostolical writing, so the other is apostolical tradition.*"

In the subsequent chapters, Dr. Hammond illustrates from the rules of Vincentius Lirinensis, "where these qualifications may be found."

I will add one more writer, the great Hooker (and I may note that Whitaker, whom he quotes, leans in some things over-much to Geneva, and so to ultra-Protestantism, and yet is here on the same side.) Truly, if we are herein Papistical, we are so in goodly company, and no otherwise than our whole Church and Hooker were by ultra-Protestants always so accounted.

Hooker then says (Eccl. Pol. i. 14.):

"We do not reject them (the Romish traditions) only because they are not in the Scripture, but because they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwise sufficiently, by any reason, be proved to be of God. That which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be so, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although unwritten, the self-same force and authority with the written laws of God. It is by ours* acknowledged 'that the apostles did in every Church institute and ordain some rites and customs serving for the seemliness of Church regimen; which rites and customs they have not committed unto writing.' Those rites and customs being known to be apostolical, and having

* Whitaker adv. Bellarm. qu. 6. cap. 6.

the nature of things changeable, were no less to be accounted of in the Church than other things of the like degree, that is to say, capable in like sort of alteration, although set down in the apostles' writings. *For both being known to be apostolical, it is not the manner of delivering them unto the Church, but the Author from whom they proceed, which doth give them their force and credit.*"

Again, one of these writers, among the dangers of altering the Liturgy, notices the tendency of change itself to produce the love of changing, the appetite growing with what it feeds on. With this view, he instances objections, which men of *opposite* characters might take to the commencement of the service; as, one might think, "the introductory sentences not evangelical enough;" another, "the form of absolution not strong enough." Now the very object of the Tract, and the character of the illustrations, showed the writer to be (as he indeed is,) content with things as they stand. The jest, however, required that you should represent the contrary as the opinion of the writers of the Tracts, and the Pope feeling for them when they lament concerning the absolution (p. 12,) "that it is a mere declaration, not an announcement of pardon to those who have confessed."

Yet granting that a writer had thought *this* "absolution" not strong enough, this would not make out the writer a Papist, since the absolution in the Communion-service is, (as is right,) stronger than this; and that in the Visitation for the Sick stronger still; so that a person might even wish for a much "stronger" form of absolution, and yet remain within the bounds of our Church. And so little strong did our form appear to the American Episcopalians, that in the Rubric before the absolution, they substituted the words, "*A declaration concerning the Forgiveness of Sins,*" &c. Yet herein we fare better than usual; for you have equally treated (*ibid.*) as Papistical, words wherein another writer (Tracts, No. xvii. p. 4.) embodies our Church's Language in the Visitation for the Sick. If a minister, you must, when called upon, use that same language; whether then it be Papistical or no, we may leave you to decide.

Again, another writer, now asleep in the Lord, gave an historical statement of the gradual compression of the Church services, and especially that which went on in the Romish Church, "*long before the abolition of the Latin service.*" (Tract ix. p. 2.) This the Reformers carried on: it is not Papistical, surely, to say, "unadvisedly;" a person may regret that the Communion and Morning Service are conjoined, and think that, but for this, the Communion would probably have been administered more frequently, and yet not be a Papist. For this compression of services had begun in Papistical times, and the error of the Reformers (if it was one) was compliance with the "spirit of [a Papistical] age." This, however, would have afforded no room for

pleasantry ; and so the whole is represented as being, in our eyes, a departure from Rome, and an error of "our misguided Reformers."

One expression of this writer demanded a candid judgment : he said,

"The idea of united worship, with a view to which identity of time and language had been maintained in different nations, was forgotten."

It is plain that what the writer herein lamented was the loss not of the Latin language as a medium of prayer, but the loss of that feeling of unity, "with a view to which identity of *time*, as well as language, had been maintained in different nations." He could not, and did not, object to the disuse of a "language not understood by the people," (Art. xxiv.) Accordingly he added, "the identity of time had been abandoned, and the *identity of language could not be preserved*." This last sentence would have embarrassed the fiction, and so you have omitted it.

These instances may illustrate the almost certain risk of sacrifice of truth, entailed by such a fiction as that upon which you have ventured. I need not adduce more ; for I have no thought of refuting your statements : this we will do, if ever you take upon yourself seriously to maintain them ; at present I would only show you the danger of such trifling in holy things. Before, however, you venture upon serious controversy, as champion of ultra-Protestantism, I would recommend you to review your armour ;— weapons which you have not proved, however they may make a show in this counterfeit and mockery, will not hold in real earnest. You belong, Sir, to a school which would substitute individual speculation for solid learning and the knowledge of antiquity, and which, consequently, has the reputation of at times reproducing as new, and so giving undue and injurious prominence to, what all divines were before well acquainted with ; and at times, also, has fallen into strange unhistorical errors. Now, whether a certain doctrine be Papistical or no, is matter of history, not of speculation ; and one not versed in history will be liable, perpetually, to confound the earlier truth, or unobjectionable custom, with the later corruption ; especially if he has no very clear idea of Christian theology. Thus you attack—as implying transubstantiation—expressions which convey only the doctrine of the Eucharist, as held in the early Church and our own.

The same want of acquaintance with antiquity, probably led you to confound the early practice of commemorating God's departed servants at the holy communion, and praying for their increased bliss and fuller admission to the beatific vision, with the modern abuse of masses for the dead, and the doctrine of purgatory. You found it stated in the account of the ancient liturgies

(Tract lxiii,) that "prayers for the dead" occurred in the several ancient liturgies, founded upon those of St. Peter, St. James, St. Mark, and St. John.

Our departed friend, namely, put together an interesting paper, showing "the antiquity of the existing Liturgies." From the tract itself, it would appear that his main object was to direct persons' attention to the view taken in those Liturgies of the consecration and oblation of the Eucharist, since the consecration of the Eucharist is now so often regarded as a mere preliminary, instead of being in itself an essential part of the service; and this falls in with a part of the self-exalting rationalism of the day. In giving an account, however, of the points wherein "all the ancient Liturgies now existing, or which can be proved ever to have existed, resemble one another" (p. 7,) he was necessitated to mention "prayers for the dead" (p. 8, 9,) or, as he explains it, "for the rest and peace of all those who have departed this life in God's faith and fear;" and having mentioned that they "all contain (4.) a prayer, answering in substance to ours for the whole state of Christ's Church militant, he added (5,) "and likewise another prayer (which has been excluded from the English Ritual) for the rest and peace," &c.

He carefully guarded, then, against perplexing men's minds; he did not put the question prominently forward; he did not blame the Reformers under Edward VI. for having yielded to the judgment of foreign ultra-performers, against their own previous judgment; he stated the simple fact, that this prayer had been *excluded*, i. e. whereas it had been *retained* on the first putting together of our Liturgy in "Edward VI.'s 1st book," it was *excluded* from the 2nd, at the instigation of Bucer and Calvin; and Bucer's alteration was adopted. The original unbiassed judgment, then, of our Reformers was to retain the prayer; and it argues no tendency to Popery, if any one wish that our Reformers had, in this and other points, for which they had the authority of the early Church, adhered to their first judgment. These same Reformers had at that time a clause in the Litany, which has since been *excluded*, praying against "the tyrannye of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities;" so that you could hardly accuse them of Papistry.*

The following is the part of the prayer omitted:—

We commend unto Thy mercy, O Lord, all other Thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy

* Cranmer had seen and written against the error of Purgatory even under Henry the VIIIth. "The necessary doctrine and erudition of a Christian man," A. D. 1543, is, *in this respect*, a decided advance beyond "The institution of a Christian man," A. D. 1537. (Comp. Formularies of Faith in the reign of Henry VIII., p. 210 and 375-7.)

mercy and everlasting peace ; and that, at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they which be of the mystical body of Thy Son, may altogether be set at His right hand, and hear His most joyful voice, 'Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of My Father, and possess the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world.' Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate."

Now to this prayer neither Calvin nor Bucer objected that it was Papistical. On the contrary, Calvin says, in his letter to the Protector (Epp. p. 39. fol.),

"I hear that in the celebration of the Supper there is repeated a prayer for the departed, *and I well know that this cannot be construed into an approbation of the Papistical Purgatory*. Nor am I ignorant that there can be brought forward *an ancient rite of making mention of the departed*, that so the communion of all the faithful, being united into one body, might be set forth : but there is this irrefragable argument against it, viz. that the Lord's Supper is a thing so holy, that it must not be defiled with any human addition."

Calvin argues further against the practice, 1st, as "not being founded on Scripture"; 2nd, as "not answering the true and lawful use of prayer."

Bucer, again, says, (Censura in Ordinatio Eccl. Opp. Angl. p. 467,)

"I know that this custom of praying for departed saints is very old, although there is no mention of it in the description of the Lord's Supper in Justin Martin."

And having gone over the testimonies from St. Cyprian, Tertullian, St. Andrew, and Dionysius, he subjoins,

"But however old this Dionysius may be, and however great his authority, or that of the other holy fathers, yet we must prefer Divine authority to human, by how much God is greater than man.—Now Holy Scripture teaches neither by word nor example to pray for the dead. And it is forbidden to add or take away from it. Deut. iv. and xii."

Of Scriptural grounds Bucer adduces John v. 24, only, as opposed to this custom, arguing,

"That *the common people* would think that the departed yet lacked that peace, (and so the full mercy of God, whereby He forgives His servants their sins,) and that our prayers were needed to obtain that mercy. No occasion is to be given to this error, especially when we know with what a sea of more than heathen superstition, and with what plagues, Satan has by this false persuasion overwhelmed religion."

It may have been on this ground, as Mr. Palmer conjectured, (English Ritual, tom. ii. p. 94—97,) that these prayers were omitted, as being so connected in the minds of the common people with the idea of purgatory, that their continuance would have

involved the risk of propagating that cruel and pernicious error. If so, the Revisers of the Prayer Book, in abandoning their former ground, did wisely and charitably, and as the necessity of the times demanded; and although neither Calvin nor Bucer thought the practice legitimately connected therewith, yet the *common people* may then well have fallen into the mistake, since yourself, who are said to be a theologian, have now done so: for on this ground alone could you have selected this incidental mention of prayers for God's departed servants, as Papistical.

It may not be amiss to subjoin a few of the remarks of the learned Bp. Collyer* on this our first reformed liturgy.

"This recommending the dead to the mercy of God is no innovation of the Church of Rome; but a constant usage of the primitive Church. To justify this reformed liturgy in this point I shall produce unexceptionable authority."

And having quoted Tertullian, St. Cyprian, the Apostolical Constitutions, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and referred to the ancient liturgies, he subjoins:—

"This custom neither supposes the modern purgatory, nor gives any encouragement to libertinism and vice: not to the latter, for St. Austin, with the apostolical constitutions, affirms, that unless a man dies qualified, he cannot receive any assistance from the prayers of the living. That the ancient Church believed the recommending the dead a serviceable office, we need not question; otherwise, to what purpose was it so generally practised? The custom seems to have gone on this principle, that supreme happiness is not to be expected till the resurrection; and that the interval between death and the end of the world is a state of imperfect bliss. The Church might, therefore, believe her prayers for good people departed might improve their condition, and raise the satisfactions of this period."

And, again, having considered Bucer's objections:

"There is another text urged in favour of Bucer's opinions, 'Blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.' But this place amounts to no censure, either of the primitive practice, or the reformed common prayer-book before us; for 'tis supposed by the ancients and the office last-mentioned, that the dead are discharged from the fatigues of this life, and their works follow them, and that they are happy on the main; however, it does not follow from hence, but that their condition may be improved, and they may be served in some measure by the assistance of the living.—I have already observed, prayer for the dead does not imply purgatory; whence it follows, that though the Church of England condemns the Romish doctrine of purgatory, (Art. 22,) we cannot thence infer her dislike of prayer for the dead."

* Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain, P. ii. Book iv. p. 257.

With regard to your insinuation that those who approve of the primitive practice of praying for the dead, "will feel a new proof that the Church, which has retained this office, is alone worthy of their regard," Collyer furnishes the answer, 1. That the Church of England nowhere restrains her children from praying for their departed friends, if this approves itself to their consciences. 2. That the terms of joining with the Church of Rome are so hard, her corruptions so manifold, that

"supposing the Church of England was chargeable with the omission of a primitive usage, *which is more* than I affirm: 'tis more eligible to adhere to her, than part with her communion upon so remarkable an exchange."

Since Rome has blended the cruel invention of purgatory with the primitive custom of prayer for the dead, (not to speak now of her other corruptions,) it is not in communion with her that any can seek for comfort from this rite.

It would be well for the modern controversialist with Rome to weigh Bishop Bull's language on this subject, (Sermon iii. ed. Burton, and "Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in answer to the Bishop of Meaux' queries," t. ii. p. 260,) lest he involve himself in difficulty for want of making this distinction. Bishop Bull says,

"Prayers for the dead, *as founded on the hypothesis of purgatory (and we no otherwise reject them)*, fall together with it."

And with these he contrasts

"the prayers of the ancient Church, either the common and general commemoration of all the faithful at the oblation of the holy eucharist, or the particular prayers used at the funerals of any of the faithful lately deceased. The former respected their final absolution, and the consummation of their bliss at the resurrection, like as that our Church useth both in the office for the Communion, and in that for the burial of the dead, which indeed seems to be no more than that we daily pray for in that petition of the Lord's Prayer (if we rightly understand it,) 'Thy kingdom come,' " &c.

Indeed, as Bishop Bull here implies, the very idea of an intermediate state involves in it a degree of prayer for God's departed servants; since, knowing them to be in a state of imperfect bliss until the resurrection, whenever we pray for the final "coming of God's kingdom," we do in fact (if we have any thought for the departed) pray at the same time for the perfecting of their bliss. And thus, in the service of the burial for the dead, when we pray God

"of His gracious goodness shortly to accomplish the number of His elect, and to hasten His kingdom; that we, *with all those that are departed in the true faith of His Holy Name*, may have our perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul;"

this undoubtedly implies a prayer for the consummation of the bliss of the departed. And we, who so lose out of mind God's departed servants, have also almost lost the notion of the intermediate state. On the other hand, as Bishop Bull also points out, these prayers for the departed servants of God exclude the false invention of purgatory. Bishop Bull writes—

“In a word, let any understanding and unprejudiced person attentively observe the prayers for the dead in the most undoubtedly ancient liturgies, and he will be so far from believing the Romish purgatory on the account of those prayers, that he will be found to confess that they make directly against it. For (to omit other arguments) they all run (as even that prayer for the dead, which is unduly left by the Romanists in their own canon of the mass as a testimony against themselves) in this form:—‘For all that are in peace or at rest in the Lord.’ Now how can they be said to be ‘at peace or at rest in the Lord,’ who are supposed to be in a state of misery and torment?”

I may add the following extract from the “Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem,” which formed part of the devotions of Bishop Andrews.* As being an ancient liturgy, it of course expresses all which could be meant in this reference to “Ancient Liturgies.”

“Grant that we may all find mercy and favour with all thy saints, who, from the beginning of the world, have pleased thee in their several generations, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith of Thy Christ, from righteous Abel even unto this day; do thou give *them* and us rest in the region of the living in the bosom of our holy Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whence sorrow, grief, and lamentation are banished away, where the light of Thy countenance shines continually; and vouchsafe to bring *them* and us to the full enjoyment of Thy heavenly kingdom.”

I have dwelt the longer upon this subject, as being aware that you have reputed it a vulnerable point, and you have served your purpose well, by giving it a prominence, which it did not occupy in our Tracts, nor even in that one of our departed friend, wherein alone it was mentioned, and that but incidentally and of necessity. The object of his tract (and it was a very laudable one) being to point out the agreement as well as the antiquity of the existing liturgies, it would have been dishonest, wilfully to have suppressed any one point, wherein they so agreed. This, therefore, he stated; meanwhile he expressed no opinion on it, attracted no attention to it, but simply set it down, as he found it, a matter of fact; and but for your acute sense of a weak part, it might have remained un-

* See Dean Stanhope's translation, p. 47, ed. Christian Knowledge Society.

noticed. No evil could have arisen from his simple statement of the fact. You, indeed, may possibly perplex men's minds, little prepared as they are for the discussion of the point, by confounding it with a popish superstition (which Calvin did not do,) and thereby giving arms to opponents of our Church: it is ours to vindicate the early Church and our reformers.

It is, meanwhile, not a little remarkable that the main position of this tract which you have selected for censure, is precisely that incidentally maintained by the learned Archbishop Wake, of whose soundness never was any doubt in the Church. The position was;

"that although the several liturgies have been much interpolated and in parts corrupted, much likewise has been handed down from the first uninterpolated, and that means exist for ascertaining what parts are interpolated and what pure and genuine; *the pure and genuine parts being those wherein all agree.*"

Archbishop Wake says in like manner (Dissert. on the Apostolical Fathers, c. ix. § 20):—

"However, since it can hardly be doubted but that those holy Apostles and Evangelists [St. Peter, St. Mark, and St. James,] did give some directions for the administration of the blessed eucharist in those Churches; it may reasonably be presumed that some of those orders are still remaining in those liturgies which have been brought down to us under their names; and *those prayers wherein they all agree (in sense, at least, if not in words,) were first prescribed in the same, or like terms, by those Apostles and Evangelists*; nor would it be difficult to make a farther proof of this conjecture from the writings of the ancient fathers, if it were needful, in this place, to insist upon it."

Nor even in these last days has "prayer for God's departed servants" been by well-instructed writers confounded with purgatory. The following passage evidently proceeds from the heart of one, whom no one will accuse of a blind adherence to the ancient Church (Short's History of English Church, § 15):

"To pray for the dead was the dictate of human nature, and the practice of the early Church, and no reasonable Christian will blame Dr. Johnson for the cautious manner in which he mentions his mother in his prayers; but in the hands of the Church of Rome this feeling was soon directed to the unscriptural object of delivering the souls of departed friends from purgatory, and the practice converted into a source of profit to the priesthood.—There is no necessary connection between praying for the dead and the belief in purgatory. The Greek Church for instance prays for the dead, without admitting any idea of purgatory. Prayers and oblations for the dead were probably established in England from the first, and a short form of prayer to that effect is inserted in the Canons of Cloveshoo; with regard to the latter doctrine, the Saxon homilists generally refer to the awards of a final judgment, though traditional notices exist, in which there appears to be at first an indistinct, but afterwards more clear

reference to purgatory.—*Later* writers, and among the rest Alfred, adopted the popular notions of purgatory, which were still very different from the opinions on that subject established as articles of Faith by the councils of Florence and Trent.”

Take again the following full statement of another writer, who seems, certainly, over-anxious to vindicate the purity of the foreign ultra-Protestants, against Romish assailants, and so is obviously free from bias. It is from the vindication of the learned Dr. Field,* against a Romish controversialist, who it seems had set you an example which you have faithfully followed, “drawing me,” Dr. F. says, “into the defence of that he knoweth I impugn.”

“In the fourth place he saith : I accept the rule of St. Augustine, that whatsoever is frequented by the universal Church, and was not instituted by Councils, but was always holden, that is believed most rightly to be an Apostolical tradition. And that liberally I add, that whatsoever all, or the most famous or renowned in all ages (or at least in divers ages) have constantly delivered, as received from them that went before them, no man doubting or contradicting it, may be thought to be an apostolical tradition. Whence he thinketh he may conclude inevitably by my allowance that prayer for the dead may be thought to be an Apostolical tradition, many famous and renowned Fathers in divers ages mentioning Prayer for the Dead, and none disliking or reproving it. For answer whereunto I say ; that prayer for the resurrection, public acquittal in the day of judgment, and bliss of them that are fallen asleep, in the sleep of death, is an Apostolical tradition, and so proved by the rule of St. Augustine, and that other added by me ; as likewise prayer made respectively to the passage hence, and entrance into the other world : and hereof there is no controversy between us and our adversaries, but prayer to ease, mitigate, suspend, or wholly take away the pains of any of them that are in hell, or to deliver men out of the supposed purgatory of Papists, hath no proof from either of these rules, as shall appear by that which followeth : and, therefore, this poor novice hath not yet learned his lesson aright, nor knoweth what it is he is to prove. But if he will be content to be informed by me, the thing he must prove (if he desire to gratify his new masters, and to maintain the Romish cause) is, that all the Fathers, or the most famous amongst them, from the beginning of Christianity, did in the several ages wherein they lived, teach men to pray for the deliverance of their friends and brethren, out of the pains of purgatory ; which, if he will undertake to do, he must bring some better proofs, than such as are taken from the mutual dependance and conjunction of Purgatory, and prayer for the dead, which yet principally he seemeth to urge. For many Catholic Christians (whom this gentleman must not condemn) made prayers for such as they never deemed to be in Purgatory. Neither did the ancient Catholic Church (as he fondly imagineth) in her prayers and

* Of the Church, App. p. 1, § 4, p. 750, sqq., where is much more on this subject.

oblations for the dead, intend to relieve souls temporarily afflicted in a penal estate ; but in her general intention (whatsoever private conceits particular men had) desired only the resurrection, public acquittal, and perfect consummation and blessedness of the departed, and respectively to the passage hence, and entrance into the other world, the utter deletion, and full remission of their sins, the perfect purging out of sin, being in, or immediately upon the dissolution in the last instant of this life, and the first of the next, and not while the soul and body remain conjoined. This is strongly proved, because the most ancient amongst the Fathers, make but two sorts of men dying, and departing out of this world, the one sinners, the other righteous; the one profane, the other holy : so Dionysius in his Hierarchy ; so Epiphanius against Arius ; so Ambrose in his Book de Bono Mortis ; and Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechism ; and all of them teach, that the souls of the just are in a joyful, happy, and good estate, and present with God in an excellent sort, immediately upon their dissolution, and departure hence. ‘The falling asleep of the holy ones,’ saith Dionysius, ‘is in joy and gladness, and immoveable hope, because they are come to the end of their combats ; and again, they know they shall altogether be partakers of the rest of Christ, being come to the end and bound of this life : so that they are filled with holy joy and gladness, and with great delight and pleasure, enter the way of the most happy regeneration.’”

And now I would venture to ask any Clergyman, I would even appeal to yourself, if a Parochial Minister, whether, when you have heard of the death of one of your flock, of whom you hoped well, your first impulse has not been to pray to God to make up to the departed whatever had been deficient in your ministrations ? whether (as Luther did) you have not prayed for the perfecting and increased blessedness of a departed friend or relation, even though you have subsequently checked yourself ? whether you did not find a comfort from that prayer ? and whether this dictate of human nature, warranted as it is by the early Church, and distinct from the Romish error, *may* not after all be implanted by the God of nature—may not be the voice of God within us ? If this be, but possible, is this a subject to be treated lightly ? Are “prayer” and “the souls of God’s departed saints” fit topics for a just ?

One word more on a connected subject ; you represent the writers as dissatisfied with the changes formerly made in the services, and wishing to introduce others more comfortable to the ritual of Rome. (p. 12.)

This (as I have already in part shown) is not so ; for, first, you have (as is your wont) confounded the primitive with the Romish ritual : secondly, we never have, nor do we wish for any alteration in the liturgy of our Church ; we bless God that our lot has fallen in her bosom,—that He has preserved in her

the essentials of primitive doctrine and a liturgy so holy ; and although I cannot but think its first form preferable, alteration is out of the question : THERE CANNOT BE REAL ALTERATION, WITHOUT A SCHISM ; and as we claim to have our own consciences respected, and not to have any doctrines suppressed which the formularies of our Church now express, so, even if we had the power of change, would we respect the consciences of others, and not urge upon our superiors, or seek for support in behalf of the restitution of that more ancient form, which we hold abstractedly the better.

The whole course of the Tracts has, as you know, and yourself reproach us with, been against innovation ; how, then, is it honest in your assumed character, to give us the following advice :—

You cannot be certain that those in authority would consent to those alterations which you regard as improvements ; and you must not be hasty in urging them too far ;”

as if we had ever had any such wish ?

I may yet add another instance of the risk, which (for want of better acquaintance with our old divines) you run of involving unawares in your censures those giants of old times, against whom, for very shame, a modern should not open his mouth, while you think you are only attacking men of modern days like yourself, οἱ τοὶ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν.

Every system of theology, as indeed every tendency of mind, every good disposition, every performance of religious duty, has its dangers, the danger of degenerating ; and so, of necessity, has Protestantism. One of the writers of the Tracts brought forward some of these in warning, especially the tendency to require too rigid argumentation, explicit proof, and not to yield to conviction until compelled. The Romanist is too easy of belief, believes on false grounds ; the *tendency* of the Protestant is, to be over-difficult of belief, not to believe on sufficient and true grounds. This was illustrated by reference to the prevailing feelings in some quarters with regard to episcopacy ; and it was shown, that the same principle would consistently extend not only to infant baptism, but to a case of “ *doctrine*, of necessary doctrine, doctrine the very highest and most sacred, where the argument lies as little upon the surface of Scripture,—where the proof, though *most conclusive*, is as indirect and circuitous as that for episcopacy, viz., the doctrine of the Trinity. Where is this solemn and comfortable mystery formally stated in Scripture, as we find it in the Creed ? Why is it not ? Let a man consider whether all the objections which he urges against the Scripture argument for Episcopacy may not be turned against his own belief in the Trinity. It is a happy thing for themselves that men are inconsistent ; yet it is miserable to advocate and establish a

principle, which, not in their own case indeed, but in the case of others who learn it of them, leads to Socinianism. This being considered, can we any longer wonder at the awful fact, that the descendants of Calvin, the first Presbyterian, are at the present day in the number of those who have denied the Lord who bought them?"

It certainly was not any common mind, which saw how a principle, now so commonly avowed in the instance of episcopacy, will, when carried out, ultimately affect men's belief in the highest doctrines of the faith: it was also popular ground to take, and a great temptation, to represent these writers, as weakening the evidence for the doctrine of the Trinity—and you have fallen into it. I must own that I do not understand all which your words would insinuate; but the tone of triumph in which it is announced implies that you have found, in your opinion, a weak point. You call it (p. 37, 38.)

"a noble passage, which we can never sufficiently admire;"

you tell us,

"you can always triumphantly appeal to your own writings to prove that you have always maintained on abstract grounds, even when you were not assailing individuals, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not explicitly revealed in Scripture. We shall cite the passage we allude to, because we delight in transcribing truth, and because we would recommend our beloved children to have it engraven on the doors of their houses, as a public announcement of the orthodoxy of their faith, and the righteousness of their conduct."

But what, then, if this statement, for which its author is thus assailed, occur in the writings of those who have been ever regarded as great lights of our Church, and that, in relation to the same subjects? Your irony will reach rather further than you intended.

I will cite two only, Hooker and Bp. Beveridge.

Hooker then says (Eccl. Pol. i. 41.)

"There hath been some doubt, likewise, whether *containing in Scripture*, do import express setting down in plain terms, or else *comprehending* in such sort, that by reason we may from thence conclude all things which are necessary. Against the former of these two constructions, instance hath sundry ways been given. For our belief in the Trinity, the co-eternity of the Son of God with his Father, the Proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, the duty of baptizing infants; these, with such other principal points, the necessity whereof is by none denied, are notwithstanding in Scripture nowhere to be found by express literal mention; only deduced they are out of Scripture by collection."

Bp. Beveridge is much fuller, speaks upon the whole subject, and yet it would be difficult to point out any difference between his statements and those of the Tracts. The passage is part of

the preface to his learned Essay on the Canons of the Primitive Church :

“ Yet, indeed, this holy Scripture, although in those precepts which are absolutely necessary to the salvation of every man, it be very clear and plain to all ; yet in things relating to doctrine and the outward discipline of the Church, it is not, on account of its very depth, understood in the same way by all ; but ‘ different people interpret its divine sayings differently, so that it would seem as if as many meanings almost might be extracted from it, as there are men,’ as Vincentius Lirinensis of old observed, and it abundantly appears from heretics and schismatics, who each obtain their own perverse opinions and practice from holy Scripture, interpreted after their own way. In matters, then, of this sort, if we would be secure against erring or stumbling, first of all, beyond question, we must beware of adhering too pertinaciously to the private opinions or conjectures, whether of ourselves or others ; rather should we review what the whole Church, or at least the majority of Christians, thought thereon, and acquiesce in that opinion, in which Christians of all ages agreed. For as ‘ in all things the agreement of all is the voice of nature,’ as Cicero saith, so in things of this nature, ‘ the agreement of all Christians may well be accounted the voice of the Gospel.’ But there are many things, which, although they are not read expressly and definitely in holy Scripture, yet by the common consent of all Christians are obtained from it. For instance, ‘ *That* in the Ever Blessed Trinity Three distinct Persons are to be worshipped, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that each of these is very God, and yet that there is only one God : that Christ is Θεάνθρωπος, very God and very man in one and the same Person.*’ These and the like truths, although they are not delivered in so many words and syllables, either in the Old or New Testament, yet all Christians have been agreed upon them, as being founded in both ; excepting only some few heretics, of whom in religion no greater account is to be had, than, in nature, of monsters. So, also, ‘ *that infants are to be cleansed by holy baptism, and sponsors to be employed in that Sacrament ; that the Lord’s Day or the first in each week is to be religiously kept ; that the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of the Lord into heaven, and the coming of the Holy Ghost, are to be commemorated every year ; that the Church is to be every where governed by Bishops, distinct from the Presbyters, and set over them.*’ These and other things of the like nature are no where directed in holy Scripture, expressly and by name ; nevertheless, for fourteen hundred years from the apostles, they were everywhere publicly received by this Church ; nor can, within that period, any Church be found which does not agree therein. So that they are, as it were, *universal notions*, implanted in the minds of all Christians from the first, not so much from any particular passages of Scripture as from all ; from the general scope and tenor of the entire Gospel ; from the nature and design of the religion therein established ; and from the uniform tradition of the apostles, who, together with the faith, delivered down

* The Italics are Bp. Beveridge’s.

Church-rites of this sort, and (so to speak) general interpretations of the Gospel, throughout the whole world ; otherwise it were incredible, yea, it were altogether impossible, that they should be received with such universal consent, everywhere and always."

III. IMPUTATION OF FALSE MOTIVES, AND SO SLANDERING.

There is, however, another class of desertions of the truth, which, in your natural character, as we are persuaded, you would most abhor, but which your assumed one has forced upon you ; I mean, imputation of dishonesty to men whom, in your conscience, you believe and know to be honest. This was indeed a necessary part of the fiction ; for an agreement with the Church of Rome in things indifferent, or upon which our Church has not deemed it necessary to pronounce, would even to ultra-Protestants appear to involve no very serious charge. It became requisite, then, to insinuate that they agreed with Rome further than was expressed, although prudential or other motives kept them from avowing it. This the fiction enabled you to do covertly, since such dishonesty has ever been part of the corrupt policy of modern Rome. Hence such phrases as—

"We make allowance for those difficulties which impede your perception or *your avowal* of the truth." (p. 6.)

Further, you know that these authors had written also against Popery, and republished older writings against it: their very tracts are known by the name of "*Tracts against Popery and Dissent*," although, when they were commenced, Dissent was every where a pressing evil: Popery had scarcely begun to bestir itself, and was therefore the less noticed.* You know that all occasions of guarding against the corruptions of Rome had been used in the very tracts corrective of dissent. Such writers, however, would have been but bad allies to the Pope, and therefore this proceeding must, by the laws of fiction, be represented as insincere. Hence such passages as—

"We pardon some expressions towards us ; compelled, no doubt, partly by the unhappy circumstances of your country. You have indeed sometimes employed terms which we well know our adversaries use in derision of us ; but, we repeat, we can pardon these, whether they are the result of prejudices still entertained by you, or *are employed for some other reason*. [p. 6, 7.] That communion, of which the present circumstances of your country have made you, *almost unavoidably*, members. (p. 11.) While we perceive with delight that you have always spoken, in your own persons, in accordance with our sentiments on this head, you have, at the same time, selected some tracts from early writers of your communion, in which

* A new series of "*Tracts against Romanism*" had meanwhile been actually commenced, although not then published.

our sentiments are impugned. These old tracts will not be read with much attention, compared, at least, with your own more lively productions : they can too be readily withdrawn when it is expedient : for they are not a pledge of your opinions as strong as your own writings. In the mean time, you may appeal to your republication of them as a proof that you have not leagued yourselves with us."

Now of all this, Sir, you do not believe one syllable ; you do *not* think that, either in the republication of the older, or the protests of the more modern tracts against Popery, their editors or authors were actuated by any such motives ;* while you impute insincerity, you have reason to believe them as sincere as yourself. It is an ill tree which brings forth fruit thus corrupt.

But is it then a duty to forget that Rome was our mother, through whom we were born to Christ ; that she was the instrument chosen by God's good providence to bring the Gospel to the wild Heathen tribes from which most of us are sprung ? Are we to be so engrossed with modern controversies, and modern corruptions, as to forget ancient heresies, and those the most deadly, those of Arius and Pelagius, against which she maintained the faith once delivered to the Saints ?—are we to forget all past gratitude, all bowels of mercy towards her who was our mother ? So to pray *against* her corruptions as not to pray *for* her, to cherish no memory of what she was, to Europe and to ourselves ? and in her present guilt, to forget our own gratitude ? What should we think, if in some future age, New Zealand and Taheite were to cast out our name as evil ? She has been an unnatural mother, but are we therefore to be unnatural children ? Should we glory in a mother's shame ?

Let me quote the warm language of a modern writer,† whose bias lay in an opposite direction, and whose words come fresh from a conscience freeing itself from such ingratitude.

"The aboriginal Briton may dispute the gratitude which he owes to the church of Rome for his conversion ; the Englishman, who derives his blood from Saxon veins, will be ungrateful if he be not ready to confess the debt which Christian Europe owes to Rome ; and to profess, that whenever she shall cast off those inventions of men, which now cause a separation between us, we shall gladly pay her such honours as are due to the country which was instrumental in bringing us within the pale of the universal church of Jesus Christ."

There is one more evil desertion of truth, which I fear cannot be ascribed to any wish to "adorn your tale," although you have

* Meanwhile, however, the calumny is spread in real earnest. The anonymous compiler of the 'Specimens of Theological Teaching,' &c. among the very few statements on which he ventures, echoes it, 'Indeed, while these writers profess their love and reverence for the Church of Rome, [as it is ?], they take care to protest against it, as all Protestants of course must do.' (p. 37.)

† Short's Sketch of the History of the Church of England, sec. 14.

thereby been enabled to convey it in a form less manifestly offensive. You say,

"Another piece of advice which we shall give to you, (as we give it to all our Missionaries,) is, that you should adopt every means to undermine the influence of those whose writings hold out no hope that they may be won over to the true Church. They are, in truth, dangerous men, and you should represent them as such. Be not deceived by their apparent amiability, by their virtuous conduct, or by their extent of learning. These very circumstances render them the more to be dreaded. Suffer not such men to be the instructors of youth. Do not permit them to occupy those places which public spirit alone ought to make you anxious to occupy, even independently of any desire for your individual advancement." (p. 34.)

I can the less lay this to the account of the fiction, because it is manifestly the one object of your whole attack upon these writers; whether out of private friendship to Dr. Hampden, or of alarm for yourself, as a member of the same school—nam tua res agitur, cum proximus ardet Ucalegon—it is notorious that you imagined these writers to be the principal authors of the measures taken in consequence of that unhappy appointment, and that your avowed object was, to "effect a diversion."* Herein you were mistaken; since there prevailed throughout Oxford one universal feeling of alarm, (which, under the name of "panic," the heathen, more religiously than we, would have ascribed to "the gods,") as soon as the appointment was known. These individuals but joined what already existed. But I would now speak of the truth of the imputation only; you have known, or have been aided (we have ground to think) by others acquainted with those of whom you speak; and you dare not, in your own person, avow your belief, or even your suspicion, of the truth of the allegation, which, under your assumed character, you have insinuated. You know and believe it to be

* The object, thus covertly conveyed in this first essay, is now boldly avowed in the "Specimens of Theological Teaching," and in the Edinburgh Review. To any one acquainted with Oxford, the notion is altogether absurd: there is in Oxford, happily, far too much thoughtfulness and scrupulousness to be influenced by any party, however powerful: men here form their individual convictions, according to their own consciences; party-feeling never existed, nor had it existed, would it have had any influence; but, in truth, individuals of every shade of religious opinion within the latitude left free by our Articles, were united by one feeling of common danger impending over the Church, and that, independently of each other: they met and acted together spontaneously, actuated only by one common apprehension. The opinions, then, of a certain number of the "Corpus Committee," is, in reality, nihil ad rem; but will any one say that the charges against Dr. Hampden were confined to *undervaluing* antiquity, or the sacraments, or the authority of the Church, or that the prominent charges were not rather his vague and Sabellian notions on the doctrine of the Trinity, the rationalizing of the Atonement, and generally, a system opposed to the Articles? The Articles of our Church, not the teaching of any set of men, were made our standard; and to this standard and primitive antiquity would we appeal for ourselves.

untrue ; and thus there is another evil of these unhappy disguises, that they furnish men the temptation of half saying, what they would shrink from speaking openly, as knowing or suspecting it to be untrue : but now, if untrue, it is to pass as part of the jest, and so they take courage, and stifle their consciences.

For ourselves, you will have done us good service ; your attack will fall harmless alike on those who are now with the Lord, or upon those who remain ; but your revival of the old Presbyterian cry against “ Prelacy and Popery,” will show the members of our Church what is really censured under the name of Popery, they will see the necessity of striking back into the old paths, and manfully avowing truths, which many of late have shrunk from, as invidious. You, Sir, have been consistent : it is, if we are rightly informed, a favourite maxim with you that the bishops have been the great hinderers of the development of the Reformation for the last 300 years ; *i. e.*, of such development as Germany has suffered under for the last half century, and from which she is now in part recovering. The Rationalists, it is known, ever maintained the same ; they also complained that our bishops were the great hinderances to the extension of their theories among us. Therein they saw, indeed, but a portion of the truth ; since our bishops were produced by the system, which under God’s blessing they contributed to perpetuate ; but still they saw that our system possessed a principle of stability, or as they deemed it, stationariness, foreign to their own. Those who wish well to our Church will now see who, under Almighty God, are the real upholders of sound doctrine among us ; they who respect the office of a bishop, even antecedently to any consideration of individual merit in the person consecrated thereto, or they who, as yourself, (p. 16.) ridicule such respect ; they will see that the cry of Popery is but a feint devised by the arch-enemy of the Church, whereby to hurry men down the steep descent of ultra-Protestantism to its uniform end, the “ denial of the Lord who bought them.” And knowing that that Church alone is safe who guards the deposit of sound doctrine committed unto her, they will not be scared by shadows to abandon the reality, or shrinking from the reproach which our forefathers bore faithfully, fall into the toils, on either side spread for them, whether of the Socinian or the Papal anti-Christianism.

Christ Church, St. Mark’s Day.*

* See Collect for the Day.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

No. 78.

(*Ad Populum.*)

CATENA PATRUM.

No. III.

TESTIMONY OF WRITERS IN THE LATER ENGLISH CHURCH
TO THE DUTY OF MAINTAINING QUOD SEMPER, QUOD UBIQUE,
QUOD AB OMNIBUS TRADITUM EST.

THE following extracts from English Divines, are but expositions and comments upon the celebrated Tract of Vincentius Lirinensis* on Heresy, which has been so generally adopted by them, that it may justly be considered as the formal manifestation of our Church as regards all the controversies of the last three hundred years. In selecting them, it has been thought advisable, as in the two previous Catenas, not to include the writings of the Reformers of the 16th century, because the particular complexion of their opinions is the very subject keenly debated and claimed by opposite schools of opinion at the present day. It has been thought safer to show that the Succession of our Standard Divines ever since their times, understood them to hold that view of doctrine which it has been the endeavour of these Tracts to recommend; and that no other can be taken without contradicting both that illustrious Succession itself, and its judgment concerning the Reformers.

And in the next place, were the Reformers directly appealed to in these Catenas, it might be plausibly asked why the list stopped with them, and did not ascend to the generation before them, as if they were to be considered the founders of our Church, instead of being, as they are really, one link in a chain. No greater injury can be done them than to make it appear, (as is too often done at this day,) that they occupied or professed a position which belongs only to heretics, that of originating the faith they maintained. Against such a notion especially, the subject of the pres-

* This Tract has just been republished, with a translation, at Oxford, and should be carefully studied by all who wish to understand in what sense the English Church upholds tradition.

ent selection of Testimonies is expressly directed ; in which it is maintained that no individuals, since the Apostles, are by themselves expositors of the will of Christ : that the unanimous witness of Christendom is the only, and the fully sufficient, and the really existing guarantee of the whole revealed Faith ; that Catholicity is the only test of truth.

Considering the copiousness and value of the following extracts, the doctrine maintained in them need not here be discussed. With relation to the supreme authority of inspired Scripture it stands thus :—Catholic tradition teaches revealed truth, Scripture proves it ; Scripture is the document of Faith, tradition the witness of it ; the true Creed is the Catholic interpretation of Scripture, or Scripturally proved tradition ; Scripture by itself teaches mediately and proves decisively ; tradition by itself proves negatively and teaches positively ; Scripture and tradition taken together are the joint Rule of Faith.

Acknowledgment must here be made for the kind assistance of two friends of the compiler, who have supplied him with many valuable references.

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| 2. Convocation of 1571. | 23. Heylin. |
| 3. Queen's Council of 1582. | 24. Commissioners of 1662. |
| 4. Bilson. | 25. Pearson. |
| 5. Hooker. | 26. Barrow. |
| 6. Convocation of 1603. | 27. Bull. |
| 7. Overall. | 28. Stillingfleet. |
| 8. Morton. | 29. Kenn. |
| 9. Field. | 30. Beveridge. |
| 10. White. | 31. Patrick. |
| 11. Hall. | 32. Sharp. |
| 12. Laud. | 33. Potter. |
| 13. Montague. | 34. Grabe. |
| 14. Jackson. | 35. Brett. |
| 15. Mede. | 36. Hicks. |
| 16. Ussher. | 37. Collier. |
| 17. Bramhall. | 38. Leslie. |
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| 19. Cosin. | 40. Bingham. |
| 20. Hammond. | 41. Jebb. |
| 21. Thorndike. | 42. Van Mildert. |

JEWELL, BISHOP.—*A Sermon preached at Paul's Cross.*

Yet are there some that whisper in corners, that the Mass is a blessed and a Catholic thing, and that the holy Communion, which now GOD of His great mercy hath restored to us, is wicked and schismatical, and therefore they murmur against it, therefore they refrain it, and will not come to it. O merciful GOD, who would think there could be so much wilfulness in the heart of man! O Gregory! O Augustine! O Hierome! O Chrysostom! O Leo! O Dionyse! O Anacletus! O Sistus! O Paul! O CHRIST! if we be deceived herein, ye are they that have deceived us. You have taught us these schisms and divisions, you have taught us these Heresies. Thus ye ordered the holy Communion in your time, the same we received at your hand, and have faithfully delivered it unto the people. And that ye may the more marvel at the wilfulness of such men, they stand this day against so many old Fathers, so many Doctors, so many examples of the primitive Church, so manifest and so plain words of the holy Scriptures, and yet have they herein not one Father, not one Doctor, not one allowed example of the primitive Church to make for them. And when I say, no one, I speak not this in vehemency of spirit, or heat of talk, but even as before GOD, by the way of simplicity and truth, lest any of you should haply be deceived, and think there is more weight in the other side, than in conclusion there shall be found. And therefore once again I say, of all the words of the holy Scriptures, of all the examples of the primitive Church, of all the old Fathers, of all the ancient Doctors, in these causes they have not one.

Here the matter itself that I have now in hand, putteth me in remembrance of certain things that I uttered unto you, to the same purpose, at my last being in this place. I remember I laid out then, here before you, a number of things that are now in controversy, whereunto our adversaries will not yield. And I said, perhaps boldly, as it might then seem to some men, but as I myself and the learned of our adversaries themselves do well know, sincerely and truly, that none of all them, that this day stand against us, are able, or shall ever be able to prove against us, any one of all those points, either by the Scriptures, or by example of the primitive Church, or by the old Doctors, or by the ancient general Councils.

Since that time it hath been reported in places, that I spake then more than I was able to justify and make good. However, these reports were only made in corners, and therefore ought the less to trouble me. But if my sayings had been so weak, and might so easily have been reproved, I marvel that the parties never yet came to the light, to take the advantage. For my promise was, and that openly here before you all, that if any man were able to

prove the contrary, I would yield and subscribe to him and he should depart with the victory. Loth I am to trouble you with rehearsal to such things as I have spoken afore; and yet because the case so requireth, I shall desire you that have already heard me, to bear the more with me in this behalf. Better it were to trouble your ears with twice hearing of one thing, than to betray the truth of God. The words that I then spake, as near as I can call them to mind, were these: If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic Doctor, or Father, or out of any old general Council, or out of the holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive Church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved that there was any private mass in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after CHRIST; or that there was then any Communion ministered unto the people under one kind; or that the people had their common prayers then in a strange tongue, that they understood not: or that the Bishop of Rome was then called an universal Bishop, or the head of the universal Church; or that the people was then taught to believe that CHRIST's Body is really,* substantially, corporally, carnally or naturally in the Sacrament, &c. . . . If any man alive were able to prove any of these articles, by any one clear or plain clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures or of the old Doctors, or of any old general Council, or by any example of the primitive Church: I promised then that I would give over and subscribe unto him.

These words are the very like, I remember, I spake here openly before you all. And these be the things that some men say I have spoken and cannot justify. But I, for my part, will not only not call in any thing that I then said, (being well assured of the truth therein,) but also will lay more matter to the same: that if they that seek occasion, have any thing to the contrary, they may have the larger scope to reply against me.

Wherefore, besides all that I have said already, I will say further, and yet nothing so much as might be said. If any one of all our adversaries be able clearly and plainly to prove, by such authority of the Scriptures, the old Doctors and Councils, as I said before, that it was then lawful for the Priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely and in silence to himself; or that the Priest had then authority to offer up CHRIST unto His Father; or to communicate and receive the Sacrament for another as they do, or to apply the virtue of CHRIST's death and passion to any

* Jewell must not be considered to differ from the words "verily and indeed" in our Catechism. He interprets "really" by "*carnally*"; the Catechism opposes "verily and indeed" to *figuratively* and *nominally*. A mystical, spiritual, true, and positive presence of CHRIST's blessed Body and Blood, is at once not *carnal* and not *figurative*.

man by means of the Mass : or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that the Mass *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sin, &c. &c. . . . if any one of all our adversaries be able to avouch any one of all these articles, by any such sufficient authority of Scriptures, Doctors, or Councils, as I have required, as I said before, so say I now again, I am content to yield unto him and to subscribe. But I am well assured that they shall never be able truly to allege one sentence. And because I know it, therefore I speak it, lest ye haply should be deceived.*—*Works*, pp. 57, 58.

CONVOCATION OF A. D. 1571.

They shall in the first place be careful never to teach any thing from the pulpit, to be religiously held and believed by the people, but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and collected out of that very doctrine by the Catholic Fathers, and ancient Bishops.—*Canon about Preachers.*

THE QUEEN'S COUNCIL, A. D. 1582.

If the Papists shall show any ground of Scripture, and wrest it of their sense, let it be showed by the interpretation of the Old Doctors, such as were before Gregory I. But if they can show no Doctor that agreed with them in their said opinion before that time, then to conclude that they have no succession in that doctrine from the time of the Apostles, and above four hundred years after (when doctrine and religion were most pure,) for that they can show no predecessor whom they might succeed in the same.—*Rules given to the Bishops* ; vide *Strype's Whitgift*, p. 98.

BILSON, BISHOP.—*On Subjection and Rebellion.*

PHI. What one point of our Religion is not Catholic ?

THEO. No one point of that, which this realm hath refused, is truly Catholic. Your having and adoring of images in the Church : your public service in a tongue not understood of the people : your gazing on the Priest while he alone eateth and drinketh at the LORD's table : your barring the people from the LORD's cup : your sacrificing the Son of GOD to His Father for the sins of the world : your adoring the elements of bread and wine with Divine honour instead of CHRIST : your seven sacraments : your shrift : your releasing souls out of Purgatory by prayers and pardons : your compelling Priests to live single : your meritorious

* Vide also *Apol.* pp. 43, 53—5, 62, 63. *Defence*, pp. 614—617.

vowing and performing pilgrimages: your invocation of Saints departed: your rules of perfection for Monks and Friars: your relying on the Pope as head of the Church, and Vicar General unto CHRIST: these with infinite other superstitions in action, and errors in doctrine, we deny to have any foundation in the Scriptures, or confirmation in the general consent or use of the Catholic Church.

PHI. We stick not on your words, which you utter to your most advantage: but be not these things as we defend them, and you reject them, Catholic?

THEO. Nothing less.

PHI. What count you Catholic?

THEO. You were best define that: it toucheth you nearest.

PHI. I mean Catholic, as Vincentius doth, that wrote more than one thousand one hundred years ago.

THEO. So do I. And in that sense no point of your Religion, which this realm hath refused, is Catholic.

PHI. All.

THEO. None.

PHI. These are but brag.

THEO. Indeed they are so. Nothing is more common in your mouths than Catholic: and in your Faith nothing less.

PHI. Who proveth that?

THEO. Yourselves; who, after you have made great stir for Catholic, Catholic, and all Catholic, when you come to issue, you return it with a *non est inventus*.

PHI. Will you lie a little?

THEO. I might use that sometimes, which is so often with you: but in this I do not.

PHI. I say you do.

THEO. That will appear, if you take any of these points which I have rehearsed.

PHI. Which you will.

THEO. Nay, the choice shall be yours, because the proof must be yours.

PHI. Take them as they lie. Having and worshipping of images in the Church, is it not Catholic?

THEO. It is not.

PHI. Eight hundred years ago the General Council of Nice, the second, decreed it lawful, and ever since it hath been used.

THEO. Catholic should have four conditions by Vincentius' rule, and this hath not one of them. There can nothing be Catholic, unless it be confirmed two ways: first by the authority of God's law, and next by the tradition of the Catholic Church, not that the Canon of Scripture is not perfect and sufficient enough for all points of Faith, but because many men draw and stretch the Scriptures to their fancies, therefore it is very needful that the

line of the Prophetical and Apostolical interpretation should be directed by the rule of the Ecclesiastical and Catholic sense. Now in the Catholic Church herself we must take heed we hold that which hath been believed at all times, in all places, of all persons, for that is truly and properly Catholic.

By this rule your erecting and adoring of images in the Church is not Catholic. For first it is prohibited by God's law: and where the next goeth against you, the gloss cannot help you. If there be no precept for it in the word of God, in vain do you seek in the Church for the Catholic sense and interpretation of that which is no where found in the Scriptures. If it be not Prophetical nor Apostolical, it cannot be Catholic nor Ecclesiastical.

Again, how hath this been always in the Church, which was first decreed seven hundred and eighty years after CHRIST? It is too young to be a Catholic that began so late: you must go nearer CHRIST and His Apostles, if you will have it Catholic or ancient.

Thirdly: all places and persons did not admit the decrees of that Catholic. For besides Africa, and Asia the greater, which never received them, the Churches of England, France, and Germany did contradict and refute both their actions and reasons. And in Greece itself not long before, a synod of three hundred and thirty Bishops at Constantinople condemned as well the suffering as reverencing of Images.—p. 546.

Id.—Perpetual Government of CHRIST's Church.

"Were the word of God in this point indifferent, which for aught I yet see is very resolute against them, the general consent of all antiquity, that never so expounded St. Paul's words, nor ever mentioned any Lay-Presbyters to govern the Church, is to me a strong rampire against all these new devices." "For my part, what I find generally received in the first Church of CHRIST, I will see it strongly refuted before I will forsake it."—*Epistle to Reader*, and p. 280.

HOOKER, PRESBYTER AND DOCTOR.—*Ecclesiastical Polity.*

But our naming of JESUS CHRIST our Lord is not enough to prove us Christians, unless we also embrace that Faith which CHRIST hath published unto the world. To show that the Angel of Pergamus continued in Christianity, behold how the Spirit of CHRIST speaketh, "Thou keepest my name, and thou hast not denied my Faith:" concerning which Faith, "the rule thereof," saith Tertullian, "is one alone, immoveable, and no way possible to be better framed anew!" What rule that is, he sheweth by rehears-

ing those few articles of Christian belief. And before Tertullian, Ireney : " The Church, though scattered through the whole world, unto the utmost borders of the earth, hath from the Apostles and their Disciples received belief." The parts of which belief he also reciteth, in substance the very same with Tertullian, and thereupon inferreth, " This Faith, the Church being spread far and wide, preserveth, as if one house did contain them : these things it equally embraceth, as though it had even one soul, one heart, and no more : it publisheth, teacheth, and delivereth these things with uniform consent, as if GOD had given it but one only tongue wherewith to speak. He which amongst the guides of the Church is best able to speak, uttereth no more than this ; and less than this the most simple doth not utter" when they make profession of their faith.—*Book* iii. § 1.

CONVOCATION OF A. D. 1603.

. . . . Following the royal steps of our most worthy King, because he therein followeth the rules of the Scriptures and the practice of the Primitive Church, we do commend to all the true members of the Church of England these our directions and observations ensuing. . . . The honour and dignity of the name of the cross begat a reverend estimation even in the Apostles' times (for aught that is known to the contrary), of the sign of the cross, which the Christians shortly after used in all their actions. . . This use of the sign of the cross in baptism was held in the Primitive Church, as well by the Greeks as the Latins, with one consent and great applause. . . This continual and general use of the sign of the cross is evident by many testimonies of the ancient Fathers. . . But the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it. Nay, so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies, which do neither endamage the Church of GOD nor offend the minds of sober men ; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders.—*Canon* 30.

OVERALL, BISHOP.—*Letter to Grotius.*

I believe there are few things in your book which will not be approved by the Bishop of Ely (Launcelot Andrews) and the rest of our more learned Divines : unless, perhaps, they may hesitate respecting those passages which seem to give to lay

powers a definitive judgment in matters of Faith; to deny the true power and jurisdiction of Pastors of the Church; and to rank Episcopacy among unnecessary things. For our Divines hold, that the right of definitive judgment, in matters of Faith, is to be given to Synods of Bishops, and other learned Ministers of the Church, chosen and convened for this purpose, according to the usage of the Ancient Church; who shall determine, from the Holy Scriptures, explained by the consent of the Ancient Church, and not by the rival spirit of Neoterics.*

MORTON, BISHOP.

I do therefore here solemnly profess, in the presence of Almighty God, that by His grace preventing and assisting me, I have always lived, and purpose to die, in the true Catholic Faith wherein I was baptized; firmly believing all the Canonical Scripture of the Old and New Testament, and fully assenting to every article of all those three Creeds, (commonly called the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed, and the Athanasian Creed,) which in the Ancient Church were accounted the adequate rules of Faith, and have accordingly been received as such, by the Church of England.

As for Councils, that are free and generally consisting of competent persons, lawfully summoned, and proceeding according to the word of God, such as were the four first, viz. those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; I do reverence them as the supreme tribunals of the Church of CHRIST upon earth, for judging of heresies, and composing differences in the Church. And as I utterly condemn all heresies that have been condemned by any of them, so I heartily wish that all the present differences in the Church of GOD might be determined by such a free General Council, as any of those four were already mentioned.—*His last Will.*†

FIELD, PRESBYTER.—*Of the Church.*

For first, we receive the number and names of the authors of books Divine and Canonical, as delivered by tradition. This tradition we admit, for that, though the books of Scripture have not their authority from the approbation of the Church, but win credit of themselves, and yield sufficient satisfaction to all men, of their Divine truth, whence we judge the Church that receiveth them to be led by the Spirit of God; yet the number, authors,

* Vide Bp. Jebb's Pastoral Instructions, p. 306.

† Vide Christian Remembrancer, Nov. 1823, p. 658.

and integrity of the parts of these Books, we receive as delivered by tradition.

The second kind of tradition which we admit, is that summary comprehension of the chief heads of Christian doctrine, contained in the Creed of the Apostles, which was delivered to the Church, as a rule of her Faith. For though every part thereof be contained in the Scripture, yet the orderly connexion and distinct explication of these principal articles gathered into an epitome, wherein are implied, and whence are inferred all conclusions Theological, is rightly named a tradition. The third, is that form of Christian doctrine, and explication of the several parts thereof, which the first Christians receiving of the same Apostles, that delivered to them the Scriptures, commended to posterities. This may rightly be named a tradition, not as if we were to believe anything without the warrant and authority of the Scripture, but for that we need a plain and distinct explication of many things, which are somewhat obscurely contained in the Scripture: which being explicated, the Scriptures which otherwise we should not so easily have understood, yield us satisfaction that they are so indeed, as the Church delivereth them unto us.

The fourth kind of tradition, is the continued practice of such things, as neither are contained in the Scriptures expressly, nor the examples of such practice expressly there delivered, though the grounds, reasons, and causes of the necessity of such practice, be there contained, and the benefit, or good that followeth of it; of this sort is the Baptism of Infants, which is therefore named a tradition, because it is not expressly delivered in Scripture, that the Apostles did baptize infants, nor any express precept there found, that they should so do. Yet is not this so received by bare and naked tradition, but that we find the Scripture to deliver unto us the grounds of it. The fifth kind of tradition comprehendeth such observations, as in particular are not commanded in Scripture, nor the necessity of them from thence concluded, though in general without limitation of times and other circumstances, such things be there commanded. Of this sort, many think, the observation of the Lent fast to be, the fast of the fourth and sixth days of the week, and some other. . . .

Thus having set down the kinds and sorts of traditions, it remaineth to examine, by what means we may come to discern and by what rules we may judge, which are true and indubitate traditions. The first rule is delivered by Augustine; *quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolicâ traditum, rectissime creditur*. Whatsoever the whole Church holdeth, not being decreed by the authority of Councils, but having been ever holden, may rightly be thought to have proceeded from Apostolic authority. The second rule is, whatsoever all, or the most famous and re-

nowned in all ages, or at the least in diverse ages, have constantly delivered, as received from them that went before them, no man contradicting or doubting of it, may be thought to be an Apostolical tradition. The third rule is the constant testimony of the Pastors of an Apostolic Church, successively delivered: to which some add the present testimony of an Apostolic Church, whose declinings when they began, we cannot precisely tell. But none of the Fathers admit this rule. For when they urge the authority and testimony of Apostolic Churches for the proof, or reproof of true or pretended traditions, they stand upon the consenting voice, or silence, of the Pastors of such Churches, successively in diverse ages concerning such things. Some add the testimony of the present Church: but we inquire after the rule, whereby the present Church may know true traditions from false; and besides, though the whole multitude of believers, at one time in the world, cannot err pertinaciously, and damnably, in embracing false traditions instead of true: yet they that most sway things in the Church may, yea, even the greater part of a general Council; so that this can be no sure rule for men to judge of traditions by. And therefore Canus reasoneth foolishly, that whatsoever the Church of Rome practiseth, which she may not do without special warrant from God, and yet hath no warrant in Scripture so to do, the same things and the practice of them she hath received by tradition. He giveth example in the present practice of the Romish Church, in dispensing with, and remitting vows and oaths, and in dissolving marriages, (not consummated by carnal knowledge,) by admitting men into orders of Religion. But this practice of the Romish Church, we condemn, as wicked and Antichristian.—pp. 375. 378.

WHITE, BISHOP.

The Holy Scripture is the fountain and living spring, containing in all-sufficiency and abundance the pure water of life, and whatsoever is necessary to make God's people wise unto salvation. The consentient and unanimous testimony of the true Church of CHRIST in the primitive ages thereof, is *canalis*, a conduit-pipe to derive and convey to succeeding generations the celestial water contained in the Holy Scriptures. . . . The Ecclesiastical story reporteth of Nazianzen and Basil, that in their studying the Holy Scriptures they collected the sense of them, not from their own judgment or presumption, but from the testimony and authority of the ancients, who had received the rule of the true intelligence of Scripture from the Holy Apostles by succession. . . . The reformed Churches reject not all traditions, but such as are spurious, superstitious, and not consonant to the prime rule of faith, to wit, the Holy Scripture; but genuine traditions, agreeable to

the rule of faith, subservient to piety, consonant with holy Scripture, derived from the Apostolical times by a successive current, and which have the uniform testimony of pious antiquity, are received and honoured by us. Now such are those which follow the historical tradition concerning the number, integrity, dignity, and perfection of the books of Canonical Scripture, the Catholic exposition of many sentences of Scripture, the Apostles' Creed, the baptism of infants, the perpetual virginity of the blessed Virgin Mary, the righteous observation of the LORD's Day, and some other Festivals, as Easter, Pentecost. &c. baptizing and administration of the holy Eucharist in public assemblies and congregations, the service of the Church in a known language, the delivering of the Communion to the people in both kinds, the superiority and authority of Bishops over Priests and Deacons in jurisdiction and power of ordination, &c.—*On the Sabbath*, pp. 12. 14. 97.

HALL, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Conc. ad clerum. 1623.*

In truth he who heartily subscribes to the Word of GOD, con-signed, as it is, to the everlasting record of letters, to all the primitive Creeds, to the four General Councils, to the concordant judgment of the Fathers for the first six hundred years from Christ, which we of the Reformed Church religiously profess to do, even though he be not exempt from error in minor points, yet he shall never be an heretic. Any particular Church may easily err, by affixing heresy to an opinion undeserving of it, whether a truth, or but a light error; but heavily neither soul nor Church can err, which walks heedfully in the steps of the universal and ancient Church.

LAUD, ARCHBISHOP AND MARTYR.—*Conference with Fisher.*

The third particular I consider is, Suppose in the whole Catholic Church Militant, an absolute infallibility in the prime foundations of Faith absolutely necessary to Salvation: and, that this power of not erring so, is not communicable to a General Council, which represents it, but that the Council is subject to error. This supposition does not only preserve that which you desire in the Church, an infallibility, but it meets with all inconveniences, which usually have done, and daily do perplex the Church. And here is still a remedy for all things. For if private respects, if bandies in a faction, if power and favour of some parties, if weakness of them which have the managing, if any unfit mixture of State Counsels, if any departure from the rule of the Word of God, if any thing else sway and wrench the

Council; the whole Church upon evidence found in express Scripture, or demonstration of this miscarriage, hath power to represent herself in another Body, or Council, and to take order for what was amiss, either practised, or concluded. So here is a means without any infringing any lawful authority of the Church, to preserve or reduce unity, and yet grant, as I did, and as the Church of England doth, that a General Council may err: and this course the Church heretofore took; for she did call, and represent herself in a new Council, and define against the heretical conclusions of the former, as in the case at Ariminum, and the second of Ephesus, is evident; and in other councils named by Bellarmine. Now the Church is never more commonly abused than when men out of this truth, that she may err, infer this falsehood, that she is not to be obeyed. For it will never follow, she may err, therefore she may not govern. For he that says, "Obey them which have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls," (Heb. xiii. 17,) commands obedience, and expressly ascribes rule to the Church. And that not only a Pastoral power, to teach and direct, but a Prætorian also, to control and censure too, where errors or crimes are against points fundamental, or of great consequence, else St. Paul would not have given the rule of excommunication, (1 Cor. v.) Nor CHRIST Himself have put the man that will not hear and obey the Church into the place and condition of an Ethnic and a Publican, as He doth, (Matt. xviii.) And Solomon's rule is general, and he hath it twice: My son, forsake not the teaching or instruction of thy mother. Now this is either spoken or meant of a natural mother; and her authority over her children is confirmed, (Ecclus. iii.) And the fool will be upon him that despiseth her, (Prov. xv.) or 'tis extended also to our Mystical and Spiritual Mother, the Church, and so the general note upon the place expresses it. And I cannot but incline to this opinion, because the blessings which accompany this obedience are so many and great, as that they are not like to be the fruits of obedience to a natural mother only, as Solomon expresses them all, (Prov. vi.) And in all this there is no exception of the Mother's erring. For *Mater errans*, an erring Mother, loses neither the right nor the power of a Mother by her error. And I marvel what Son should show reverence or obedience if no Mother that hath erred might exact it. 'Tis true, the Son is not to follow his Mother's error, or his Mother into error. But 'tis true too, 'tis a grievous crime in a Son to cast off all obedience to his Mother, because at some time, or in some things, she hath fallen into error. And howsoever this consideration meets with this inconvenience, as well as the rest, for suppose (as I said) in the whole Catholic Militant Church an absolute infallibility in the prime foundations of Faith absolutely necessary to salvation: and then,

though the Mother Church, provincial or national, may err, yet if the Grand Mother, the whole Universal Church, cannot in these necessary things, all remains safe, and all occasions of disobedience taken from the possibility of the Church's erring, are quite taken away. Nor is this Mother less to be valued by her children, because in some smaller things age had filled her face fuller of wrinkles. For where 'tis said, that CHRIST makes to Himself a Church without spot or wrinkle, (Eph. v.) that is not understood of the Church Militant but of the Church Triumphant. And to maintain the contrary is a branch of the spreading Heresy of Pelagianism. Nor is the Church on earth any freer from wrinkles in Doctrine and Discipline than she is from spots in Life and Conversation.—p. 256.

MONTAGUE, BISHOP.

Where is it bidden in Scripture to baptize infants, or to administer to communicants in the LORD'S Supper under both kinds? There are ever so many such instances in sacred matters, instituted by GOD, committed to the Church, practised by the Church, of which notwithstanding it may be declared, Scripture teacheth nothing such, Scripture does not preach these things.—*Orig. Eccles. ii. 67. p. 396.*

JACKSON, PRESBYTER AND DOCTOR.—*On the holy Catholic Faith and Church.*

The three special notes of the Catholic Faith or Church, by him required, are Universality, Antiquity, and Consent. Whether these three members be different or subordinate, and oftentimes coincident, I leave it to be scanned by Logicians. According to the author's limitation, all three marks agree to us, not to the Romanist.

First concerning Universality, the question is not, whether at this present time, or in any former age for these thousand years past, there are or have been more, which profess the present Romish Religion established in the Church of Rome, than the Religion established in the Reformed Churches since the separation was made. If we should come to calculate voices after this manner, whether will you be a Roman Catholic, or a Protestant: they might, perhaps have three for one amongst such as profess themselves Christians, ready to cry, I am not for the Protestants; but for the Roman Catholics will I be. But it was far from Vincentius his meaning, that Universality should be measured after this fashion; for he very well knew that the Arian faction had prevailed especially by this tumultuary kind of canvass or

calculation. The multitude of voices thus taken for them, may prove their faction to be stronger and greater than our Church; it cannot prove their Faith to be so universal as our Faith is. The fallacy by which the Romanists deceive poor simple people, is in making them believe, that our Religion and their Religion, our Faith and their Faith, are *duo prima diversa*, or so totally distinct, that part of the one could not be included in the other. But for the universality of our Faith we have every member of the Roman Church a suffragant or witness for us. First, nothing is held as a point of Faith in our Church, but the present Romish Church doth hold the same, and confess the same to have been held by all orthodoxal antiquity. So that for the form of Faith established in our Church, we have the consent of the Primitive Church, of the four first General Councils, of all succeeding ages unto this present day, the consent likewise of the present Romish Church, and of ourselves. Now, as France is a great deal bigger than Normandy, if we compare them as distinct and opposite, and yet France and Normandy is bigger than France without Normandy; so likewise, though the present visible Romish Church be much greater than the Church of England, yet seeing the Romish Church, how great soever, doth hold all the points of Faith which our Church doth, for Catholic and orthodoxal: our consent, and their consent, our confession, and their confession, is more universal than their consent without ours. But if their consent unto the points of Faith believed by us, prove our Faith to be universal, and our Church by consequence to be Catholic; why should not our consent unto the points of Faith believed by them, prove their Faith to be universal, or their Church to be Catholic? Because it is not enough to hold all points of Catholic Faith, unless the same points be kept holy and undefiled. The Romish Church, we grant, doth hold all points of Catholic Faith, and so far as she holds these points, we dissent not from her: yet dissent from her we do in that she hath defiled and polluted the Catholic Faith, with new and poisonous doctrines; for which she neither hath the consent of antiquity, nor of the Reformed Churches. And in respect of these doctrines, she stands convicted of schism and heresy, by Vincentius his rules. For it is with him a fundamental rule, that no present visible Church hath any authority to commend anything as a point of Faith to posterity, which hath not been commended to the said Church by antiquity derived from the Apostles' times. A proficiency or growth in Faith, he allows and granteth, *modo sit in eodem genere*, so it be in the same kind, or proceed from the same root; but for additions or new inventions, he takes them for the marks of schism and heresy.

So then we hold the Catholic Faith, and they hold the Catholic Faith. And seeing they hold the Catholic Faith in the same

measure that we do, is it not reason they should be termed Catholics as well as we, though not so good Catholics as we? No reason they should be termed Catholics at all. Where is the difference? In this. We hold it pure and undefiled, they have defiled and polluted it for many generations, and do still defile it with many loathsome additions and inventions. Now, in this case the denomination followeth the worser part, that is, they are not so much to be reputed Catholics for that they hold the Catholic Faith, as to be adjudged heretics and schismatics, because they have defiled and polluted it with many new inventions, and being admonished hereof and reprov'd, will not purify their Faith, will not reform their religion according to the rule of Faith and the practice of antiquity. Their Faith not purified from the additions of the second Nicene and Trent Council, can be no Catholic Faith. Their religion not reformed, can be no true religion, save only in reference to Paganism, Judaism, or Mahometism. For as Dionysius saith, *Bonum non est nisi ex integra causa, malum ex quolibet defectu*. Nothing is good which is not entire and sound, evil ariseth from every defect. Every new addition or invention in matters of Faith or Doctrine, is enough to make that Church schismatical, which before was Catholic and orthodoxal. Catholic and orthodoxal no Church can be, unless it hold all points of Faith without admixture of human inventions or of new articles. The admixture of a great deal of man's meat with a little swine's meat, makes the whole dish to be no man's meat, but swine's meat. Our Church according to Vincentius his rule, admits a growth or proficiency in Faith, in that it holds not only those propositions which are expressly contained in Scripture, but such as may by necessary consequence be deduced out of them, for points of Faith and this growth is still in *eodem genere*, from the same root. Other points of Faith besides these, our Church admitteth none, but ties even her Prelates and Governors, to obtrude no other doctrines as points of Faith upon their auditors, than such as are either expressly contained in Scriptures, or may infallibly be deduced from them. And this is the fundamental and radical difference between our Church and the Romish Church, which admitteth such an illimited increase or growth of Faith as is in heaps or congests of Heterogeneals.

The pain-worhiest inquiry in this argument, were first to make search what additions, or adinventions unto the ancient or primitive Canon of Catholic Faith have been made, received or authorized by the Romish Church, since the Council of Ephesus, which was some three years before Vincentius Lirinensis wrote his admonitions concerning this point; and in what age and upon what occasions, such additions have been made or received. Secondly, to make proof or demonstration, how far and in what manner

such additions do corrupt or contaminate the holy Catholic Faith; and how far each or all of them, jointly or severally, do undermine or overthrow the holy Catholic Faith.

The first addition or adinvention of moment, which comes into my memory, is the invocation of Saints and veneration of images. Both which points were added as Articles of Faith or parts of the Creed, which all were bound to believe and profess, by Tharasius, Patriarch of Constantinople and President of that illiterate, parasitical and factious assembly, which hath been commonly styled the seventh general or second Nicene Council. In these and the like abominable decrees, the then Bishop of Rome was Tharasius's accomplice, his instigator and abettor, as may appear from the speeches of his Legates in that Council, and by his own Epistles, although part of the Epistle may be justly suspected to have been framed since. But by what spirit this Council was managed, or in whose name they met together, I refer the reader unto that learned Treatise in the Book of Homilies (whereunto we have all subscribed) concerning the peril of idolatry, especially the third part. What ingenuous minds of this kingdom thought of that council, before either the author of these Homilies or Luther was born, may in part be gathered from an ancient English Historiographer, who saith the Church of God did hold this decree in execration.

The selfsame points, with a great many more of like or worse nature, all whatsoever any council which the Romish Church accounteth general or œcumenical, or any Canons which the same Church accounteth Catholic, even all decrees whereto the Trent Council hath affixed their Anathemas, have been annexed by Pius Quartus to the Nicene Creed, and are inserted as principal points of that oath which every Roman Bishop at his consecration is to take; one part of which oath or solemn vow it likewise is, that every Bishop shall exact the like confession of his inferiors to be ratified by oath or solemn vow. *Cætera omnia à sacris, &c.*

The particular decree concerning invocation of Saints and adoration of images, is much enlarged by the Trent Council, and by Pius Quartus. But of the equivalency of idolatry in Rome Heathen, and Rome Christian, elsewhere at large. In this one point, to omit others, the present Romish Church far exceeds the Eastern Church, in the time of the second Nicene Council, in that it ratifies the worshipping of all such Saints as are canonized by the Pope.

The second addition made by the Roman Church unto the ancient Canon of Faith, is a transcendent one, and illimited; and that is, the making of Ecclesiastical tradition to be an integral part of the Canon of Faith. This doth not only pollute, but undermine the whole fabric of the holy, primitive and Catholic Faith.

That there is a certain rule or authentic Canon of Faith, is a principle, wherein the ancient primitive Church, the modern Roman, and all reformed Churches agree. The first point of difference betwixt us, is about the extent of the written Canon, especially of the old Testament. The main points of difference are these. First, we affirm with antiquity, and in particular with Vincentius Lirinensis, that the Canon of Scripture is a rule of Faith, perfect for quantity, and sufficient for quality; that is, it contains all things in it, that are necessary to salvation, or requisite to be contained in any rule; and so contains them as they may be believed and understood, without relying on any other rule or authority equivalent to them in certainty, or more authentic in respect of us, than the Scriptures are. The modern Romish Church denies the Canon of Scripture to be perfect and complete in respect of its quantity, or sufficient for its quality or efficacy. To supply the defect of its quantity, they add tradition, as another part of the same rule, homogeneal and equivalent to it for quality. To supply the insufficiency as well of Canonical Scriptures as of tradition in respect of their quality or efficacy towards us, they add the infallible authority of the present visible Church. The former addition of unwritten tradition as part of the infallible rule doth undermine: this latter addition of the Church's infallible and absolute authority as well in determining the extent, as in declaring the true sense and meaning of the whole rule, utterly pulls down the structure of Faith: yet when we reject Ecclesiastical tradition from being any part of the rule of Faith, we do not altogether deny the authority or use of it. Howbeit that Ecclesiastical tradition, whereof there was such excellent use in the primitive Church, was not unwritten tradition, or customs commended or ratified by the supposed infallibility of any visible Church. That Ecclesiastical tradition, which Vincentius Lirinensis so much commends, did especially consist in the confessions or registers of particular Churches. Now, the unanimous consent of so many several Churches, as exhibited their confessions to the Nicene Council, being not dependent one of another, not overruled by authority, nor misled by faction to frame the confessions of their Faith by imitation, or according to some pattern set them, but voluntarily and freely exhibiting such confessions as had been framed and taught before these controversies arose, was a pregnant argument to any impartial, understanding man, that this Faith wherein they all agreed, had been delivered unto them by the Apostles and their followers by the first planters of the Churches thus agreeing; a pregnant argument, likewise, that these first planters had been inspired and taught by one and the same Spirit. Each particular Church was a competent or authentic witness of every other Church's integrity and fidelity *in servando depositum*, in carefully preserving the truth com-

mitted to their special trust. On the contrary, in that Arius, Eutyches, Nestorius, and other Heretics, did obtrude such constructions of Scriptures upon their auditors as had nowhere been heard of before, but sprung up with themselves, or from the places where they lived, this was an argument more than probable, that if the Apostles had delivered the whole form of wholesome doctrine unto posterity, (a point questioned by no Church in those times,) these men, or the particular Churches which abetted them, had not kept the doctrine delivered unto them by our SAVIOUR and His Apostles, but had corrupted or defiled it with the idle fancies of their own brains, or with the muddy conceit of their discontented passions.

To speak more briefly, though perhaps more fully; the unanimous consent of so many distinct visible Churches, as exhibited their several confessions, catechisms, or testimonies of their own and their forefathers' Faith, unto the four first Œcumenical Councils, was an argument of the same force and efficacy, against Arius and other Heretics, for whose conviction these Councils were called, as the general consent and practice of all nations in worshipping some Divine power or other, hath been, in all ages, against the Atheists. Nothing, besides the ingrafted notion of a Deity or Divine power, could have inclined so many several nations, so much different in natural disposition, in civil discipline and education, to affect or practise the duty of adoration. Nothing besides the evidence of truth delivered unto the Christian world by CHRIST and His Apostles, could have kept so many several Churches, as communicated their confessions unto the Councils of Nice and Ephesus, &c. in the unity of the same Faith.

Howbeit this unanimous tradition Ecclesiastic, was not in these times held for any proper part of the rule of Faith, but alleged only as an inducement to incline the hearts of such as before acknowledged the written word for the only rule of Faith, to believe that the interpretations or decisions of those Councils did contain the true sense and meaning of the rule acknowledged by all. So that the written tradition which Vincentius so much commends, was not by the Nicene Council used to any such purpose as the Romanists now use unwritten traditions. The only use of it was, to direct the present Church in her examination of the Catholic truth, or points of Faith. The chief authority which the visible Church then challenged, did consist in the unanimous consent of the Ecclesiastic tradition, and that (as was said before) but an inducement to embrace the interpretations of the present Church, and reject the interpretations of upstart Heretics.

But was it a received truth in these primitive times, or a truth acknowledged by Vincentius, (the pretended patron of Roman

Catholic tradition), that the joint consent of so many Bishops as were assembled in the first Council of Nice, or the joint confessions of so many several Dioceses as were then delivered to that Council, should unto the world's end continue an argument or inducement of like force or validity, as it then was, either for establishment of the Canons which succeeding Councils should make, or for condemning such opinions as with the consent of as many (or more) Bishops, as were there assembled, should be condemned for Heresies? No, the same Vincentius hath given posterity a caveat, as full of wisdom as of religion; in some cases not to admit of his former admonition, concerning the trial of Catholic Faith, either for refelling Heresies, or for establishing the truth. The limitation of his former admonition is, in his own words, thus. As for ancient and inveterate Heresies, they are not in any wise to be refuted by the former method, because continuance of time (after Heresies be once set on foot) may afford Heretics many opportunities of stealing truth out of the writings of the ancient, or for exchanging orthodoxal antiquity with profane novelties.

Now, what opportunities of falsification did these eight hundred years last past afford, which the Roman Church was not always ready to take? The opportunities afforded by dissolution of the Roman Empire and variance of Christian Kings, first made the Roman clergy such sacrilegious thieves, as Vincentius supposeth any opportunity may make Heretics to be. And the Roman Church, being flesht with the spoil of CHRIST's flock and Christian Churches through the West, have not been wanting unto themselves in devising new opportunities in coining a new act of falsifying antiquity, of stealing the consent and suffrages of the Christian world, from orthodoxal and primitive truth. So that if this controversy may be examined and discussed by Vincentius's rules, since the first acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy, since the making of edicts for the acknowledging of it, since the exemption of Clerks from royal or civil jurisdiction; all the written testimonies, or unwritten traditions, which the children of the Romish Church do or can rake together, are void in law, and void in conscience: there is not so much as one legal single testimony, but all are as a multitude of false and illegal witnesses, of parties or conspirators in their own cause.

But although Heresies of long standing and continuance cannot be refuted, nor may not be assaulted, in Vincentius's judgment, by the former method, that is, by multitudes of suffragants, or joint consent of several Provinces, is there therefore no other means left to convince them, no way left to eschew them? Yes, we may eschew them, (saith he.) as already condemned by ancient and orthodoxal Councils; or we may convince them, so it be needful or expedient, by the sole authority of Scriptures.

Now, if the Scriptures be sufficient to convince Heresies of long continuance or long standing, and to confute such Heretics as want neither wit, will, nor opportunity to falsify ancient records, and imprint traditions of their own coining with inscriptions of antiquity, I hope the same Scripture was (in Vincentius's judgment) a rule of faith neither incomplete for its quantity, nor insufficient for its quality: a rule every way competent for ending controversies in Religion, without the assumption either of tradition or Decrees of Council, as any associates or homogeneal parts of the same rule.

Unto what use then did Ecclesiastical tradition, or general Councils, serve for quelling Heresies? Ecclesiastical traditions or unanimous consent of particular Churches throughout several Kingdoms or Provinces in points of Faith, was in ancient times and yet may be an excellent means, by which the SPIRIT OF GOD leads general Councils into the truth. And the Councils whose care and office it was to compare and examine traditions exhibited, were the sovereign and principal means, under the guidance of GOD'S SPIRIT, by which as many as embraced the love of truth, were led into all those truths, which are at all times necessary to salvation, but were much questioned and obscured by the jugglings and falsifications of former Heretics. Into the same truths which these Councils were then, we now are led, not by relying upon the sole authority of the Councils which the SPIRIT did lead, but by tracing their footsteps, and viewing the way by which the SPIRIT did lead them. And this was, by necessary deductions or consequences, which reason, enlightened by the SPIRIT, and directed by the sweet disposition of Divine Providence, did teach them to make, and doth enable us to judge that they were truly made by them.—Vol. iii. p. 888.

MEDE, PRESBYTER.—*Epistle lxxx. to Mr. Hartlib.*

It grieves me not a little, yea, perplexes me, to hear that Mr. Dury is come off with no better success from my L. . . . I am loth *malè augurari*; but I like it not. I fear it is *mali ominis*. and that our State and Church have no mind to put their hand to this work: *Deus avertat omen!* But our Church, you know, goes upon differing principles from the rest of the Reformed, and so steers her course by another rule than they do. We look after the form, rites, and discipline of antiquity, and endeavour to bring our own as near as we can to that pattern. We suppose the Reformed Churches have departed farther therefrom than needed, and so we are not very solicitous to comply with them; yea, we are jealous of such of our own as we see over-zealously addicted to them, lest it be a sign they prefer them before their Mother. This, I suppose, you have observed, and that this disposition in

our Church is of late very much increased. Well, then, if this union sought after be like to further and advantage us in the way we affect, we shall listen to it. If it be like to be prejudicial, as namely to give strength and authority to those amongst us who are enamoured with the foreign platform, or bring a yoke upon our own by limiting and making us obnoxious, we'll stand aloof and not meddle with it, lest we infringe our liberty.—*Works*, book iv. p. 865.

USSHER, ARCHBISHOP. *On the Universality of the Church of CHRIST.*

That the multitude of teachers dispersed over the world, without any such dependency or correspondency, should agree together in laying the foundations of the same faith, is a special work of GOD'S SPIRIT. And it is "the unity of the spirit" which the Apostle here speaketh of, and exhorteth us to "keep in the bond of peace." Whereas the unity of which our adversaries boast so much (which is nothing else but a wilful suffering of themselves to be led blindfold by one man, who commonly is more blind than many of themselves) is no fruit of the Spirit, but of mere carnal policy; and may serve, peradventure, for a "bond of peace" betwixt themselves and their own party, such as the priests of Antichrist were to have, and as many as would be content to yield themselves to the conduct of such a commander, but hath proved the greatest block that ever stood in the way for giving impediment to the peace and unity of the universal Church, which here we look after. And therefore Nilus, Archbishop of Thessalonica, entering into the consideration of the original ground of that long-continued schism, whereby the West standeth as yet divided from the East, and the Latin churches from the Greek, wrote a whole book purposely on this argument, wherein he sheweth "that there is no other cause to be assigned of this distraction, but that the Pope will not permit the cognizance of the controversy unto a General Council, but will needs sit himself as the alone teacher of the point in question, and have others hearken unto him as if they were his scholars; and that this is contrary both to the ordinances and the practice of the Apostles and the Fathers." Neither indeed is there any hope that ever we shall see a general peace for matters of religion settled in the Christian world, as long as this supercilious master shall be suffered to keep this rule in God's house, how much soever he be magnified by his own disciples, and made the only foundation upon which the unity of the Catholic Church dependeth.

Now in the next place, for the further opening of the "unity of faith," we are to call unto mind the distinction which the

Apostle maketh betwixt *the foundation* and that which is *builded thereupon*, betwixt the *principles of the doctrine of CHRIST* and that which he calleth perfection. The "unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the SON of God" here spoken of hath reference, as we have heard, to the foundation; as that which followeth, of a "perfect man," and "the measures of the stature of the fulness of CHRIST," to the superstruction and perfection. In the former there is a general *unity* among all true believers; in the latter a great deal of *variety*; there being several degrees of perfection to be found in several persons, "according to the measure of the gift of CHRIST." So we see in a material building that still there is but one foundation, though great disparity be observed in sundry parts of the superstructure: some rooms are high, some low, some dark, some lightsome. some more substantially, some more slightly builded, and in tract of time some prove more ruinous than others; yet all of them belong to one building, as long as they hold together and stand upon the same foundation. And even thus is it in the spiritual building also, whether we respect the *practical* part of Christianity or the *intellectual*. In the practical we see wonderful great difference betwixt Christian and Christian; some by God's mercy attain to a higher measure of perfection, and keep themselves unspotted from the common corruptions of the world: others watch not so carefully, &c.

The oracles of God contain abundance of matter in them, and whatsoever is found in them is a fit subject for faith to apprehend; but that all Christians should uniformly agree in the profession of those truths that are revealed there, is a thing that rather may be wished than ever hoped for. Yet the variety of men's judgments in those many points that belong to theological faith, doth not dissolve the unity which they hold together in the fundamental principles of the Catholic faith. The "unity of faith" commanded here is a Catholic unity, and such as every Christian attaineth unto. "Till we ALL come in the unity of faith," saith the Apostle. As there is a *common salvation*, so is there a *common faith*, which is *alike precious* in the highest Apostle and the meanest believer. For we may not think that heaven was prepared for deep clerks only, and therefore beside that larger measure of knowledge whereof all are not capable, there must be "a rule of faith common to small and great," which, as it must consist of few propositions (for simple men cannot bear away many,) so is it also requisite that those articles should be of so much weight and moment, that they may be sufficient to make a man "wise unto salvation;" that howsoever in other points learned men may go beyond common Christians, and exceed one another likewise by many degrees, yet in respect of these radical truths which is the necessary and common food of all the children of the Church, there is not an unity only, but such a kind of equality also, brought in

among all sorts of Christians, as was heretofore among the congregation of the Israelites in the collection of their manna, where "he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack."

If then salvation by believing these common principles may be had, and to salvation none can come that is not first a member of the Catholic Church of Christ, it followeth thereupon, that "the unity of the faith" generally requisite for the incorporating of Christians into that blessed society is not to be extended beyond those common principles which may further be made manifest unto us by the continual practice of the Catholic Church herself in the matriculation of her children and the first admittance of them into her communion; for when she prepared her Catechumeni for baptism, and by that door received them into the congregation of CHRIST's flock, we may not think her judgment to have been so weak that she should omit anything herein that was essentially necessary for the making of one to be a member of the Church. Now, the profession which she required of all that were to receive baptism, was for the *Agenda*, or practical part, an abrenunciation of the devil, the world, and the flesh, with all their sinful works and lusts; and for the *Credenda*, the things to be believed, an acknowledgment of the Articles of the Creed; which being solemnly done, she then baptized them "in this faith;" intimating thereby sufficiently that this was that "one faith" commended unto her by the Apostles, as the other that "one baptism" which was appointed to be the Sacrament of it.

This Creed, though for substance it was the same every where, yet for form was somewhat different, and in some places received more enlargements than in others.

That which in the time of the ancient Fathers was accounted to be "truly and properly Catholic," namely, "that which was believed everywhere, always, and by all," that in the succeeding ages hath evermore been preserved, and is at this day entirely professed in our Church. And it is well observed by a learned man, who hath written a full discourse of this argument, that "Whatsoever the father of lies either hath attempted or shall attempt, yet neither hath he hitherto effected, nor shall ever bring it to pass hereafter, that this Catholic doctrine, ratified by the common consent of Christians always and everywhere, should be abolished; but that in the thicket mist rather of the most perplexed troubles it still obtained victory, both in the minds and open confession of all Christians, no ways overturned in the foundation thereof; and that in this verity that one Church of CHRIST was preserved in the midst of the tempests of the most cruel winter, or in the thickest darkness of her wanings."

Thus, if at this day we should take a survey of the several professions of Christianity that have any large spread in any part

of the world, as of the religion of the Roman and the Reformed Churches in our quarters, of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians in the south, of the Grecians and other Christians in the eastern parts, and should put by the points wherein they did differ one from another, and gather into one body the rest of the articles wherein they all did generally agree, we should find, that in those propositions which without all controversy are universally received in the whole Christian world, so much truth is contained as, being joined with holy obedience, may be sufficient to bring a man unto everlasting salvation. Neither have we cause to doubt, but that "as many as do walk according to this rule," (neither overthrowing that which they have builded by superinducing any *damnable heresies* thereupon, nor otherwise vitiating their "*holy faith*" with a lewd and wicked conversation) "peace shall be upon them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God."

Now these common principles of the Christian faith, which we call *κοινότητες*, or things *generally believed* of all, as they have "universality," and "antiquity," and "consent," concurring with them, which by Vincentius's rule are the special characters of that which is truly and properly Catholic; so for their duration we are sure that they have still held out, and been kept as the seminary of the Catholic Church in the darkest and difficultest times that ever have been; where, if the Lord of hosts had not in his mercy reserved this seed unto us, we should long since "have been as Sodom, and should have been like unto Gomorrah." It cannot be denied, indeed, that Satan and his instruments have used their utmost endeavour either to hide this light from men's eyes by keeping them in gross ignorance, or to deprave it by bringing in pernicious heresies; and that in these latter ages they have much prevailed both ways, as well in the West and North as in the East and South. Yet far be it, for all this, from any man to think that "God should so cast away his people," that in those times, there should not be left "a remnant according to the election of Grace."

The Christian Church was never brought unto a lower ebb than was the Jewish synagogue in the the days of our Saviour CHRIST, when, &c. pp. 700.—713.

BRAMHALL, ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Answer to de la Militière.*

If your intention be only to invite his Majesty to embrace the Catholic Faith, you might have spared both your toil and labour. The Catholic Faith flourished one thousand two hundred years in the world, before Transubstantiation was defined among yourselves. Persons better acquainted with the Primitive times than yourself (unless you wrong one another) do acknowledge that

the Fathers did not touch either the word or the matter of Transubstantiation. Mark it well; neither Name nor Thing. His Majesty doth firmly believe all supernatural Truth revealed in Sacred Writ. He embraceth cheerfully whatsoever the holy Apostles, or the Nicene Fathers, or blessed Athanasius, in their respective Creeds or Summaries of Catholic Faith did set down as necessary to be believed. He is ready to receive whatsoever the Catholic Church of this Age doth unanimously believe to be a particle of saving Truth.

But if you seek to obtrude upon him the Roman Church, with its adherents for the Catholic Church, excluding three parts of four of the Christian world from the communion of CHRIST; or the Opinions thereof, for Articles and Fundamentals of Catholic Faith, neither his reason, nor his Religion, nor his Charity, will suffer him to listen unto you. The truths received by our Church are sufficient, in point of Faith, to make him a good Catholic. More than this, your Roman Bishops, your Roman Church, your Tridentine Council, may not, cannot, obtrude upon him. Listen to the Third General Council, that of Ephesus, which decreed, that it should be lawful for no man to publish or compose another Faith or Creed than that which was defined by the Nicene Council; and that whosoever should dare to compose or offer any such to any persons willing to be converted from Paganism, Judaism, or Heresy, if they were Bishops or Clerks, should be deposed; if Laymen, should be anathematized.

Suffer us to enjoy the same Creed the Primitive Fathers did, which none will say to have been insufficient, except they be mad, as was alleged by the Greeks in the Council of Florence. You have violated this Canon, you have obtruded a New Creed upon Christendom. New, I say, not in words only, but in sense also.

Some things are *de Symbolo*, some things are *contra Symbolum*, and some things are only *præter Symbolum*. Some things are contained in the Creed, either expressly or virtually, either in the letter or in the sense, and may be deduced by evident consequence from the Creed, as the Deity of CHRIST, his Two Natures, the Procession of the HOLY GHOST. The addition of these was properly no addition, but an explication; yet such an explication, no person, no assembly, under an Œcumenical Council, can impose upon the Catholic Church. And such an one your Tridentine Synod was not.

Secondly, some things are *contra Symbolum*, contrary to the Symbolical Faith, and either expressly or virtually overthrow some article of it. These additions are not only unlawful, but heretical also in themselves, and after conviction render a man a formal Heretic; whether some of your additions be not of this nature, I will not now dispute.

Thirdly, some things are neither of the Faith, nor against the Faith, but only besides the Faith; that is, opinions or truths of an inferior nature, which are not so necessary to be actually known; for though all revealed truths be alike necessary to be believed when they are known, yet all revealed truths are not alike necessary to be known. It is not denied, but that General or Provincial Councils may make constitutions concerning these for Unity and Uniformity, and oblige all such as are subject to their jurisdiction to receive them, either actively, or passively, without contumacy or opposition. But to make these, or any of these, a part of the Creed, and to oblige all Christians under pain of damnation to know and believe them, is really to add to the Creed, and to change the Symbolical, Apostolical Faith, to which none can add, from which none can take away, and comes within the compass of St. Paul's curse: "If we, or an angel from Heaven, shall preach unto you any other Gospel (or Faith) than that which we have preached, let him be accursed." Such are, your universality of the Roman Church, by the institution of CHRIST, (to make her the Mother of her Grandmother the Church of Jerusalem, and the Mistress of her many elder Sisters) your doctrine of Purgatory and Indulgences, and the worship of Images, and all other Novelties defined in the Council of Trent, all of which are comprehended in your New Roman Creed, and obtruded by you upon all the world to be believed upon pain of damnation. He that can extract all these out of the old Apostolic Creed, must needs be an excellent chymist, and may safely undertake to draw water out of a pumice.— *Works*, p. 22.

Concerning the proper expounders of Scripture, we do believe that the Gospel doth not consist in the words, but in the sense; *non in superficie, sed in medullâ*; and therefore that, though this infallible rule be given for the common benefit of all, yet, every one is not an able or fit artist to make application of this rule, in all particular cases. To preserve the common right, and yet prevent particular abuses, we distinguish judgment into three kinds:

Judgment of Discretion; Judgment of Direction; and Judgment of Jurisdiction.

As in the former instance of the law (the ignorance whereof excuseth no man) every subject hath judgment of discretion, to apply it particularly to the preservation of himself, his estate and interest; the advocates, and those who are skilful in the law, have moreover a judgment of direction, to advise others of less knowledge and experience; but those who are constituted by the sovereign power, to determine emergent difficulties, and differences, and to distribute and administer justice to the whole body of a Province or Kingdom, have moreover a judgment of jurisdiction, which is not only discretionary, or directive, but

authoritative, to impose an obligation of obedience unto those who are under their charge. If these last shall transgress the Rule of the Law, they are not accountable to their inferiors, but to him or them that have the Sovereign power of Legislative Judicature; *Ejus est legem interpretari, cujus est condere.*

To apply this to the case in question concerning the exposition of the Holy Scripture. Every Christian keeping himself within the bounds of due obedience and submission to his lawful superiors, hath a Judgment of Discretion; "prove all things, hold fast that which is good." He may apply the rule of Holy Scripture for his own private instruction, comfort, edification, and direction, and for the framing of his life and belief accordingly. The Pastors of the Church (who are placed over God's people as watchmen and guides) have more than this, a Judgment of Direction, to expound and interpret the Holy Scriptures to others, and out of them to instruct the ignorant, to reduce them who wander out of the right way, to confute errors, to foretell dangers, and to draw sinners to repentance. The chief Pastors, to whose care the regiment of the Church is committed in a more special manner, have yet an higher degree of judgment, a Judgment of Jurisdiction, to prescribe, to enjoin, to constitute, to reform, to censure, to condemn, to bind, to loose, judicially, authoritatively, in their respective charges. If their Key shall err, either their key of knowledge, or their key of jurisdiction, they are accountable to their respective superiors, and in the last place to a General Council, which under CHRIST, upon earth, is the highest Judge of controversies. Thus we have seen what is the Rule of Faith, and by whom, and how far respectively, this Rule is to be applied.

This hath always been the doctrine, and the practice of our English Church; First, it is so far from admitting Laymen to be Directive Interpreters of Holy Scripture, that it allows not this liberty to clergymen so much as to gloss upon the text until they be licensed to become preachers. Secondly, for Judgment of Discretion only, it gives it not to private persons above their talent, or beyond their last. It disallows all phantastical and enthusiastical presumption of incompetent and unqualified expositors. It admits no man into Holy Orders, that is, to be capable of being made a Directive Interpreter of Scripture, howsoever otherwise qualified, unless he be able to give a good account of his faith in the Latin tongue, so as to be able to frame all his expositions according to the analogy thereof. It forbids the licensed preachers to teach the people any doctrine as necessary to be religiously held and believed, which the Catholic Fathers, and Old Bishops of the Primitive Church, have not collected out of the Scriptures. It ascribes a Judgment of Jurisdiction over Preachers to Bishops, in all manner of Ecclesiastical Duties, as appears by the whole

body of our Canons. And especially where any difference or public opposition hath been between Preachers about any point or doctrine deduced out of Scripture. It gives a power of determining all emergent controversies of Faith above Bishops to the Church, as to the witness and keeper of the Sacred Oracles ; and to a lawful Synod, as the representative Church.

We receive not your upstart supposititious traditions, nor unwritten fundamentals ; but we admit Genuine, Universal, Apostolical Traditions ; as the Apostles' Creed, the Perpetual Virginity of the Mother of God, the Anniversary Festivals of the Church, the Lenten Fast. Yet we know that both the duration of it, and the manner of observing it, was very different in the Primitive times. We believe Episcopacy, to an ingenuous person, may be proved out of Scripture without the help of tradition ; but to such as are froward, the perpetual practice and tradition of the Church renders the interpretation of the text more authentic, and the proof more convincing. What is this to us who admit the practice and tradition of the Church, as an excellent help of exposition ? Use is the best interpreter of laws, and we are so far from believing, that we cannot admit tradition without allowing the Papacy, that one of the principal motives why we rejected the Papacy, as it is now established with Universality of Jurisdiction, by the Institution of CHRIST, and superiority above Œcumenical Councils, and Infallibility of Judgment, was the constant tradition of the Primitive Church.— *Works*, p. 33.

Vindication of the Church of England.

The Communion of the Christian Catholic Church is partly internal, partly external. The internal Communion consists principally in these things : To believe the same entire substance of saving necessary truth revealed by the Apostles, and to be ready implicitly in the preparation of the mind to embrace all other supernatural verities when they shall be sufficiently proposed to them ; to judge charitably one of another ; to exclude none from the Catholic Communion and hope of Salvation, either Eastern, or Western, or Southern, or Northern Christians, which profess the ancient Faith of the Apostles and Primitive Fathers, established in the first General Councils, and comprehended in the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian Creed ; to rejoice at their well-doing, to sorrow for their sins, to condole with them in their sufferings, to pray for their constant perseverance in the true Christian Faith, for their reduction from all their respective errors, and their reunion to the Church in case they be divided from it, that we may be all one sheep-fold under that One Great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls ; and lastly, to hold an actual External Communion with them *in votis*, in our desires, and to endeavour it by all those

means which are in our power. This Internal Communion is of absolute necessity among all Catholics.

External Communion consists first in the same Creeds, or Symbols, or Confessions of Faith, which are the ancient badges or cognizances of Christianity. Secondly, in the participation of the same Sacraments. Thirdly, in the same external worship and frequent use of the same Divine Offices, or Liturgies, or Forms of serving God. Fourthly, in the use of the same public Rites and Ceremonies. Fifthly, in giving communicatory letters from the Church, or one person, to another. And lastly, in admission of the same discipline, and subjection to the same Supreme Ecclesiastical Authority, that is, Episcopacy, or a General Council; for as single Bishops are the heads of particular churches, so Episcopacy, that is, a General Council, or Œcumenical Assembly of Bishops, is the head of the Universal Church.—*Works*, p. 57.

Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon's Survey.

No man can justly blame me for honouring my spiritual Mother the Church of England, in whose womb I was conceived, at whose breasts I was nourished, and in whose bosom I hope to die. Bees, by the instinct of nature, do love their hives, and birds their nests. But God is my witness that, according to my uttermost talent and poor understanding, I have endeavoured to set down the naked truth impartially, without either favour or prejudice, the two capital enemies of right judgment. The one of which, like a false mirror, doth represent things fairer and straighter than they are; the other, like the tongue infected with choler, makes the sweetest meats to taste bitter. My desire hath been to have truth for my chiefest friend, and no enemy but error. If I have had any bias, it hath been desire of peace, which our common SAVIOUR left as a legacy to His Church, that I might live to see the reunion of Christendom, for which I shall always bow the knees of my heart to the Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. It is not impossible but that this desire of unity may have produced some unwilling error of love, but certainly I am most free from the wilful love of error. In questions of an inferior nature, CHRIST regards a charitable intention much more than a right opinion.

Howsoever it be, I submit myself and my poor endeavours, First, to the judgment of the Catholic Œcumenical Essential Church, which if some, of late days, have endeavoured to hiss out of the schools as a fancy, I cannot help it. From the beginning it was not so. And if I should mistake the right Catholic Church out of human frailty or ignorance, (which, for my part, I have no reason in the world to suspect, yet it is not impossible

when the Romanists themselves are divided into five or six several opinions, what this Catholic Church, or what their Infal-
 lible Judge is) I do implicitly, and in the preparation of my mind
 submit myself to the true Catholic Church, the Spouse of CHRIST,
 the Mother of the Saints, the Pillar of Truth. And seeing my
 adherence is firmer to the Infalible Rule of Faith, that is, the
 Holy Scriptures, interpreted by the Catholic Church, than to
 mine own private judgment or opinions; although I should
 unwittingly fall into an error, yet this cordial submission is an
 implicit retractation thereof, and I am confident will be so accepted
 by the Father of mercies, both from me and all others who seri-
 ously and sincerely do seek after Peace and Truth.

Likewise I submit myself to the representative Church, that is,
 a free General Council, or so general as can be procured: and
 until then to the Church of England wherein I was baptized, or
 to a National English Synod. To the determination of all
 which, and each of them respectively, according to the distinct
 degrees of their authority, I yield a conformity and compliance,
 or at the least, and to the lowest of them, an acquiescence.

Finally, I crave this favour from the courteous reader, that
 because the surveyor hath overseen almost all the principal
 proofs of the cause in question, (which I conceive not to be so
 clearly and candidly done,) he will take the pains to peruse the
 vindication itself. And then in the name of God let him follow
 the dictate of right reason. For as that scale must needs settle
 down whereinto most weight is put, so the mind cannot choose,
 but yield to the weight of perspicuous demonstration.— *Works*,
 p. 141.

Schism guarded.

The great bustling in the controversy concerning Papal power,
 or the Discipline of the Church, hath been either about the true
 sense of some texts of Holy Scripture; as, "thou art Peter, and
 upon this rock will I build my Church, and to thee will I give
 the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven", and "feed my sheep": Or
 about some privileges conferred upon the Roman See by the
 Canons of the Fathers, and the Edicts of Emperors, but pretend-
 ed by the Roman Court, and the maintainers thereof, to be held
 by Divine right. I endeavour in this treatise to disabuse thee,
 and to show that this challenge of Divine right is but a blind, or
 diversion, to withhold thee from finding out the true state of the
 question. So the hare makes her doubles and her jumps before
 she comes to her form, to hinder tracers from finding her out.

I demonstrate to thee, that the true controversy is not concern-
 ing St. Peter, we have no formed difference about St. Peter, nor

about any point of Faith, but of interest and profit; nor with the Church of Rome, but with the court of Rome, and wherein it doth consist, namely, in these questions; who shall confer English Bishopricks? who shall convocate English Synods? who shall receive Tenths, and First-fruits, and Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity? Whether the Pope can make binding laws in England, without the consent of the King and Kingdom, or dispense with English Laws at his own pleasure, or call English subjects to Rome without the Prince's leave, or set up Legantine Courts in England against their wills? And this I show not out of the opinions of particular authors, but out of the public laws of the Kingdom.

I prove, moreover, out of our Fundamental Laws, and the writings of our best Historiographers, that all these branches of Papal power were abuses, and innovations, and usurpations, first attempted to be introduced into England above eleven hundred years after CHRIST, with the names of the innovators, and the precise time when each innovation began, and the opposition that was made against it by our Kings, by our Bishops, by our Peers, by our Parliaments, with the groans of the Kingdom under these Papal innovations and extortions.

Likewise, in point of doctrine, thou hast been instructed that the Catholic Faith doth comprehend all those points which are controverted between us and the Church of Rome, without the express belief whereof no Christian can be saved; whereas, in truth, all these are but opinions, yet some more dangerous than others. If none of them had ever been started in the world, there is sufficient to salvation for points to be believed in the Apostles' Creed. Into this Apostolical Faith, professed in the Creed, and explicated by the four first General Councils, and only into this Faith we have all been baptized. Far be it from us to imagine, that the Catholic Church hath ever more baptized, and doth still baptize but into one half of the Christian Faith.

In sum, dost thou desire to live in the communion of the true Catholic Church? So do I. But as I dare not change the cognizance of my christianity, that is, my Creed, nor enlarge the Christian Faith (I mean the essentials of it) beyond those bounds which the Apostles have set, so I dare not (to serve the interest of the Roman Court) limit the Catholic Church, which CHRIST hath purchased with his blood, to a fourth or a fifth part of the Christian world.

Thou art for tradition, so am I. But my tradition is not the tradition of one particular Church contradicted by the tradition of another Church, but the universal and perpetual tradition of the Christian world united. Such a tradition is a full proof, which is received *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*; always, everywhere, and by all Christians. Neither do I look upon the oppo-

sition of an handful of heretics (they are no more, being compared to the innumerable multitudes of Christians,) in one or two ages, as inconsistent with universality, any more than the highest mountains are inconsistent with the roundness of the earth.

Thou desirest to bear the same respect to the Church of Rome that thy ancestors did; so do I. But for that fulness of power, yea, co-active power in the exterior Court, over the subjects of other Princes, and against their wills, devised by the Court of Rome, not by the Church of Rome: it is that pernicious source from whence all these usurpations did spring. Our ancestors from time to time made laws against it; and our Reformation, in point of Discipline, being rightly understood, was but a pursuing of their steps. The true controversy is, whether the Bishop of Rome ought, by Divine right, to have the external regiment of the English Church, and co-active jurisdiction in English Courts, over English subjects, against the will of the King and the Laws of the Kingdom.— *Works*, p. 289.

Ibid.

As for Essentials of Faith, the pillars of the earth are not founded more firmly than our belief upon that undoubted rule of Vincentius, *Quicquid ubique semper et ab omnibus*, &c. Whatsoever we believe as an article of our Faith, we have for it the testimony and approbation of the whole Christian world of all ages, and therein the Church of Rome itself. But they have no such perpetual or universal tradition for their twelve new Articles of Pope Pius. This objection would have become me much better than him. Whatsoever we believe, they believe, and all the Christian world of all places, and all ages, doth now believe, and ever did believe, except condemned heretics. But they endeavour to obtrude new essentials of Faith upon the Christian world which have no such perpetual or such universal tradition, He that accuseth another, should have an eye to himself.

Does not all the world see that the Church of England stands no otherwise in order to the Church of Rome, than it did in Henry the Seventh's days? He addeth further, that it is confessed that the Papal power in Ecclesiastical affairs was cast out of England in Henry the Eighth's days. I answer that there was no mutation concerning Faith, nor concerning any legacy which CHRIST left to His Church, nor concerning the power of the Keys, or any jurisdiction purely spiritual, but concerning co-active power in the Exterior Court, concerning the Political or External Regiment of the Church, concerning the Patronage or Civil Sovereignty over the Church of England, and the Legislative, Judiciary, and Dispensative power of the Pope in England, over English subjects,

which was no more than a reinfranchisement of ourselves, from the upstart usurpations of the Court of Rome, of all which I have showed him expressly the first source, who began them, when, and where; before which he is not able to give one instance of any such practices attempted by the Bishop of Rome, and admitted by the Church of England.—*Works*, p. 342.

SANDERSON, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.

Nor will their flying to tradition help them in this case, or free them from Pharisaism; but rather make the more against them. For to omit that it hath been the usual course of false teachers, when their doctrines were found not to be Scripture-proof, to fly to tradition; do but inquire a little into the original and growth of Pharisaical traditions, and you shall find that one egg is not more like another, than the Papists and the Pharisees are alike in this matter. When Sadoc (or whosoever else was the first author of the sect of the Sadducees) and his followers began to vent their pestilent and Atheistical doctrines against the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and other like: the best learned among the Jews, (the Pharisees especially) opposed against them by arguments and collections drawn from the Scriptures. The Sadducees finding themselves unable to hold argument with them, (as having two shrewd disadvantages, but a little learning and a bad cause,) had no other means to avoid the force of all their arguments, than to hold them precisely to the letter of the text, without admitting any exposition thereof, or collection therefrom. Unless they could bring clear text, that should affirm *totidem verbis* what they denied, they would not yield. The Pharisees, on the contrary, refused (as they had good cause) to be tied to such unreasonable conditions; but stood upon the meaning of the Scriptures, as the Sadducees did upon the letter; confirming the truth of their interpretations partly from reason, and partly from tradition. Not meaning by tradition (as yet) any doctrine other than what was already sufficiently contained in the Scriptures; but merely the doctrine which had been in all ages constantly taught and received with an universal consent among the people of God, as consonant to the Holy Scriptures, and grounded thereon. By this means, though they could not satisfy the Sadducees (as Heretics and Sectaries commonly are obstinate,) yet so far they satisfied the generality of the people, that they grew into very great esteem with them; and within a while carried all before them: the detestation of the Sadducees and of their loose errors also conducting not a little thereunto. And who now but the Pharisees: and what now but tradition? in every man's eye and mouth. Things being at this pass, any wise man may judge, how easy a matter it was for men

so revered as the Pharisees were, to abuse the credulity of the people and the interest they had in their good opinion, to their own advantage ; to make themselves lords of the people's faith, and by little and little to bring into the worship whatsoever doctrines and observances they pleased ; and all under the acceptable name of the traditions of the Elders. And so they did, winning continually upon the people by their cunning, and shows of religion and proceeding still more and more, till the Jewish worship by their means was grown to that height of superstition and formality, as we see it was in our SAVIOUR's days. Such was the beginning, and such the rise, of those Pharisaical traditions.

Popish traditions also came in and grew up just after the same manner. The orthodox Bishops and Doctors in the ancient Church, being to maintain the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, the Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, the Hypostatical union of the two natures in the Person of CHRIST, the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST, and other like articles of the Catholic Religion against the Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, and other Heretics ; for that the words Trinity, Homousion, Hypostasis, Procession, &c. (which for the better expressing of the Catholic sense they were forced to use,) were not expressly to be found in the Holy Scriptures ; had recourse, therefore, very often in their writings against the Heretics of their times, to the tradition of the Church. Whereby they meant not (as the Papists would now wrest their words) any unwritten doctrine not contained in the Scriptures, but the very doctrine of the Scriptures themselves, as they had been constantly understood and believed by all faithful Christians in the Catholic Church, down from the Apostles' times till the several present ages wherein they lived. This course of theirs, of so serviceable and necessary use in those times, gave the first occasion and after-rise to that heap of errors and superstitions, which in process of time (by the power and policy of the Bishop of Rome especially) were introduced into the Christian Church under the specious name and colour of Catholic traditions. Thus have they trodden in the steps of their forefathers the Pharisees ; and stand guilty even as they of the superstition here condemned by our SAVIOUR, in teaching for doctrines men's precepts.—*Ad Clerum*, v. p. 85.

COSIN, BISHOP.—*Preface to his Notes on the Common Prayer.*

In truth we have continued the old religion ; and the ceremonies which we have taken from them that were before us, are not things which belong to this or that sect, but they are the ancient rites and customs of the Church of CHRIST, whereof ourselves being a part, we have the selfsame interest in them, which our fathers before us had, from whom the same descended to us

To abrogate those things without constraint of apparent harm thence arising, had been to alter unjustly the universal practice of the people of GOD, and those general decrees of the Fathers, which (in St. Augustin's language) is madness and insolence to do, both in respect of the universal authority of the Church, which no particular Church has power to control, and also in regard of reasons before mentioned.—p. 50. (*in Nicholls' Commentary.*)

Ibid.—*Judgment betwixt the Church of England and Church of Rome.*

If the Roman Catholics would make the essence of their Church (as we do ours) to consist in the following points, we are at accord with them: in the reception and belief of the unanimous and general consent of the ancient Catholic Fathers, and the universal Church of CHRIST in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and the collection of all necessary matters of faith from them, during the first six centuries downwards to our own day.*

HAMMOND, PRESBYTER AND CONFESSOR.—*Of Heresy.*

1. This then being the adequate object of the Christian's Faith, those verities which have been revealed to us by GOD to be thus believed to righteousness, called therefore ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι, words not only true but wholesome, the belief whereof is required in order to our souls' health; the next inquiry is, how we that live in the same distance from CHRIST and His Apostles in respect of time, that we are situate from heaven, which now contains CHRIST, in respect of place, may come within the reach of these revelations of CHRIST, or to any competent undoubted assurance, that those are such indeed, which are pretended to be so.

2. And to this also my concession shall be as liberal as any Romanist can wish, that there are *two* ways of conveying such revelations to us; one in writing, the other by oral traditions; the former in the Gospels and other writings of the Apostles, &c. which make up the Sacred Writ, or Canon of the New Testament; the latter in the Apostles' preaching to all the Churches of their plantations, which are nowhere set down for us in the Sacred Writ, but conserved as deposita by them to whom they were entrusted.

3. And although in sundry respects the former of these be much the more faithful, steady way of conveyance, and for want thereof many things may possibly have perished, or been changed by their passage through many hands, thus much being on these

* Vid. Bp. Hickey's Letters, vol. i. Ap. paper iv.

grounds confest by Bellarmine himself, that the Scripture is the most certain and safe rule of belief; yet there being no less veracity in the tongues, than the hands, in the preachings, than the writings of the Apostles; nay, *Prior sermo quam liber, prior sensus quam stylus*, saith Tertullian, the Apostles preachd before they writ, planted Churches before they addrest Epistles to them: on these grounds I make no scruple to grant, that Apostolical traditions, such as are truly so, as well as Apostolical writings, are equally the matter of a Christian's belief; who is equally secured by the fidelity of the conveyance, that as one is Apostolical writing, so the other is Apostolical tradition.

§ IV. 1. Next then the inquiry must proceed by examining what is this equal way of conveyance, common to both these, upon strength of which we become obliged to receive such or such a tradition for Apostolical.

2. And this again is acknowledged not to be any Divine testimony; for God hath nowhere affirmed in Divine Writ that the Epistle, inscribed of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, consisting of so many periods as now it is in our Bibles, was ever written by that Apostle, nor are there any inward characters or signatures, or beams of light in the writing itself, that can be admitted, or pretended for testimonies of this, any more than the like may exact to be admitted as witnesses, that the Creed called the Apostles' was, indeed, in the full sense of it, delivered to the Churches.

3. It remains, then, that herein on both sides we rest content with human testimonies of undoubted authority, or such as there is not any rational motive to distrust, and of which alone the matter is capable. For as in ease of question concerning the Epistle to the Romans, whether this be it, which was addrest by St. Paul to that Church, the only regular way of satisfying the question, is, 1st, By devolution or appeal to the authority of those Fathers and Councils, to whom it was *de facto* sufficiently testified and approved, (viz. by examination of the records of that Church to whom it was written, and by whom received, through the hands of some trusty messenger of that Apostle, such as Phœbe that ministered unto him, and by other creditable ways of confirmation,) and 2ndly, and by that consequence to those very original records and proofs of undoubted fidelity: so the way of trial of any tradition, pretended to be Apostolical, whether it be such or no, is by devolving it to those same, or the like Fathers and Councils, which having occasion and commodity to examine the truth of the matter by the records or testimonies of those Churches to which it was delivered, found it sufficiently testified by them, that it was in truth according as is pretended.

4. And from hence it follows, that as we of this age have no other

way of judging of the Canon of Scripture, or of any book or chapter, or period contained in it, but by the affirmation and authority of those testifiers in the first ages of the Church, either by their writings, or by the unquestioned relations of others, brought down and made known to us; so are we as unable to judge of Apostolical traditions unwritten, whether this or that doctrine be such or no, unless it be thus by the undoubted affirmations of the ancients (who are presumable by their antiquity to know the truth, and by their uniform consent neither to mistake themselves, nor to deceive us); communicated and conveyed to us.

5. 'Tis not possible for any man or men of the greatest understandings or integrity, to see or know what is not done within the reach of their faculties, unless either they be inspired by God, or otherwise informed, either mediately or immediately, from those who had really knowledge of it. Stories of former times are not wont to be written by the strength of men's natural parts, invention, or judgment, but only by consulting of those records, either dead or living, by whose help such matters of fact have been preserved. Every thing else is but conjecture, and that very uncertain, the utmost probability in such matters being little worth, that being oftentimes done which really was (and much more to us, who know not the motives of actions far removed from us, is) of all things least probable to have been done. Only a creditable witness, such as no prudent man hath reason to distrust either as nescient or false, is worth considering, or able to found belief in this matter.

§ V. 1. Now then comes the upshot of the inquiry, what qualifications there are of a testimony or testifier, without which, it or he may not be thus deemed creditable, *οὐκ ἀξιόπιστος*, worthy to be believed by a sober Christian; and where these qualifications are to be found, which when we have once resolved, it will also be possible for us to pass some judgment of traditions duly styled Apostolical, which as such must be allowed to be the object of our Faith.

2. And herein I shall hope also that the resolution will be unquestionable, if it be bounded by those three terms, to which Vincentius Lirinensis, in his defence of the Catholic Faith against Heresies and Innovations, hath directed us, *Universitas, Antiquitas, Consensio*, Universality, Antiquity, Consent, viz. That the testimony we depend on, be the result of all, the ancients, consenting, or without any considerable dissent. Or, in yet fewer words, a Catholic testimony, truly such, *i. e.* universal in all respects; (1) of place, (2) of time, (3) of persons.

3. For first if it be not testified from all places, it is not qualified for our belief, as Catholic in respect of place, because the Faith being one and the same, and by all and every of the Apos-

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tles preached, and deposited in all their plantations, what was ever really thus taught, by any of them in any Church, will also be found to have been taught and received in all other Apostolical Churches.

4. To which purpose the words of Irenæus are express, lib. i. cap. 3. The Church disseminated over all the world, having received this preaching and this Faith, preserves it diligently, as the inhabitants of the same house believe them alike, as having the same soul and heart; and teach, and preach, and deliver them alike, as having the same mouth: for though their languages are unlike, the virtue of tradition is one and the same; and neither do the Churches which are found in Germany believe or deliver otherwise than those which were constituted in Spain, in France, in the Orient, in Egypt, in Africk, in the middle of the world; but as one and the same sun shines through the whole world, so doth the light and preaching of the truth in every place, where it is received, disperse itself.

5. So also Tertullian de Præscript. c. 20. Presently, therefore, the Apostles, having first in Judea testified the Faith and instituted Churches, and then taken them over all the world, made known to the nations the same doctrine of the same Faith, and so planted Churches in every city, from which the rest of the Churches afterward borrowed their seeds of Faith and doctrine, and so daily continue to do, and are formed into Churches.

6. From which premises his conclusion is just that which I here deduce; if so, then it is evident that every doctrine must be deemed true which conspires with the Apostolical Churches, which are the wombs and originals whence the Faith came out, as maintaining that without any question, which the Churches received from the Apostles, the Apostles from CHRIST, and CHRIST from God; and that all other doctrine is under the prejudice of being false, which is contrary to the truth of the Churches of the Apostles, of CHRIST, and of God.

7. It is true, indeed, that whatsoever one Church professeth to have received from the Apostle that planted it, is of itself sufficient, without the confirmation of all others, to beget and establish belief in him, to whom it thus testifies: whereupon Tertullian refers the inquirer to that Apostolic Church which is next to him, be it Corinth, if he live in Achaia, Philippi, or Thessalonica, if in Macedonia, Ephesus, if in Asia, or if he be near Italy, Rome. But this is no farther to be extended, than while we suppose without inquiry, that other Apostolical Churches have received, and are ready to testify the same; which presumption or supposal must then cease, when upon inquiry we find the contrary; there being then none of this first kind of universality; viz. of place, and so far, no validity in the testification.

8. Secondly, for the universality of time, that must be cautiously understood ; not so as to signify it a prejudice to any doctrine, if in some one or more ages it have not been universally received ; for then there could be no Heretics at any time in the world : but so as to extend to the first and purest, and not only to the latter ages of the Church.

9. That which was delivered by the Apostles was certainly received in that first age wherein they lived ; and by careful inquiry will be found from their monuments to have been among them. And that which by this trial is discerned to be of later date, not to be descried in the first times, nor testified by sufficient authority to be derived from thence, falls short again of this second part of universality in respect of time.

10. Thirdly, for the consent of testifiers, that is also necessary to the rendering it a Catholic and authentic testimony ; any considerable number of dissenters being of necessity to weaken our belief, and infuse reasons of doubting, and a preponderancy of dissenters the other way, to weigh down (at least to incline) the belief to the contrary.

§ VI. 1. This, therefore, being thus established, and the conjunction of all the three sorts of universality being in all reason required to the authentic testifying of tradition, it is soon defined, where these qualifications are to be looked for, and where they may be found.

2. Questionless not in any one Bishop, or succession of Bishops in any See for many later ages, not including the Apostles ; for whatever his pretensions may be to authority and supremacy over all other Churches, this can never convert a particular, whether man or Church, into the universal, nor make his testimony authentic, according to those rational and Christian rules which we have learned from Lirinensis.

3. There are many Apostolic Churches beside that of Rome : great difference of Rome in these latter ages from the Primitive Apostolic Rome, to which the depositum was intrusted. And there are many dissenters to be found, who have always lived and flourished in the Catholic Church, which never acknowledged those doctrines to be delivered to them by the Apostles, which the Church of Rome hath of late assumed to be such. And for any privilege annexed to that Bishop's chair, or to that society of men, which live in external communion with him, that he or they can never define any thing to be (*de fide*) part of the Faith, which is not so, as that is, beyond all other their pretensions, most denied by us, and least attempted to be proved by the Romanist, and not so much as consented on among themselves ; so must it in no reason be supposed in this dispute, or taken for granted by them, but is rejected with the same ease that it is mentioned by them.

4. As for other pretenders, I know not any, save only that of the universal consent of the Doctors of the first ages, or that of an universal Council. And both these we are willing to admit with such cautions only as the matter exacts and the grounds of defining already laid.

5. The universal consent of the Doctors of the first ages, bearing testimony that such or such a doctrine was from the Apostles' preachings delivered to all Churches by them planted, or their general conform testimony herein, without any considerable dissenters producible, is, I acknowledge, authentic or worthy of belief, and so hath been made use of by the orthodox of all times, as sufficient for the rejecting of any new doctrine.

6. So likewise is the declaration of a general Council, free, and gathered from all quarters, and in such other respects, truly so called, founded in the examination of the monuments of the several Apostolical plantations, either produced in Council, or authentically confirmed from the letters of the several Churches, either formerly prepared in provincial and national Councils, or otherwise sufficiently confirmed to them, and this declaration conciliarly promulgated, and after the promulgation universally received and accepted by the Church diffusive; or else it is evident all this while, that it is not a Catholic (truly so styled) testimony.

7. For that any Council of Bishops, the most numerous that ever was in the world (much less a but major part of those few that be there present) is not yet really the universality of Christians, is too evident to be doubted of.

8. It can only then be pretended, that it is the universal representative, or such an assembly, wherein is contained the virtue and influences of the whole universal Church. And thus, indeed, I suppose it to be, as often as the doctrines there established by universal consent (founded in Scripture and tradition) have either been before discussed and resolved in each provincial Council, which have sent their delegates thither from all the parts of the world, or else have *post factum*, after the promulgation, been accepted by them, and acknowledged to agree with that Faith which they had originally received.—*Works*, vol. i. p. 545.

Id.—*Practical Catechism.*

But what if the particular Church wherein I was baptized shall fall from its own stedfastness, and by authority or law set up that which, if it be not contrary to plain words of Scripture, is yet contrary to the doctrine or practice of the universal Church of the first and purest times; what will meekness require me to do in that case? Meekness will require me to be

very wary in passing such judgment on that Church ; but if the light be so clear and the defection be so palpably discernible to all, that I cannot but see and acknowledge it, and in case it be true, that I am actually convinced, that the particular Church in which I live, is departed from the Catholic Apostolic Church ; then it being certain that the greater authority must be preferred before the lesser, and that next the Scripture the Catholic Church of the first and purest times (especially when the subsequent ages do also accord with that for many hundreds of years) is the greatest authority, it follows that meekness requires my obedience and submission to the Catholic Apostolic Church, and not to the particular wherein I live : so far, I mean, as that I am to retain that Catholic Apostolic, and not this novel, corrupt, not Catholic doctrine. And if for my doing so I fall under persecution of the rulers of that particular Church, meekness then requires me patiently to endure it, but in no case to subscribe to or act anything which is contrary to this Catholic doctrine.—Some other obligations there are upon every Christian (wherein meekness interposeth not) which do require me not to depart from any Catholic Apostolic truth or practice, at least not to submit to (or act) the contrary, or to do anything which is apt to confirm others in so doing, or to lead those that doubt (by my example) to do what they doubt to be unlawful. For in all these particulars, the Christian law of scandal obliges me, not only not to yield to any schism from the Catholic Apostolic Church, or other the like corruption, but not to do those things by which I shall be thought by prudent men to do so.—Meekness permits me also to seek out for some purer Church, if that may conveniently be had for me. Nay, if I am by my calling fitted for it, and can prudently hope to plant (or contribute to the planting) such a pure Apostolic Church where there is none, or to reconcile and restore peace between divided members of the Church Catholic, my endeavour to do so is in this case extremely commendable, and that which God's providence seems to direct me to, by what is thus befallen me. The authority by which it stands in the whole Church, is that of the practice of the primitive universal Christian Church ; not that we have any certain evidence of the time of its beginning, but that the immemorial observation of it is an argument of the primitive, if not Apostolic institution of it.—Lib. ii. § 1. & 12.

Ibid.

The practice and writings of the ancient Church, which is the best way to explicate any such difficulty in Scripture, is a clear testimony and proof that both the bread and the wine belong

to all the people, in the name of his Disciples at that time. But why may it not be said, that laymen may baptize also, and do those other things, for which CHRIST gave power to His Disciples, as well as this bread and wine, divided among the Disciples, should belong to them? The answer is given already, that the Apostolical practice and the universal consent of the ancient primitive Church have defined the one, and defined against the other, and that ought to satisfy any sober man's scruples; it being no way probable that CHRIST's institution would be presently frustrated and corrupted by His own Apostles, or their practice so falsified by the universal agreement of all that lived next after them, especially there being no universal Council, wherein it were possible for them all uniformly to agree on such an opposition.—Lib. vi. § 4.

THORNDIKE, PRESBYTER.—*Of the Principles of Christian Truth.*

Whatsoever then is said of the rule of Faith in the writings of the Fathers, is to be understood of the creed; whereof, though it be not maintained, that the words which pretenders were required to render by heart were the same, yet the substance of it, and the reasons and grounds which make every point necessary to be believed, were always the same in all Churches, and remain unchangeable. I would not have any hereupon to think that the matter of this rule is not, in my conceit, contained in the Scriptures. For I find St. Cyril (Catech. v.) protesting, that it contains nothing but that which concerned our salvation the most, selected out of the Scriptures. And, therefore, in other places he tenders his scholars evidence out of the Scriptures, and wishes them not to believe that whereof there is no such evidence. And to the same effect (Eucherius in Symb. Hom. 1. Paschasius de Sp. S. in Præf., and after them Thomas Aquinas, secunda ii. Quest. 1. Art. ix.), all agree that the form of the Creed was made up out of the Scriptures; giving such reasons as no reasonable Christian can refuse. Not only because all they whose salvation is concerned have not leisure to study the Scriptures, but because they that have, cannot easily or safely discern wherein the substance of faith, upon the profession whereof our salvation depends, consisteth; supposing that they were able to discern between true and false, in the meaning of the Scriptures. To which I will add only that which Tertullian and others of the Fathers observe of the ancient Heretics, that their fashion was to take occasion, upon one or two texts, to overthrow and deny the main substance and scope of the whole Scriptures; which, whether it be seen in the sects of our time, or not, I will not say here (because I will not take

any thing for granted which I have not yet principles to prove), but suppose it only a thing possible. I will think I give a sufficient reason why God should provide tradition as well as Scripture, to bound the sense of it; as St. Cyril also cautioneth in the place aforementioned, where he so liberally acknowledgeth the Creed to be taken out of the Scripture. For (saith he) "the Faith was not framed as it pleased men, but the most substantial matters collected out of the Scripture do make up one doctrine of the Faith." For, I beseech you, what had they, whosoever they were that first framed the Creed, but Tradition, whereby to distinguish that which is substantial from that which is not? Hear Origen, in the Preface to his books *περὶ ἀρχαῶν*. "There being many that think their sense to be Christian, and yet the sense of some differs from their predecessors; but that which the Church preaches, as delivered by order of succession from the Apostles, being preserved and remaining the same in the Church, that only is to be believed for truth, which nothing differs from the Tradition of the Church." This, notwithstanding, we must know; that the Holy Apostles, preaching the Faith of CHRIST, delivered some things (as many as they held necessary) most manifestly to all believers, even those whom they found the duller in the search of Divine knowledge; leaving the reason why they affirmed them to the search of those that got to receive the eminent gifts of the HOLY GHOST, especially of utterance, wisdom, and knowledge by the HOLY GHOST. Of other things they said that they are, but how, or whereupon they are, they said not. Forsooth, that the more studious of their successors, loving wisdom and knowledge, might have some exercise wherein to show the fruit of their wit; to wit, those that should prepare themselves to be worthy and capable of wisdom. Now, the particulars of that which is manifestly delivered by the preaching of the Apostles are these, which he proceedeth to set down. But Vincentius Lirinensis hath writ a Discourse on purpose to show that this rule of Faith, being delivered by succession to the principal, as St. Paul requires Timothy to do, and by them to those that were baptized, was the ground upon which all heresies, attempting upon the Faith, were condemned. So that, so many heresies, as historical truth will evidence, to have been excluded the Church from the Apostles' time, for matter of belief, so many convictions of this rule: which, because all agreed that they transgressed, therefore they were excluded the Church. But Vincentius, besides this, advanceth another mark to discern what belongs to the Rule, that is, what the ground and scope of our Creed requires. For it might be said, that perhaps something may come in question, whether consistent with the rule of Faith or not, in which there hath passed no decree of the Primitive Church, because never questioned by that time: wherein, therefore, we shall be to seek,

notwithstanding the decrees passed by the Church upon ancient heresies. Which to meet with, Vincentius saith further, that whatsoever hath been unanimously taught in the Church by writing, that is, always, by all, everywhere, to that, no contradiction is ever to be admitted in the Church. Here the style changes; for whereas Irenæus, Tertullian, and others of former time, appeal only to that which was visible in the practice of all Churches; by the time of the Council at Ephesus, (the date of Vincentius's book) so much had been written upon all points of Faith, and upon the Scriptures, that he presumeth, evidence may be made of it all, what may stand with that which the whole Church had taught, what may not.—p. 44.

Id.—Just weights and measures.

It is not the decree of the present Church, but the witness and agreement of the whole Church, that renders any thing infallible. —Seeing, therefore, that the malice of man, by dividing the Church, rendereth it invisible, as hard to be seen, though not invisible, as not possible to be seen, what remaineth, but that all public persons, and whosoever is interested in the divisions of the Church, understand and consider what account they owe, for the souls that must needs miscarry by the divisions which they maintain, when they need not? For how shall he be clear, that professes not a desire of condescending to all that which truth will allow on either side, for the advantage of peace on both sides? And seeing neither side can make peace without the consent of both, but either may have truth alone; what remaineth, but that all reformation be confined within those bounds, which the faith and the law of the Catholic Church fixeth?—The true sense of the Scripture is not to be had, but out of the records of antiquity; especially of God's ancient people first, and then of the Christian Church. The obligation of that sense upon the Church at this time, is not to be measured against the Primitive practice of the whole Church. The reformation of the Church is nothing but the restoring of that which may appear to have been in force.—It is, therefore, necessary that both sides, professing the Reformation, should agree upon the true ground of Reformation; and so upon the rule which that ground will maintain and evidence; that is, to submit all that is in question to the visible practice of the primitive times, before those abuses were brought in, which the Reformation pretendeth to restore.—There is the same ground to believe—that there is, for the common Christianity, namely, the Scriptures interpreted by the perpetual practice of God's Church.—And seeing the abating of the first form under Edward VI. hath wrought no effect, but to

give them that desired it an appetite to root up the whole ; what thanks can we render to GOD for escaping so great a danger, but by sticking firm to a rule that will stick firm to us, and carry us through any dispute in religion, and land us in the haven of a quiet conscience, what troubles soever we may pass through, in maintaining that the Reformation of the Church will never be according to the rule which it ought to follow, till it cleave to the Catholic Church of CHRIST in this particular ?—p. 50, 51. 98. 159.

Ibid.—*The due way of composing the Differences on foot, preserving the Church.*

The chief ground that I suppose here, because I have proved it at large, is the meaning of that Article of our Creed, which professeth one Catholic Church. For either it signifies nothing, or it signifies that GOD hath founded one visible Church, that is, that He hath obliged all Churches (and all Christians of whom all Churches consist) to hold visible communion with the whole Church in the visible offices of GOD's public service. And therefore I am satisfied, that the differences upon which we are divided, cannot be justly settled upon any terms, which any part of the whole Church shall have just cause to refuse, as inconsistent with the unity of the whole Church. For in that case we must needs become schismatics, by settling ourselves upon such laws, under which any Church may refuse to communicate with us, because it is bound to communicate with the whole Church.—p. 225.

TAYLOR, BISHOP.—*Dissuasive from Popery.*

It was the challenge of St. Austin to the Donatists, who (as the Church of Rome does at this day) enclosed the Catholic Church within their own circuits: "Ye say that CHRIST is heir of no lands, but where Donatus is co-heir. Read this to us out of the law and the Prophets, out of the Psalms, out of the Gospel itself, or out of the letters of the Apostles: read it thence, and we believe it."—plainly directing us to the fountains of our faith, the Old and New Testament, the words of CHRIST, and the words of the Apostles. For nothing else can be the fountain of our faith: whatsoever came in after these, "*foris est*," it belongs not unto CHRIST.

To these we also add, not as authors or finishers, but as helpers of our faith, and heirs of the doctrine apostolical, the sentiments and catholic doctrine of the Church of GOD, in the ages next after the Apostles. Not that we think them or ourselves bound to every private opinion, even of a primitive bishop and martyr ; but that

we all acknowledge that the whole Church of God kept the faith entire, and transmitted faithfully to the after-ages the whole faith, *τύπον διδασχης*, "the form of doctrine, and sound words, which was at first delivered to the saints," and was defective in nothing that belonged unto salvation; and we believe that those ages sent millions of saints to the bosom of CHRIST, and sealed the true faith with their lives and with their deaths, and by both gave testimony unto JESUS, and had from Him the testimony of His SPIRIT.

And this method of procedure we now choose, not only because to them that know well how to use it, to the sober and moderate, the peaceable and the wise, it is the best, the most certain, visible and tangible, most humble and satisfactory; but also because the Church of Rome does, with greatest noises, pretend her conformity to antiquity. Indeed, the present Roman doctrines, which are in difference, were invisible and unheard of in the first and best antiquity, and with how ill success their quotations are out of the Fathers of the three first ages, every inquiring man may easily discern. But the noises, therefore, which they make, are from the writings of the succeeding ages; where secular interest did more prevail, and the writings of the Fathers were vast and voluminous, full of controversy and ambiguous senses, fitted to their own times and questions, full of proper opinions, and such variety of sayings, that both sides, eternally and inconfutably, shall bring sayings for themselves respectively. Now although things being thus, it will be impossible for them to conclude from the sayings of a number of Fathers, that their doctrine, which they would prove thence, was the catholic doctrine of the Church: because any number that is less than all, does not prove a catholic consent; yet the clear sayings of one or two of these Fathers, truly alleged by us to the contrary, will certainly prove that what many of them (suppose it) do affirm, and which but two or three as good Catholics as the other do deny, was not then matter of faith, or a doctrine of the Church; for if it had, these had been accounted heretics, and not have remained in the communion of the Church. But although for the reasonableness of the thing, we have thought fit to take notice of it; yet we shall have no need to make use of it, since, not only in the prime and purest antiquity, we are indubitably more than conquerors, but even in the succeeding ages, we have the advantage both '*numero, pondere, et mensurâ*,'—in number, weight, and measure.

We do easily acknowledge, that to dispute these questions from the sayings of the Fathers, is not the readiest way to make an end of them; but, therefore, we do wholly rely upon Scriptures, as the foundation and final resort of all our persuasions, and from thence can never be confuted; but we also admit the Fathers as admirable helps for the understanding of the Scriptures, and as

good testimony of the doctrine delivered from their forefathers down to them, of what the Church esteemed the way of salvation; and therefore, if we find any doctrine now taught, which was not placed in their way of salvation, we reject it, as being no part of the Christian faith, and which ought not to be imposed upon consciences. They were 'wise unto salvation' and 'fully instructed to every good work;' and therefore, the faith, which they professed and derived from Scripture, we profess also; and in the same faith, we hope to be saved even as they. But for the new doctors, we understand them not, we know them not; our faith is the same from the beginning, and cannot become new.

But because we shall make it to appear, that they do greatly innovate in all their points of controversy with us, and show nothing but shadows instead of substances, and little images of things instead of solid arguments; we shall take from them their armour in which they trusted, and choose this sword of Goliath to combat their errors; for *non est alter talis*: it is not easy to find a better than the word of God, expounded by the prime and best antiquity.—Part i. book i. § i. *Works*. vol. x. p. 129.

HEYLIN, PRESBYTER.

Things that have been generally in the Church of CHRIST are generally conceived to have been derived from apostolical tradition, without any special mandate left in Scripture for the doing of them. Praying directly towards the East is conceived to be of that condition; why may we not conclude the like of setting up the altar along the wall? Many things come into our minds by a successional tradition, for which we cannot find an express command, which yet we ought to entertain, *ex vi Catholice consuetudinis*: of which traditions there are many, which still retain their force among us in England. This Church (the LORD be thanked for it) hath stood more firm for apostolical traditions, than any other whatsoever of the Reformation.—Antid. Lincoln, p. 87.*

COMMISSIONERS OF A. D. 1662.—Appointed to review the Book of Common Prayer.

Ancient Liturgies in the Church, St. Chrysostom's, St. Basil's, St. James's and others, and such things as are found in them all consistent with Catholic and Primitive doctrine, may well be presumed to have been from the first, especially since we find no original of these Liturgies from General Councils.—*Reply to Presbyterians*, § 16.

* As extracted in "the Canterburians' self-conviction," 1640. p. 63.

PEARSON, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—*On the Creed.*

As our religion is Catholic, it holdeth fast that 'faith which was once delivered to the saints,' and since preserved in the Church; and therefore I expound such verities, in opposition to the heretics arising in all ages, especially against the Photinians, who of all the rest have most perverted the articles of our Creed, and found out followers in these latter ages, who have erected a new body of divinity in opposition to the Catholic theology. Against these I proceed upon such principles as they themselves allow, that is, upon the word of God delivered in the Old and New Testament, alleged according to the true sense, and applied by right reason: not urging the authority of the Church which they reject, but only giving in the margin the sense of the primitive Fathers, for the satisfaction of such as have any respect left for antiquity, and are persuaded that CHRIST had a true Church on the earth before these times.—*Preface.*

BARROW, PRESBYTER AND DOCTOR.

It can indeed no wise be safe to follow any such leaders (whatever pretences to special illumination they hold forth, whatever specious guises of sanctity they bear) who in their doctrine or practice deflect from the great beaten roads of holy Scripture, primitive tradition, and Catholic practice, roving in by-paths suggested to them by their private fancies and humours, their passions and lusts, their interests and advantages: there have in all ages such counterfeit guides started up, having debauched some few heedless persons, having erected some *παράδοξα* or petty combinations against the regularly settled corporations; but never with any durable success or countenance of Divine Providence; but like prodigious meteors, having caused a little *gazing*, and some disturbance, their sects have soon been dissipated, and have quite vanished away: the authors and abettors of them being either buried in oblivion, or recorded with ignominy; like that Theudas in the speech of Gamaliel, who "rose up boasting himself to be somebody; to whom a number of men about four hundred joined themselves; who were slain, and all as many as obeyed him were scattered and brought to nought."—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 206.

BULL, BISHOP AND DOCTOR.—*Apol. pro Harm.* i. 6.

GOD knows the secrets of my heart; so far am I from the itch of originality in Theological Doctrines, . . . that whatever are sanctioned by the consent of Catholic Fathers and ancient

Bishops, though my own small ability attain not to them, yet I will embrace them with all reverence. In truth, I had already learned by no few experiments, in writing my *Harmony* while yet a young man, what now in my mature age I am most thoroughly persuaded of, that no one can contradict Catholic consent, however he may seem to be countenanced for a while by some passages of Scripture wrongly understood, and by the illusions of unreal arguments, without being found in the end to have contradicted both Scripture and sound reason. I daily deplore and sigh over the unbridled license of prophesying which obtained for some years in this our England, . . . under the tyranny of what some considered a wretched necessity. In a word, my hearty desire is this, Let the ancient customs, doctrines, remain in force.*

STILLINGFLEET, BISHOP.—*Grounds of Protestant Religion.*

The Church of England doth very piously declare her consent with the ancient Catholic Church, in not admitting any thing to be delivered as the sense of Scripture, which is contrary to the consent of the Catholic Church in the four first ages. Not as though the sense of the Catholic Church were pretended to be any infallible rule of interpreting Scripture in all things which concern the rule of faith; but that it is a sufficient prescription against anything which can be alleged out of Scripture, that if it appear contrary to the sense of the Catholic Church from the beginning, it ought not to be looked on as the true meaning of the Scripture. All this security is built upon this strong presumption, that nothing contrary to the necessary Articles of Faith should be held by the Catholic Church, whose very being depends upon the belief of those things which are necessary to salvation. As long therefore as the Church might appear to be truly Catholic by those correspondencies which were maintained between the several parts of it, that what was refused by one, was so by all; so long this unanimous and uncontradicted sense of the Catholic Church ought to have a great sway upon the minds of such who yet profess themselves members of the Catholic Church. From whence it follows, that such doctrines may well be judged destructive to the rule of faith, which were so unanimously condemned by the Catholic Church within that time. And thus much may suffice for the first inquiry, viz. What things are to be esteemed necessary, either in order to Salvation, or in order to Ecclesiastical Communion?—p. 55.

* Concil. Nicæn. Can.

KEN, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.

As for my religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West; more particularly I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan Innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.—*His last Will.*

BEVERIDGE, BISHOP.—Preface to *Codex Canonum Eccles. Prim. vindicatus ac illustratus.*

To such a degree of temerity has this our senseless age advanced, that there is scarcely any thing in Christianity itself which is not either called into doubt in private, or made matter of controversy in public. So much so, that even those doctrines and rites which, during many ages back, and from the very beginnings of the Church, have every where been received, at last in these our days come into hazard, and are assailed, just as if we were the first Christians, and all our ancestors had assumed and borne the mere name of CHRIST, and nothing more; or at least, as if all had been constantly involved in the gravest errors, whoever before this time embraced the faith made known in the Gospel. Forsooth in these full late times, it seems new lights are boasted of, new and greater gifts of the HOLY SPIRIT are pretended; and therefore new forms of believing, new forms of praying, new forms of preaching, new forms in the use of ecclesiastical administrations, are daily framed and commonly adopted. And, what is most absurd, nothing now is esteemed of before novelty itself, but the newer any thing is, so much the greater number and the more does it please, and the more anxiously is it defended. Hence these tears, hence so many horrible schisms in the Church! For whilst individuals, indulging, beyond what is meet, their abilities, or rather their own wanton fancies, devote themselves to the introduction of novelties into religion, the whole body, through the infinite diversity of opinions, comes to be rent into contrary schools and factions.

But if we will only even now recollect ourselves, and weigh things with that temperate and fair spirit which is right, it will at once be clear that we, who now inhabit this and other countries around, are not either the first or the only worshippers of CHRIST, but only a small part of that great body whose head is CHRIST: inasmuch as that body, by the exceeding mercy of GOD, hath been spread abroad into all parts of the earth, and that from the very times of the Apostles; so that there is no age, and scarcely any country, in which there have not been very many who, by

the faith which we profess, have attained unto heaven. According to this view, if we attentively survey this vast body of all Christians of every age, which is commonly called the *Catholic* or *Universal Church*, as constituted every where and always, we shall find in it certain fixed, and, as it were, common principles, which run through the whole, and connect all its parts both with each other and with the head. The first of these, and that from which the rest arise, is, *that Holy Scripture, or the Old and New Testament, is divinely inspired*. In this all Christians every where agree, and have always agreed; and therefore he who denies it is pronounced unworthy of their fellowship, and of their name. Still further, this Holy Scripture, although in these precepts, which are absolutely necessary for every man's salvation, it be most clear and evident to all, yet, as to what respects doctrine and external discipline of the Church, it is not, from its very depth, received by all in one and the same sense, but "the divine sayings of this same Scripture are by one man interpreted in one way, and by another in another; so that it would seem to admit almost as many meanings as there are men," as formerly *Vincent of Lirins* observed, and as is more than sufficiently proved from the case of heretics and schismatics, inasmuch as, among them, every individual elicits his own erroneous opinions and practices out of the holy Scriptures interpreted after his own manner. In things therefore of this nature, if we would be secured from error and falling, first of all, beyond all doubt, we must beware that we do not over-pertinaciously adhere to the private opinions and conjectures of ourselves and others, but do rather carefully examine what the ancient Church, or at least, the great majority of Christians, have held in these matters, and must acquiesce in that decision which has obtained the consent of Christians in all ages. For as, according to Cicero, on every subject, "the consent of all men is the voice of nature," so also in things of this sort, the consent of all Christians may be deservedly accounted the voice of the Gospel. But there are many things which, although they are not read in express and definite terms in the Holy Scriptures, are yet by the common consent of all Christians drawn out of these Scriptures. For example: "that there are in the ever-blessed Trinity three distinct Persons to be worshipped, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that these are, each of them, truly God, and yet that there is but one God: that CHRIST is God and man, θεάνθρωπος, truly God and truly man, in one and the same person." These and such like, although they are not, either in the Old or New Testament, declared in so many words and syllables, yet have they, as founded on both, ever been agreed on by all Christians, certain few heretics only excepted, of whom no more account is to be had in religion, than of monsters in nature. So also, "that infants are to receive the ablution of holy

Baptism, and that sponsors are to be used for that Sacrament. That the LORD's day, or the first day in every seven, is to be religiously observed as a festival. That our LORD's passion, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, as also the coming of the HOLY GHOST, are to be commemorated every year. That the Church is every where to be administered by Bishops, distinguished from Presbyters, and set over them." These and others of this sort are nowhere in the sacred Scriptures enjoined directly and by name, yet have they notwithstanding, during fourteen hundred years from the Apostles, been every where received into public use of the Church; nor can there be found any Church during that period not agreeing to these things. So that there have been, as it were, certain *common notions* from the beginning implanted in the minds of all Christians, not so much from any particular passages of holy Scripture, as from all; from the general scope and tenor of the whole Gospel; from the very nature and purpose of the religion therein established; and, finally, from the constant tradition of the Apostles, who, together with the faith, propagated ecclesiastical rites of this sort; and, if I may so speak, general interpretations of the Gospel. For on any other supposition it would be incredible, or even impossible, that they should have been received with so unanimous a consent every where, always, and by all.

3. From these premises, it is clear at the first glance what will follow. For seeing that no one doubts but that more confidence is to be placed in the whole body than in individual Christians, and more in the Universal Church than in any particular Churches whatsoever: seeing also that there are very many points in which the Universal Church, during many ages after the Apostles, agreed: seeing, finally, that this consent of the Universal Church is the surest interpretation of holy Scripture on those points on which it may be had: it hence most clearly follows, of what and how great use the ancient Fathers, and other writers of all ages of the Church, must be, and how necessary to be consulted by them, who, in the prosecution of ecclesiastical controversies, have at heart either their own salvation, or the peace of the Church. For, were there no commentaries of the ancient Church, no acts of councils, no monuments of ecclesiastical history, extant at this day, in how great darkness should we be involved respecting our very religion itself? How easy would it be for any subtle heretic, or even for any the most flagitious impostor, under the mask of piety, to deceive the generality, and to lead them into the most pernicious errors of every description? Who could then convict the Church of Rome, or any other even the most corrupt communion, of fault or error, in those particulars which are not expressly prohibited in holy Scripture? From whence could it be proved, whether those things

which are in use in that Church had, or had not, been handed down from the very Apostles, and approved by the consent of the Universal Church? Finally, how many and how great disadvantages of every kind would arise hence? But there is no reason that we should occupy our time in the enumeration of these things, seeing that amidst so many and so great confusions of empires, convulsions of particular Churches, and perturbation of all human affairs, it hath been so ordered by the most wise and merciful providence of Almighty God, that from the very times of the Apostles even unto these our own times, there is no age whose ecclesiastical memorials are not preserved to us. From which memorials accordingly we are enabled to conceive a perfect idea of the Universal Church, and to feel assured and certain what has through all ages been admitted and what rejected; what rites and doctrines have prevailed, what heresies and schisms have been disapproved and condemned. Finally, from these and these alone we may see, on what points of doctrine and discipline agreement hath ever prevailed among all Churches, and on what again controversy hath existed between them, and consequently what is more, and what less, necessary to be believed and observed. For whatever is to be said of other things, those things at any rate in which all Churches every where have agreed cannot but be most certain, and necessary, even at this very time, to be retained of all.

4. This consent, however, be it remembered, of which we are speaking of the Universal Church, on any articles of Faith or ecclesiastical rites, is not to be sought from one or two writers, much less from any one or two passages in any particular writer, apart from the rest, but from all combined, or at least from the greatest part of those who, in all ages of the Church, (and especially the earlier) were the authors of any written works, in which they treated on these subjects. For in all societies, such as is the Church, the majority takes place of the minority, and has the same right as the whole. The words of the civil law are, "What is done by the majority of the court is accounted the same as if done by all." Nay, this is one of the ordinary rules of that law: "That is ascribed to the whole, which is publicly done by the majority." That therefore which is by the majority either appointed or affirmed, that is rightly to be considered the act of the Universal Church; much more that which is confirmed by the united testimonies of all, or nearly all. To which class very many things in ecclesiastical matters may easily be reduced. For although we have not the express opinions of every individual Christian, through all ages, handed down to us, yet we possess what is to the same effect. For, first, when we speak of the consent of the Universal Church, it is not necessary that we regard the opinions of the people also, or laity. For

they have never been admitted to deliver their judgment on the doctrine or discipline of the Church, in that it was presumed that in all things they, as is right, followed, not led, the opinions of their pastors. And besides, seeing that the people were anciently wont to vote in the election of their own bishops, and to give their testimony concerning those to be elected; by that very act they showed openly enough that they agreed to their doctrine and discipline; so that whatever might be the opinion of any one bishop, the people over whom he presided might fairly be held to be guided by the same. In consequence, that this consent of the Church is to be sought not from the people, but from their bishops, from the teachers and priests, *Vincent of Lirin* formerly rightly observed: "Consent also in like manner we shall arrive at," says he, "if in this very antiquity we follow the definitions and expressed opinions of all, or, at any rate, of nearly all, the priests and teachers." And indeed this position, namely, "that the consent of the Universal Church is to be sought not from the people, but from the bishops and clergy," is one of those very many points in which we have the Universal Church itself agreeing; seeing that when about to discuss ecclesiastical matters, she hath rarely suffered the people to be present, never to deliver an opinion, or to vote. For neither, in all the councils, which have ever been held on matters of that sort, do we read that any one from among the people set his name to the decrees. But in each age the common affairs of the Church were transacted by bishops alone in council assembled, with, occasionally, certain presbyters, holding the places of their respective bishops. Which councils, if held in any one province, represented that *provincial* Church alone; but if attended by all conjointly, or by the majority of them, they then represented the *Universal Church*. "By which" (councils,) as Tertullian says, "both such points as are of a deeper character are discussed in common, and the very assembly, as representing the whole Christian name, is held in great reverence." But councils of this sort, as well *provincial*, held by particular provinces, as *Universal*, held (as the origin of their name declares) by the Universal Church, such councils are even now extant, with many of their acts and decrees. There are extant also very many commentaries of individual bishops and presbyters, not indeed of all, but yet of those who, in each age, were most learned, and best acquainted with the doctrines and rites of the Church. From all of which, we are able most clearly to see (if any other thing) the common opinions both of all, and each of, the Churches, and so to collect most assuredly what we are to hold on these points. For although we grant it to be doubtful whether others, who either were not authors, or whose writings are not now in existence, may not perchance have held otherwise, yet since that is not capable of proof, (and not to

be capable of proof, in causes of this sort, is manifestly the same as not to exist;) whatever all, or the majority of those, whose genuine works have been left us, taught, as it were in common, that is without any doubt to be held for the common and constant doctrine of the Universal Church. Especially when the Universal Church also has itself fully enough testified her agreement to that doctrine, which is preserved in the ancient writings of councils and Fathers, from this fact, that, the providence of God so ordering, she hath preserved to us those writings in which that doctrine is contained, the commentaries, in the mean time, of others, who held otherwise, having been buried in so deep oblivion, that scarcely have their names been transmitted to posterity. From all which things, as briefly and summarily premised, we may rightly conclude, that all, both separate works of individual fathers, and acts and monuments of Synods, as well provincial as universal, which exist at this day, are in the first place, of this very great and remarkable use to us, in that from them we may consider as certainly proved, what the Universal Church hath ever believed and openly taught, on necessary articles of Faith and rites ecclesiastical, and therefore what is to be ever believed and taught in the Church. For no one can doubt, but that it is both most safe, and supremely necessary, in all things, as far as is possible, religiously to walk in the steps of the faith and customs of the Universal Church.

5. But perhaps some one may say, "that the Fathers, both separately as individuals, and many of them conjointly, erred in various points of religion; and that they at times disagree among themselves, and that indeed, sometimes, on matters of great moment." These objections, I confess, against the ancient Fathers of the Church, and their authority in the settlement of ecclesiastical controversies, have been of late introduced. But whether they be true or false, is a point which we need not now discuss. For even if we grant them true to the fullest extent, yet can no argument be drawn from them against our judgment concerning the *right use of the Fathers*. Inasmuch as we are speaking of the Fathers, not as individuals taken separately, but as taken all conjointly. And therefore how many errors soever may have been detected in one or more, and how much soever in some things, possibly of great moment, they may even disagree with one another, or at least may appear to disagree, yet our position remains, firm enough and stable, since there are certainly, after allowance made for them, many things on which an agreement prevails among all the Fathers universally, and very many, to which a majority of them have given their united assent. But all the dissensions which have been raised among them on certain subjects, take nothing from their supreme authority on those points in which they agree, but rather in an eminent degree con-

firm it. For the fact, that in other things they have differed, most plainly manifests, that those things, on which they have agreed, they have handed down, not from any compact or agreement, not from any party formed, not from any communication of design, nor finally, from their own private opinions, but naked and unadulterated, as derived from the common and general interpretation and tradition of the Universal Church. And, indeed, although on certain less necessary points, as well of faith as of discipline, the ancient Fathers do in some little degree differ one from another, yet that very many things have been received with the fullest agreement by all, is so clear, that we may judge of it with our own eyes. For there are many things which we see have been defined by the Universal Church in councils truly œcumenical, many things which have been approved by the consent of several, many things again by the consent of all the writers of the Church; many things, finally, concerning which there was in ancient times no controversy moved, some of this class have been mentioned by us above, to which very many others may be added. Those especially which, although not definitively prescribed in holy Scripture, have yet been retained by our very pious and prudent reformers of the English Church.

6. For when this our English Church, through long communion with the Roman Church, had contracted like stains with her, from which it was necessary that it should be cleansed, they who took that excellent and very necessary work in hand, fearing that they, like others, might rush from one extreme to the other, removed indeed those things, as well doctrines as ceremonies, which the Roman Church had newly and insensibly superinduced, and, as was fit, abrogated them utterly. Yet notwithstanding, whatsoever things had been, at all times, believed and observed, by all Churches, in all places, those things they most religiously took care not so to abolish with them. For they well knew, that all particular Churches are to be formed on the model of the Universal Church, if indeed, according to that general and received rule in ethics, "every part which agreeth not with its whole is therein base." Hence therefore these first reformers of this particular Church directed the whole line of that reformation, which they undertook, according to the rule of the whole or Universal Church, casting away those things only which had been either unheard of or rejected by the Universal Church, but most religiously retaining those which they saw, on the other side, corroborated by the consent of the Universal Church. Whence it hath been brought to pass, that although we have not communion with the Roman, nor with certain other particular Churches, as at this day constituted, yet have we abiding communion with the Universal and Catholic Church, of which evidently ours, as by

the aid of God first constituted, and by his pity still preserved, is the perfect image and representation.

7. But, that we digress no further from our proposed object, when we are speaking of the *Universal* Church, and its agreement, without any doubt, regard is to be had especially to the *Primitive* Church: inasmuch as, although it be only a part of the whole, yet is it universally agreed that it was the more pure and genuine part. For the same hath happened to the Church, which hath happened to each several commonwealth, namely, that, ancient customs passing by degrees into disuse, new institutions are devised by the wanton imaginations of men's minds, which very fault is above all others to be eschewed in religion. For it is agreed among all Christians, that the Apostolic Church as constituted by the Apostles of our LORD in person, under the guidance of Divine inspection, and by them whilst yet living administered, was of all Churches the purest and most perfect. Furthermore nothing seems more at variance with the common faith of Christians than that the doctrine or discipline instituted by the Apostles should have been corrupted or any way changed by their immediate successors. For all confess that the apostles were most faithful men, and of consequence willed to ordain none as their successors, except those whose faith and integrity was fully approved by themselves personally. Therefore the first successors of the Apostles doubtless kept inviolate and uncorrupted the Church, whose government had been entrusted to them; and in like manner handed it down to their own successors, and these again to others, and so on; insomuch that there can exist no doubt, but that at least during two or three ages from the Apostles, the Church flourished in her primitive vigour, and, so to say, in her virgin estate, that is, in the same condition in which she had been left by the Apostles themselves; except that from time to time new heresies burst forth even in those days, by which the Church was indeed harrassed, but in no way corrupted; clearly no more than the Church, strictly Apostolic, was perverted by those errors, which arose whilst the Apostles were yet living. For they had scarcely time to rise up, before they were rejected by the Catholic Church. Which things therefore, notwithstanding the Universal church which followed ever held that *Primitive* Church to be most pure, and in refuting all heresies which afterwards arose, appealed to her as the rule of other Churches. For if any one endeavoured to bring any thing new into the doctrine or discipline of the Church, those Fathers who opposed themselves to him, whether individually or assembled together in a body, sought their arguments, as out of the holy Scriptures, so also out of the doctrines and traditions of the Church of the first ages. For this is observable in nearly all acts of councils, and commentaries of individual Fathers, wherever,

that is, ecclesiastical controversies are discussed. And indeed nothing still is more rational, nothing certainly more desirable, than that all particular Churches at this day, wherever constituted, were reformed after the model of the Primitive Church. For this measure would immediately cast forth whatever corruptions have crept in during later ages, and would restore to their ancient originals, on the other hand, all things which are required for the true constitution of a Christian Church.

PATRICK, BISHOP.—*On Tradition.*

And farther we likewise acknowledge, that the sum and substance of the Christian Religion, contained in the Scriptures, hath been delivered down to us, even from the Apostles' days, in other ways or forms besides the Scriptures. For instance, in the Baptismal Vow, in the Creed, in the Prayers and Hymns of the Church, which we may call Traditions, if we please; but they bring down to us no new doctrine, but only deliver, in an abridgment, the same Christianity which we find in the Scriptures.

Upon this there is no need that I should enlarge; but I proceed farther to affirm.

That we reverently receive also the unanimous Tradition or Doctrine of the Church in all ages, which determines the meaning of the holy Scripture, and makes it more clear and unquestionable in any point of Faith, wherein we can find it hath declared its sense. For we look upon this tradition as nothing else but the Scripture unfolded: not a new thing, which is not in the Scripture; but the Scripture explained and made more evident.

And thus some parts of the Nicene Creed may be called a Tradition; as it hath expressly delivered unto us the sense of the Church of God, concerning that great Article of our Faith, that JESUS CHRIST is the SON of GOD, which they teach us was always thus understood: the SON of GOD, "begotten of his FATHER before all worlds, and of the same substance with the FATHER."

But this Tradition supposes the Scripture for its ground, and delivers nothing but what the Fathers, assembled at Nice, believed to be contained there, and was first fetched from thence. For we find in Theodoret (L. i. 66) that the famous Emperor Constantine admonished those Fathers, in all their questions and debates, to consult only with these heavenly inspired writings; "because the Evangelical and Apostolical Books, and the oracles of the old Prophets, do evidently instruct us what to think in Divine matters." This is so clear a testimony, that in those days they made this complete rule of their faith, whereby they ended

controversies, (which was the reason that in several other Synods we find they were wont to lay the Bible before them,) and that there is nothing in the Nicene Creed, but what is to be found in the Bible ; that Cardinal Bellarmine hath nothing to reply to it but this: "Constantine was indeed a Great Emperor, but no great Doctor." Which is rather a scoff, than an answer ; and casts a scorn not only upon him but upon that great council, who, as the same Theodoret witnesseth, assented unto that speech of Constantine. So it there follows in these words : "The most of the Synod were obedient to what he had discoursed, and embraced both mutual concord and sound doctrine."

And accordingly St. Hilary a little after extols his son Constantius for this, that he adhered to the Scriptures ; and blames him only for not attending to the true Catholic sense of them. His words are these, (in his little Book which he delivered to Constantius,) "I truly admire thee, O Lord Constantius the Emperor, who desirest a Faith according to what is written." They pretended to no other in those days ; but (as he speaks a little after) looked upon him that refused this, as Antichrist. It was only required that they should receive their Faith out of God's Books, not merely according to the words of them, but according to their true meaning, (because many "spake Scripture without Scripture, and pretended to Faith without Faith," as his words are ;) and herein Catholic and constant Tradition was to guide them. For whatsoever was contrary to what the whole Church had received and held from the beginning, could not in reason be thought to be the meaning of that Scripture which was alleged to prove it. And, on the other side, the Church pretended to no more than to be a witness of the received sense of the Scriptures ; which were the bottom upon which they built this Faith.

Thus I observe Hegesippus saith, (in Euseb. his History, L. iv. c. 22.) that when he was at Rome, he met with a great many Bishops, and that "he received the very same Doctrine from them all." And then, a little after, tells us what that was, and whence they derived it, saying, "That in every succession of Bishops, and in every City, so they held ; as the law preached, and as the Prophets, and as the LORD." That is according to the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament.

I shall conclude this particular with a pregnant passage which I remember in a famous Divine of our Church, (Dr. Jackson, in his Treatise of the Catholic Church, chap. 22,) who writes to this effect :—

That Tradition which was of so much use in the Primitive Church, was not unwritten Traditions, or Customs, commended or ratified by the supposed infallibility of any visible Church, but did especially consist in the confessions or registers of particular Churches. And the unanimous consent of so many several

Churches, as exhibited their confessions to the Nicene Council, out of such forms as had been framed and taught before this controversy arose, about the Divinity of Christ; and that voluntarily and freely (these Churches being not dependent one upon another, nor overruled by any authority over them, nor misled by faction to frame their confessions of Faith by imitation, or according to some pattern set them), was a pregnant argument, that this faith, wherein they all agreed, had been delivered to them by the Apostles and their followers, and was the true meaning of the holy writings in this great Article; and evidently proved, that Arius did obtrude such interpretations of Scripture as had not been heard of before; or were but the sense of some private persons in the Church, and not of the generality of believers.

In short, the unanimous consent of so many distinct visible Churches, as exhibited their several Confessions, Catechisms, or Testimonies of their own or forefathers' Faith, unto the council of Nice, was an argument of the same force and efficacy against Arius and his partakers, as the general consent and practice of all nations, in worshipping a Divine Power in all ages, is against Atheists. Nothing but the ingrafted notion of a Deity could have induced so many several nations, so much different in natural disposition, in civil discipline and education, to affect or practise the duty of Adoration. And nothing but the evidence of "the ingrafted word" (as St. James calls the Gospel) delivered by CHRIST and his Apostles in the holy Scriptures, could have kept so many several Churches as communicated their confessions unto that council, in the unity of the same Faith.

The like may be said of the rest of the four first General Councils; whose decrees are a great confirmation of our belief, because they deliver to us the consent of the Churches of Christ, in those great truths which they assert out of the holy Scriptures.

And could there any Traditive Interpretation of the whole Scripture be produced upon the authority of such original Tradition as that now named, we would most thankfully and joyfully receive it. But there never was any such pretended; no, not by the Roman Church, whose doctors differ among themselves about the meaning of hundreds of places in the Bible. Which they would not do sure, nor spend their time unprofitably in making the best conjectures they are able, if they knew of any exposition of those places in which all Christian Doctors had agreed from the beginning.

But more than this, we allow that Tradition gives us a considerable assistance in such points as are not in so many letters and syllables contained in the Scriptures, but may be gathered from thence, by good and manifest reasoning. Or, in plainer words perhaps, whatsoever Tradition justifies any Doctrine that may be proved by the Scriptures, though not found in express

terms there, we acknowledge to be of great use, and readily receive and follow it, as serving very much to establish us more firmly in that truth, when we see all Christians have adhered to it.

This may be called a confirming Tradition: of which we have an instance in the doctrine of Infant Baptism, which some ancient Fathers call an Apostolical Tradition. Not that it cannot be proved by any place of Scripture; no such matter: for though we do not find it written in so many words that Infants are to be baptized, or that the Apostles baptized Infants, yet it may be proved out of the Scriptures; and the Fathers themselves, who call it an Apostolical Tradition, do allege testimonies of the Scriptures to make it good. And therefore we may be sure they comprehend the Scriptures within the name of Apostolical Tradition; and believed that this Doctrine was gathered out of the Scriptures, though not expressly treated of there.

In like manner we, in this Church, assert the authority of Bishops above Presbyters, by a Divine right; as appears by the Book of Consecration of Bishops, where the person to be ordained to this office, expresses his belief "that he is truly called to this Ministration according to the will of our LORD JESUS CHRIST." Now, this we are persuaded may be plainly enough proved to any man that is ingenious, and will fairly consider things, out of the holy Scriptures, without the help of Tradition; but we also take in the assistance of this for the conviction of gainsayers; and by the perpetual practice and Tradition of the Church from the beginning confirm our Scripture proofs so strongly, that he seems to us very obstinate, or extremely prejudiced, that yields not to them. And therefore to make our Doctrine in this point the more authentic, our Church hath put both these proofs together, in the preface to the form of giving orders, which begins in these words: "It is evident unto all men, diligently reading the holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in CHRIST's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."

I hope nobody among us is so weak as to imagine, when he reads this, that by admitting Tradition to be of such use and force as I have mentioned, we yield too much to the Popish cause, which supports itself by this pretence. But if any one shall suggest this to any of our people, let them reply, that it is but the pretence, and only by the name of Tradition, that the Romish Church supports itself: for true Tradition is as great a proof against Popery, as it is for Episcopacy. The very foundation of the Pope's Empire (which is his succession in St. Peter's Supremacy) is utterly subverted by this; the constant Tradition of the Church being evidently against it. And therefore let us not lose this advantage we have against them, by ignorantly re-

fusing to receive true and constant Tradition; which will be so far from leading us into their Church, that it will never suffer us to think of being of it, while it remains so opposite to that which is truly Apostolical.

I conclude this with the direction which our Church gives to Preachers in the Book of Canons, 1517, (in the Title *Concionatores*,) That “no man shall teach the people any thing to be held and believed by them religiously, but what is consentaneous to the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament; and what the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have gathered out of that very doctrine.” This is our rule whereby we are to guide ourselves; which was set us on purpose to preserve our Preachers from broaching any idle, novel, or Popish Doctrines; as appears by the conclusion of that injunction: “vain and old wives’ opinions, and Heresies, and Popish Errors, abhorring from the Doctrine and Faith of CHRIST, they shall not teach; nor any thing at all whereby the unskilful multitude may be inflamed either to the study of novelty, or to contention.”

But though nothing may be taught as a piece of Religion, which hath not the fore-named original, yet I must add, that those things which have been universally believed, and not contrary to Scripture, though not written at all there, nor to be proved from thence, we do receive as pious opinions. For instance, the perpetual Virginity of the Mother of GOD our SAVIOUR, which is so likely a thing, and so universally received, that I do not see why we should not look upon it as a genuine Apostolical Tradition.

I have but one thing more to add, which is, that we allow also the Traditions of the Church, about matters of Order, Rites and Ceremonies. Only we do not take them to be parts of GOD’s worship; and if they be not appointed in the holy Scriptures, we believe they may be altered by the same or the like authority with that which ordained them.—

As for what is delivered in matters of Doctrine, or Order, by any private Doctor in the Church, or by any particular Church, it appears by what hath been said, that it cannot be taken to be more than the private opinion of that man, or the particular decree of that Church, and can have no more authority than they have: that is, cannot oblige all Christians, unless it be contained in the holy Scripture.

Now such are the Traditions which the Roman Church would impose upon us, and impose upon us after a strange fashion.—

Our people may hereby be admonished not to suffer themselves to be deceived and abused by words and empty names, without their sense and meaning. Nothing is more common than this, especially in the business of Traditions, about which a stir is raised, and it is commonly given out, that we refuse all Tradi-

tions. Than which nothing is more false, for we refuse none truly so called; that is, Doctrine delivered by CHRIST, or His Apostles. No, we refuse nothing at all, because it is unwritten, but merely because we are not sure it is delivered by that authority to which we ought to submit.

Whatsoever is delivered to us by our LORD and His Apostles, we receive as the very word of GOD, which we think is sufficiently declared in the holy Scriptures. But if any can certainly prove, by any authority equal to that which brings the Scriptures to us, that there is any thing else delivered by them, we receive that also. The controversy will soon be at an end, for we are ready to embrace it when any such thing can be produced.

Nay, we have that reverence for those who succeeded the Apostles, that what they have unanimously delivered to us, as the sense of any doubtful place, we receive it, and seek no farther. There is no dispute whether or no we should entertain it.

To the Decrees of the Church also we submit, in matters of Decency and Order; yea, and acquiesce in its authority, when it determines doubtful opinions.

But we cannot receive that as a Doctrine of CHRIST, which we know is but the tradition of man, nor keep the ordinances of the ancient Church in matters of decency, so unalterably as never to vary from them, because they themselves did not intend them to be of everlasting obligation. As appears by the changes that have been made in several times and places; even in some things which are mentioned in the holy Scriptures, being but customs suited to those ages and countries.

In short, Traditions we do receive, but not all that are called by that name. Those which have sufficient authority, but not those which are imposed upon us by the sole authority of one particular Church, assuming a power over all the rest.—

It is a calumny to affirm that the Church of England rejects all Tradition; and I hope none of her true children are so ignorant, as when they hear that word, to imagine they must rise up and oppose it. No: the Scripture itself is a tradition; and we admit all other traditions, which are subordinate, and agreeable unto that; together with all those things which can be proved to be Apostolical by the general testimony of the Church in all ages: nay, if any thing not contained in Scripture, which the Roman Church now pretends to be a part of GOD's word, were delivered to us by as universal uncontrolled tradition as the Scripture is, we should receive it as we do the Scripture.

But it appears plainly that such things were at first but private opinions, which now are become the doctrines of that particular Church, who would impose her decrees upon us under the venerable name of Apostolical universal tradition; which I

have shown you hath been an ancient cheat, and that we ought not to be so easy as to be deceived by it. But to be very wary, and afraid of trusting traditions of such a Church, as hath not only perverted some, abolished others, and pretended them where there hath been none; but been a very unfaithful preserver of them, and that in matters of great moment, where there were some; and lastly, warrants those which it pretends to have kept, by nothing but its own infallibility. For which there is no tradition, but much against it, even in the original tradition, the holy Scriptures; which plainly suppose the Roman Church may not only err, but utterly fail and be cut off from the Body of CHRIST; as they that please may read, who will consult the eleventh chapter to the Romans, v. 20, 21, 22. Of which they are in the greater danger, because they proudly claim so high a prerogative as that now mentioned, directly contrary to the Apostolical admonition in that place: "be not high-minded, but fear."—pp. 11. 16. 32.

SHARPE, ARCHBISHOP.—*Sermons.*

We see from hence how groundlessly, how unreasonably, we Protestants are charged with Heresy by our adversaries. They make no scruple of calling us Heretics, and telling us we shall be damned upon that account, unless we come over to their Belief. Why, what is it they would have us believe? We believe all that JESUS CHRIST and His Apostles taught to the world, so far as we have knowledge of it. We believe all the holy Scriptures, and not only so, but we make them the rule of our Faith. We believe all those articles of Faith, into which all Christians in every country, from CHRIST's time to this, have been baptized, and which by all the ancients have been accounted a perfect summary of the Christian Faith; nor do we hold any thing inconsistent with them. We own both CHRIST's Sacraments: and we administer them entirely. We renounce all the Heresies that were condemned by the ancient general Councils; nay, we are ready to refer ourselves to those Councils, and to the primitive Fathers who lived at that time, for the trial of all the points which are disputed between us. And lastly, we are sure we are not obstinate in our errors, if they should prove so; we are sure we have no secular ends to serve in the maintaining them; and most of all we are sure, that we are not self-condemned, that our own conscience doth not accuse us for being of this way; (which yet is one of those things that go to the making of an Heretic.) Now if all these things can be truly said of us, (as I think they may be truly said of the Church of England, and of all the honest members of it,) how is it possible that we can in any sense

be guilty of Heresy? In the sense of the Scriptures and of the Fathers, I am sure we are orthodox Christians; and in the sense of the greatest Divines, even in the Roman Communion, I am sure we are no heretics. And if after all that, we must be branded with that name, all that we can say is, that "after the way which they call Heresy, so worship we the God of our Fathers."—Vol. vi. p. 5.

Ibid.

We do not find, that in the controversies which arose in the ancient Church about matters of Faith, the guides of the Church ever made use of this argument of the Church's infallibility for the quieting and ending of them: which yet, had they known of any such thing, had been the properest and the easiest means they could have used. Nay, further we know, that the ancient Fathers had another method of confuting Heretics and Schismatics than by appealing to the Church's infallibility: namely, by bringing their doctrines to be tried by the ancient usages and doctrines of the Apostolic Churches, and especially by the Divine oracles of Scripture, which they looked upon as the entire and only Rule of Faith.—Vol. vii. p. 61.

POTTER, ARCHBISHOP.—*Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford.*

To begin with Faith, the foundation of all other Christian duties. You cannot be ignorant, what attempts have lately been made, and are still daily further advancing, to destroy some of the principal doctrines, not of ours only, but of the Catholic Church in all ages; and I wish I could not say, to weaken and undermine all the rest: "these things have not been done in a corner."

Great industry hath been used, and that with too much success, to revive the Arian and Semi-arian Heresies; and with the professors thereof to unite almost all other sects of Christians, however they may differ from one another as to opinion, in the same visible Communion. So that instead of rejecting those, who deprave the Christian Faith, as St. Paul commands; or, in obedience to St. John, of refusing even to "receive them into our houses," or to "bid them God speed;" should this design prevail, we must pray with them, and partake with them of the LORD's Table, and associate together in all other parts of religious worship; and those alone will be reputed Schismatics, who separate themselves from the Communion of Heretics.

Some have so far proceeded in this scheme of general com-

prehension, or rather confusion, as to assert, that all sorts of error, except those which immediately relate to practice, are innocent and unblameable. With these men one may, perhaps, deserve the name of an Heretic, who outwardly professeth something he inwardly disbelieves, and in that sense condemns himself: but in any other case, besides this of acting directly against the dictates of conscience, under which it is on all hands confessed to be a fault to defend the truth itself, they plainly intimate, that there is no harm in maintaining even the doctrine of Mahomet, or any other, though ever so opposite to the Christian Revelation. We must not, therefore, wonder to hear it affirmed, that in order to be justified before God, there is no need of anything more, than to act agreeably to our present inward persuasion, or in other terms, with sincerity: or, that equal degrees of this quality will in all cases (for I find no exception made,) entitle men to equal degrees of Divine favour: whence it follows, that they who denied, or even crucified our SAVIOUR, provided they did it without remorse or hesitation, might deserve an equal reward with those who are martyrs for Him.

We have been accustomed, and this agreeably to the judgment of all other Churches, and the most evident principles both of Natural and Revealed Religion, to think it the duty of Christian princes to maintain God's true Religion and virtue; and the Church, our Mother, hath taught us in the Communion office to pray, that all in authority under them may do the same. Now, if by God's true Religion nothing be meant, but that moral virtue, from which it is plainly distinguished in this place, then our new masters may still perhaps allow the magistrate to execute this part of his office; but, if God's true Religion signifies that, which it always hath signified among Christians, the worship of One True God, as opposed to that of idols and false gods, or the way of worship prescribed in the Holy Scripture, in opposition to Heathenish, and other superstitions; or, if God's true Religion be understood to imply the belief of Three Persons in one Godhead, of the Incarnation, sufferings, and satisfaction of CHRIST, of the Resurrection of the Body, or of any other doctrine ever so plainly revealed by God; then it is openly declared, that for Christian magistrates to discourage false Religion, even in the least degree, or to favour and encourage that which is true, is to do something highly inconsistent both with the nature and ends of their own authority, and with the kingdom of CHRIST.

This may seem strange doctrine in a Christian country; but, since the Faith was for several ages maintained without the favour or protection of the civil magistrate, they who advance these and the like novel opinions, may perhaps be thought more

excusable, if they endeavour to recompense for the loss of these temporal advantages by their hearty concern and just zeal for that spiritual power, which our LORD hath left in His Church. But instead of this, these men describe the Church, rather as a number of persons disunited from, and independent on one another, than as an orderly society under lawful governors of Divine, or necessary appointment; and thus root up, as far as in them lieth, the very foundation of all Ecclesiastical authority at once. It might easily be shown, how by the schemes lately published, every branch of this authority hath been very much weakened and impaired; or, rather, totally subverted and destroyed: but I shall confine myself to the subject of which I have been chiefly speaking, viz. the Christian Faith; in things relating to which, it hath been thought, not only highly inconvenient, but absurd and impracticable for the Church to have any sort of authority whatsoever. Our own Church, indeed, in her twentieth article, hath expressly declared, that the Church hath authority in controversies of Faith; and therefore some of them, who do not approve this passage, have taken great pains to persuade the world, that it was not originally in the article, but inserted there by some, who affected more power than of right belonged to them; but this attempt not succeeding according to their desires, the rest always speak of it with such reservations and evasions, as plainly show they heartily wish it were quite expunged. One of the chief causes of their complaint is the obliging men to declare their assent to human decisions, as they are called; that is, to articles of Faith, or doctrines, which however clearly deduced from the Holy Scriptures, are not found there in express words. For when "unlearned and unstable" men, to use the words of St. Peter, "wrested the Scriptures to their own destruction," it was always customary, even from the most primitive ages, for the Church, in order to prevent the spreading of such infections, to require her members, especially such of them as had been distinguished by any public character, to make an open and solemn confession of their Faith; not in the very words of Holy Scripture, which had been perverted and misunderstood, because that would have been ineffectual to the purpose intended; but in others more fully, and distinctly setting forth the true sense and interpretation of those words. With this view it was, that the Fathers of Nice inserted into their Creed those clauses, which declare the true Divinity of our Blessed LORD, against Arius; that not long after, in opposition to the Heresy of Macedonius, others were added by the general Council of Constantinople, to assert the Divinity of the HOLY SPIRIT; and that in the next century, though no further change was made in the Creed, other declarations of the true Faith, concerning the Incarnation of CHRIST, and the personal union of

His two Natures, were composed by general Synods assembled at Ephesus and Chalcedon, when the two opposite Heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches first showed themselves in the world. In these later times, indeed, this authority hath been very much abused; instead of articles of Faith, men have been compelled to declare their assent not only to disputable opinions, but to such as are evidently contrary, as well to the principles of natural reason as to the Holy Scriptures, and the doctrine of the best ages; and those worthy men, whom God endued with power from on high, to withstand these unjust impositions, have been exposed to so many and great trials, as even the first Christians endured in the Heathen persecutions. These practices, together with the principles from which they proceed, can hardly be too much detested: but shall we then, instead of reforming these or the like abuses, quite discard that sacred authority which hath been abused?

But I am in hopes, that in the opinion of every true son of this Church, it will be a sufficient confutation of all innovations, which have been, or hereafter shall be, advanced, to say with St. Paul, "we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God;" or, in the words of our Blessed Lord, "from the beginning it was not so." To become the author of new Hypotheses in Religion, or to call those doctrines into question, which have always been firmly believed in the Church, even from the most early ages to our times, savours more of the pride and arrogance of some vain-glorious philosopher, who by making strange discoveries, and contradicting the rest of the world, seeks to raise in others a great esteem of himself, than of the humility of a good Christian; whose chief glory consists in the entire resignation of his understanding, and the stedfast belief of all the truths, which God hath revealed to him, whether he doth, or doth not, clearly comprehend them. I speak not of improvements in the liberal arts and sciences; which had their rise from study and observation, and therefore must be advanced, and perfected in the same method: whereas the Christian Religion having been completely published to the world by our Blessed Lord, and His Apostles, no addition can be made to it without a new Revelation. Here, then, is no room for invention or discovery; but, on the contrary, if any doctrine be new, if it be not truly primitive and Apostolical, we may safely, without further examination, reject it as false and spurious, and no part of "the Faith once delivered to the Saints." Whence our best writers, as well in their controversies with the Papists, as with other Sectaries and Heretics, constantly appeal to the judgment and practice of the Church in the next centuries after the Apostles: which, as she had better means of information than can be pretended to in any succeeding age, so cannot reasonably be supposed, either through negli-

gence or design, and this in all parts of the world at once, to have depraved the Faith, whilst her Pastors, and other chief members, were daily suffering martyrdom in its defence: and few there are, or rather none at all, as far as I have been able to observe, who refuse to allow the testimony of the primitive writers its due weight and authority, such only excepted as have not read them, or are afraid of their evidence, and, therefore, in order to divert us from the true sense of the Holy Scriptures, (in discovering which those interpreters have commonly the best success, who most carefully compare them with other books of the same or the next ages, as the best critics always do in explaining other authors) would strictly confine us to the mere words, because these alone, and unsupported, may more easily be forced to countenance their innovations.— *Works*, vol. i. pp. 283. 296.

Defence of the Charge.

There is not, therefore, the least ground to think that the practice of the Church in this respect is contrary to Scripture. Let us now see whether this writer hath succeeded better in another accusation he hath brought against it, viz. that it is Popish. I have allowed that this practice hath been abused to very ill ends by the Church of Rome; which, instead of explaining the true sense of Scripture, hath invented and imposed new Articles of Faith, contrary both to Scripture and reason. Which doth by no means satisfy this writer, who will, therefore, have the practice itself to be Popish; for unless he means this, he would, instead of contradicting me, say only the same thing I have done before. He pretends, that “by this engine it was that step by step came on the claim of Infallibility.” (p. 252.) Whereby if he understands that the authority of the Church was through the ambition of some men, and the negligence of others, so far by degrees increased and abused, that at length a claim of Infallibility was set up, he affirms nothing more than what I have allowed, that this authority hath been much abused; but then I must still put him in mind that the abuse of authority in one age is no just ground for laying it aside in another. But if he would have it thought that the claim of Infallibility is a certain or necessary concomitant, or consequent, of this authority as exercised at the Council of Nice, or the other general councils mentioned by me, he must pardon me if this be not granted; for there is nothing more evident in History, than that no such authority was either then, or for many hundred years after, claimed by any person in the world. Nay, so far was any thing done in these councils, from giving birth to the exorbitant power of the Pope, who claims this Infallibility, that the popish writers have never been able to prove, that in several of them he was

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allowed so much as to preside; and even in the last of them, that at Chalcedon, the See of Constantinople was, notwithstanding the warm and earnest opposition of the Pope's Legates, put upon the level with that of Rome, agreeably to what had been before decreed at Constantinople in the second General Council. These councils, therefore, are so many plain proofs against the Pope's authority, and are commonly insisted on as such by the Protestant writers. Neither doth it appear that any authority was there exercised in relation to the interpretation of Scripture, which is not exercised or approved by the Church of England and other Protestant Churches: for in these there are Creeds, or Confessions of Faith; and such as reject any of the principal Articles of these Creeds, or Confessions, are commonly debarred both from Holy Orders, and also from Communion. This, therefore, having been the practice of Protestant Churches, and particularly of the Church of England, ever since the Reformation, which cannot be questioned, will, I hope, be excused from the imputation of serving the popish claim of Infallibility; unless it can be supposed that the Protestant Churches, and this, from the very beginning, have generally so far misunderstood, or acted inconsistently with their own principles, as to retain the very essence of popery. But to give some show or colour of popery to the practice of which I have been speaking, this writer hath filled his discourse with long and heavy complaints of the injustice of denying Christians the liberty of examining, and judging for themselves; in which unfair proceeding of his, I desire leave once more to say, that I am no farther concerned than the body of Protestants; who, as they invite men to read the Scriptures, and to see with their own eyes, so have never denied the Church authority to judge what persons are qualified for her Communion and for Holy Orders.

I must not forget under this head, that I am again charged not only with favouring Popery, but with being a Papist in disguise, with "acknowledging the Protestant principles for decency sake, but steadfastly adhering to the Popish" (p. 275); and all this, as it seems, for having referred you to the practice and writers of the Primitive times, and of the next ages after the Apostles; whereby I am represented to understand the reign of Constantine, which happened, as he saith (p. 270—274), almost three hundred years after. Now I am not in the least apprehensive of my being suspected as a favourer of Popery by any man, who knows the true meaning of Popery; but sure it is such a compliment to the Popish Religion, as no Protestant would have made, who understands his own principles, to date its rise from the time of Constantine; the claim of Infallibility, and of the Papal Supremacy, as now exercised, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, Image Worship, Prayers in an unknown tongue, forbid-

ding laymen to read the Scriptures, to say nothing of other peculiar tenets of the Church of Rome, having never been heard of during the reign of this great Emperor, or for a long time after ; as a very little insight into the Popish Controversies, or Ecclesiastical Historians, would have informed this writer. It would have been much more to his purpose, and equally consistent with truth and justice, to have told his readers that by the next ages after the Apostles, I meant the times immediately preceding the Reformation : but then one opportunity would have been lost of declaiming against the times wherein the Nicene Creed was composed, and Arianism condemned. As to the primitive writers I am not ashamed, or afraid to repeat, that the best method of interpreting Scripture seems to me to be the having recourse to the writers, who lived nearest the time wherein the Scriptures were first published, that is, to the next ages after the Apostles ; and that a diligent inquiry into the Faith and practice of the Church in the same ages, would be the most effectual way, next after the study of the Scriptures themselves, to prevent innovations in doctrine ; and, lastly, that this hath been practised with great success by some of our best advocates for the Protestant cause, as Bishop Jewel, for example, Archbishop Laud, Archbishop Ussher, Bishop Cosins, Bishop Stillingfleet, Dr. Barrow, Bishop Bull, with many others at home and abroad. To which it will be replied : That " our best writers, at least, in their controversies with the Papists, are so far from appealing to the judgment of the Church in the next centuries after the Apostles, in any such sense as the Bishop is arguing for against his adversaries, that the very best of them, Mr. Chillingworth, has declared, upon the most mature consideration, how uncertain generally, how self-contradictory sometimes, how insufficient always, he esteemed this judgment to be. He had seen Fathers against Fathers, Councils against Councils, the consent of one age against the consent of another, the same Fathers contradicting themselves, and the like, and he found no rest but in the Protestant Rule of Faith. He was willing to yield to every thing as truth, *Quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus* ; because he well judged that nothing could be conceived to be embraced as truth at the very beginning, and so continue in all places, and at all times, but what was delivered at the beginning. But he saw, with respect to some controverted points, how early the difference of sentiment was." (p. 265, 266.) In answer to this, I shall not take upon me to determine what rank Mr. Chillingworth ought to bear among the Protestant writers ; it being sufficient for my purpose, that many others, and those of chief note for learning and judgment, in their controversies with the Papists and others, have appealed, and this in the manner I have recommended, to the Primitive writers, as every one may soon learn who will take the pains to look into their books. In the next

place, it appears from this very passage of Mr. Chillingworth, as here represented, that this design was to prevent appealing to Fathers and Councils as a Rule of Faith; agreeably whereunto I have all along declared, that, in my opinion, the Scripture is the only Rule of Faith, and have no farther recommended the study of the Primitive writers, than as the best method of discovering the true sense of Scripture. In the third place, here is nothing expressly said by Mr. Chillingworth of the most Primitive writers or Councils, or of any who lived in the next ages after the Apostles; but he may very well be understood, notwithstanding any thing here produced, of those latter ages wherein both Fathers and Councils degenerated from the Faith and doctrine of those who went before them; which is the more likely, because mention here follows of the Article which divided the Greeks from the Roman Communion; this having not been openly disputed before the seventh century. Fourthly, he is introduced as speaking in express terms of controverted points, but saying nothing of any principal point of Faith, nothing of any Article which was originally in the Nicene Creed. On the contrary it may be observed, in the last place, that he plainly speaks of doctrines received by the Church in all places and at all times, even from the very beginning, which for that reason he presumed not to reject. Now it cannot possibly be known what these are, without having recourse to the writers of the Primitive ages. So that, upon the whole, the method I have recommended is so far from being contradicted, that it is rather enforced by what this writer hath cited from Mr. Chillingworth.—p. 358.

GRABE, PRESBYTER AND CONFESSOR.—*Præfat. in Spicileg.*

It is the contempt of the Ecclesiastical Tradition, reaching down from the Apostolic age to our own, which causes Christians who are called to one Faith and to one hope, to split into various sects; each of which professes Scripture for its Rule of Faith, but bends our Lord's declarations to its private likings and wishes, and refuses communion to all who differ from it, depriving them of all privileges, bodily and spiritual. On one side upon Traditions truly Catholic and Apostolic, are superadded new opinions and superstitions which falsely pretend to the name; on the other, that is torn away, overlooked, nay, sometimes rejected, which has been believed and practised in the Church always, every where, and by all, and for this sole reason, because it is inconsistent with the new decrees and determinations, or altogether hostile to them.—Meanwhile, till public peace is restored to the world, we must see to our own private peace and safety, lest we be involved in the aforementioned evils, and perish in the ruin

of others. We shall escape this mischief if we build ourselves up upon the faith once delivered to the Saints, and best unfolded in the writings of the ancient Fathers, not admitting aught which beyond or against it be latterly added, uncertain, false, vain, superstitious, idolatrous, nor agreeing with those who detract from the traditions of the Catholic Church, and contentiously revile the most ancient doctrine and discipline, nay, those who do not obey it with their whole heart.

Id.—De forma Consecrationis Eucharistiæ.

The form of consecration and opinion of the consecrated elements, in which both Catholics and Heretics, in the age immediately succeeding the holy Apostles, have agreed together, and which, ever since, has been kept in all ancient Churches, and is by some of the Fathers expressly reckoned amongst the unwritten apostolical traditions, and is moreover hinted at in the very writings of the New Testament, cometh undoubtedly from the Apostles, if not from our LORD himself, and ought, therefore, by no means to be changed, otherwise it will make the consecration doubtful, or at least unlawful for them that understand this matter. It is, therefore, an indispensable duty, incumbent upon every Christian Church, and every priest in it, strictly to keep to the same matter and form which our LORD JESUS CHRIST and his holy Apostles have used in the first institution and celebration of this sacred mystery, and to do in and with it what these have done, lest if they diminish or take aught off it, they should lose either the substance or the benefit of this most holy Sacrament, and consequently, if through ignorance or mistake a fault or defect hath happened any where in these things, it is the bounden duty of the bishops and priests of that Church to rectify the same, the received customs and human laws notwithstanding; and of every one who, by reading the holy Scriptures and writings of the ancient Apostolical Fathers, is come to the knowledge of such fault or defect, to put them in mind of it, and to show the same in order that it may be amended, since every one who knoweth the truth and doth not declare it, shall be judged by the LORD on the last day.—p. 75. 84.

BRETT, PRESBYTER AND CONFESSOR.—*On Tradition.*

Since then the will of GOD being once revealed, is to be known afterwards by tradition only, it behoves us to inquire how we may be satisfied that this tradition does not deceive us: for it is a general opinion here that tradition is very deceitful, and not at all to be relied upon; and I do readily grant that mere oral tradi-

tion delivered, from father to son, corroborated by no written evidence, is by no means to be relied upon for any long succession. And, therefore, we find that no nation or country can give any tolerably satisfactory account of the state and condition of their ancestors, before they come to have the use of letters amongst them, by which their manners, laws, customs, and acts, might be transmitted to posterity. But this is no argument against such a tradition as is delivered or corroborated by written evidence, of such things, and in such manners, as we cannot think ourselves deceived by it. All our knowledge of laws, customs, and facts, which we are not ourselves eye-witnesses of must be delivered to us by evidence, such as we have reason to believe, and we have no other way of coming to the knowledge of them. Now we could not be eye-witnesses of what happened before we were born, therefore, we must either say that we can come to the true knowledge of nothing which happened before we were born, which I think none but downright Sceptics will pretend to say, or else that we must believe such tradition as deserves the name of a just and proper evidence; and I conceive that to be just and proper evidence, which we receive from those who could not be themselves deceived in what they relate, nor could have any design or purpose to deceive us in the relation, but, on the contrary, must have exposed themselves to all their contemporaries, if they had given a wrong account of those matters. Therefore, when an author of credit speaks of the customs or practice of the Church at a time when he lived, we have all the reason imaginable to believe him; for in that case it is certain he could not be deceived himself, neither could he write what was false in such a case without exposing himself to all that were living at that time. Thus, for instance, if any one at this time should tell the world, that it is the custom or practice of the Church of England to carry the Host or consecrated Eucharistical Bread in a solemn procession, as they do in the Church of Rome, he must expose himself as a shameless liar, and could never be esteemed an author of any credit, because every man now living in England would know the thing to be false. Nay, if he could say that this was the practice in this realm an hundred and fifty years ago, or any time since the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, every Englishman would know it to be false, though there is no man now living that can remember what was done in her reign. And the like may be said with regard to any other public part of Divine worship. No man can impose upon the world so far, as to make them believe that any thing is a public practice, which he himself does not know, or see to be so. And though a man might possibly put upon a stranger, who may be supposed ignorant of the customs of the people, to whom he is

a stranger ; yet he that had the least value for his own reputation, would not dare to do this to a stranger living among the people of whose customs he pretends to give him an account, especially, if by that account he hopes to obtain a favour from that stranger, and may have just apprehensions of suffering through the displeasure of that stranger, if he should go about to deceive him. We may therefore be satisfied that St. Barnabas, for instance, would not have told the Jews that God had appointed us to keep holy the eighth day, or first day of the week, in memory of CHRIST's resurrection, and abolished the observation of the Sabbath day, if the Apostles had not taught this as the will of GOD: for he could not be deceived in this matter himself, being a companion of the Apostles, and well acquainted with the doctrine which they taught. Neither could he, if he would, put a deceit in this case upon any others, because all the Christians then living could have refuted him if he had uttered a falsehood in this particular. Therefore, though we do not place his Epistle among the inspired writings, yet we cannot question his evidence as to this matter. And the same may be said of Justin Martyr ; if he had told the Emperors any falsehood with relation to the practice of the Christians, it was impossible but they must easily have discovered it, not a Christian then living but must have known it to be a falsehood, if it had been so ; consequently he would not only have exposed himself as a shameless liar, but would likewise have made himself liable to the just displeasure of the Emperors, if he had not spoke the truth : nay, if any thing that he told the Emperors had been a new practice, and such as had not been the constant practice of the Christian Church from the beginning, he durst not have pleaded in behalf of such a practice as a Christian institution, for which so many Christians then living could have convicted him of falsehood, it being but forty years from the death of the Apostles when he wrote, and many of the Apostles' disciples who learned the Christian institutions immediately from them being then alive. Justin then could not be deceived himself with regard to the Christian institutions, since he had opportunity of informing himself from the immediate disciples of the Apostles, and he durst not pretend to impose upon the Emperors, nor could have any interest either to write a false relation to them, or to put a cheat upon those that should come after. Therefore what we find to have been delivered as a custom of the Church, by St. Barnabas, or St. Justin, or any writer contemporary to them, that we firmly believe to have been of Apostolical institution. And we may say the same also of those that followed them for one hundred and fifty years after the Apostles, such as Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, St. Cyprian, and their contemporaries, who could no more be put

upon, and made to believe that any thing was an Apostolical institution, and publicly practised by the whole Church, than any man of sense and learning could now be put upon, and made to believe that such a thing (though really it was not so) was established here at the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, and had continued to be the practice of the English Church ever since. And the same may be said if we add fifty or sixty years more to the account, which brings us down to the time of the Council of Nice. A Christian Synod could no more be deceived at that time in declaring the doctrine and practice taught and practised by the Apostles, than a bench of English Judges could be deceived in any law or custom which should be pretended to have been begun here in the reign of King Henry VII. And, therefore, where we have the declaration of that Council, or of any authors contemporary with it, or with any member of it, I conceive we may very reasonably depend upon their testimony for the truth of an Apostolical tradition. The testimony of the Church, therefore, is thus far at least to be esteemed a certain evidence of Divine or Apostolical institutions, and hitherto we may safely follow it without danger of being led into error by so doing; and that which may confirm us that hitherto the Church had not been deceived with regard to Apostolical institutions and practices, is her unanimity in those matters. Whatever was held as derived from Apostolic authority by one Church, was esteemed as such also by all other Churches, which could not have been if there had been a failure in the tradition; for error is various, and all Churches from East to West, from North to South, from one end of the world to another, could never have agreed in an erroneous tradition. Therefore where we find all Churches agreed in the same doctrines and forms of worship, and we are not able to trace the beginning of them, we may safely conclude that they are derived to us from the Apostles: for this is the rule laid down by St. Austin on this occasion: "whatsoever the universal Church holdeth, and which was not instituted by any Council, but has been always observed, that we most rightly conclude to have been a tradition derived from Apostolical authority." And in another place he says, "many things which are not to be found in their writings," (that is, in the writings of the Apostles) "nor in the Councils of later ages, yet because they are observed by the whole Church, are believed not to have been delivered or recommended by any authority but of them." Again, says he, "there are many things which the universal Church holds, and which for this reason are rightly believed to be commanded by the Apostles, although they are not found written." But it is to be observed, that it is only such traditions as have been held by the universal Church in all ages, and all places, such as we can trace up to the Apostolical age, and have the evidence of some

of the Fathers, who living either in the Apostolical times, or so near to them, that they could not but distinguish between Apostolical traditions and later institutions, have given their testimony concerning. And therefore we justly reject the doctrine of purgatory, invocation of Saints, worship of relics and images, and other corrupt traditions of the Church of Rome, because we cannot find any evidence for their universality and antiquity. We can trace the original of all them, and find them many years later than the times of the Apostles: but on the contrary we find the doctrines and customs of the ages nearest to the Apostles to be directly opposite to these modern traditions. It is not then every tradition that lays an obligation upon Christians, but only such traditions as we have good evidence to believe to have been derived from the Apostles, that is, the testimony of those who lived either in the Apostles' age, or so near to it, that they could not easily be imposed upon in this case, and made to believe that to be of Apostolical tradition which really was not so, that is to say, about the time of the Council of Nice, about two hundred years after the Apostolical age. And we may also believe the testimony of those who lived in the century following that Council, since in that time they could not be deceived in the tradition of what was acknowledged at the time of that Council to be Apostolical. But there is no better rule for the judging concerning the authority of tradition, than that which is given by Vincentius Lirinensis in the beginning of his Commonitory.—§ ix. pp. 35—42.

Ibid.—Introduction to the independency of the Church.

If any other matters not yet received or practised in our Church, should be found to be of equal antiquity and universality, I declare it to be my hearty desire that they also may be restored: for I am well assured, that from the beginning of the Gospel of CHRIST to the time of the Council of Nice, and long after during the fourth century, the Catholic Church all over the world was united in one holy doctrine, discipline, and manner of worship.—The practice of the Church therefore at the time of the Council of Nice is certainly best fitted to be the standard for every reformation of the Church.—Since then we have seen and experienced the folly of deviating so far from the Primitive plan to gain those who cannot be gained by any thing but the utter extirpation of Episcopacy and Liturgy, and all that is not according to their own novel fancies, why should we not entirely restore our Liturgy to the Primitive standard, and revive those usages,—by returning to which we shall plainly lead the van for the introduction of Catholic unity into the Church of CHRIST.

For we shall then want nothing (as we now most certainly do) that is agreeable to the practice of the Primitive Church, when a Catholic uniformity was universally preserved.—The only means to remove this disunion, is by every Church returning to a closer union with the Primitive Church in doctrine, discipline, and worship: for as the church never was so strictly and firmly united as in the Primitive times, and particularly about the time when the Council of Nice was celebrated:—so if ever the Church be as firmly united again, it must be upon the same principles, and practices. The Church never was united but upon the principles and usages which obtained at the time of the Nicene Council: and we have therefore good reason to believe that it never can be united but upon those principles and usages. That Church then, which shall first restore all those principles and usages, may be justly said to lead the way to Catholic Union.—p. 7. 10.

HICKES, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Sermons*, No. 3.

But if any modern writer who is of yesterday, will otherwise interpret these words upon his own head, I will reply unto him what our late blessed Sovereign, the Martyr for the Apostolical Government, said unto Mr. Henderson in his second paper, “if the practice of the primitive Church (said he) and the universal consent of the Fathers be not a convincing argument, when the interpretation of Scripture is doubtful, I know nothing.” And elsewhere: “Although I never esteemed any argument equal to the Scripture, yet I do think the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and the universal practice of the primitive Church, to be the best, and most authentical interpreters of God’s word; and consequently the fittest judges between me and you, till you find me a better.” According to what St. Augustin said of Infant Baptism, but may with much more reason be said of Episcopal Government, that which the Universal Church doth hold, and was never instituted by councils, but hath always been retained in the Church, we most justly believe to have descended from no authority but the Apostles.—Vol. iii. p. 82.

COLLIER, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.—*Vindication of the reason and defence.*

I desire to know, what authority any particular society of Christians of the sixteenth century had to desert from the custom of the Universal Church, from early and more enlightened ages, and which, as our author observes, were better *guides as being much nearer the fountain’s head*, than those so long behind them.

And if they had no good warrant for stepping out of the old paths, the fences of a modern constitution signify little.—That this was the practice of the Universal Church, St. Augustin is clear and decisive. And since nothing but *certain evidence* will satisfy our author, here he has it. Here is the attestation of all Christendom. Here is number, weight, and authority, with a witness; and is not the practice of the Universal Church a good ground for reliance? What? Not in those early and unblemished ages? In those happy times when learning, and piety, and right belief, had so visible an ascendant?—It was a maxim with Luther and his adherents, to resign to nothing but a text of Scripture, of which themselves were to be the expositors. The Bible was God's, but the comment was their own; as for Antiquity, they had no regard for it. Calvin likewise was much of the same mind. He gives no deference to Antiquity, and seems to confine the rule of worship to express declarations of Scripture. These men, though they discovered some errors, fell into others. Particularly Calvin and his followers held some principles very destructive of the public peace.—Knox rails upon the Emperor and our Queen Mary.—Part 2. pp. 72. 81. 164—166.

LESLIE, PRESBYTER AND CONFESSOR.—*Letter to a Gentleman converted from Deism.*

But there is an infallibility in this Church, not personal in any one or all of Christians put together? for millions of fallibles can never make an infallible. But the infallibility consists in the nature of the evidence, which having all the four marks mentioned in the Short Method with the Deists, cannot possibly be false. As you and I believe there is such a town as Constantinople, that there was such a man as Henry VIII. as much as if we had seen them with our eyes: not from the credit of any historian or traveller, all of whom are fallible; but from the nature of the evidence, wherein it is impossible for men to have conspired and carried it on without contradiction if it were false.

Thus, whatever doctrine has been taught in the Church, (according to the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis,) *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*, is the Christian doctrine; for in this case, such doctrine is a fact, and having the aforesaid marks must be a true fact, *viz.* that such doctrine was so taught and received.

This was the method taken in the Council called at Alexandria against Arius. It was asked by Alexander, the Archbishop who presided, *Quis unquam talia audivit?* who ever heard of this doctrine before? And it being answered by all the Bishops there assembled in the negative, it was concluded a novel doctrine, and contrary to what had been universally received in the Chris-

tian Church. Thus every doctrine may be reduced to fact ; for it is purely fact, whether such doctrine was received or not.

And a council assembled upon such an occasion stands as evidence of the fact, not as judges of the faith : which they cannot alter by their votes or authority.

A council has authority in matters of discipline in the Church ; but in matters of faith, what is called their authority, is their attestation to the truth of fact : which if it has the marks before mentioned, must be infallibly true : not from the infallibility of any or all of the persons, but from the nature of the evidence, as before is said.

And this is the surest rule whereby to judge of doctrines, and to know what the Catholic Church had believed and taught as received from the Apostles.

And they who refuse to be tried by this rule, who say we care not what was believed by the Catholic Church, either in former ages or now, we think our own interpretation or criticisms upon such a text of as great authority as theirs ; these are justly to be suspected, nay it is evident, that they are broaching some novel doctrines which cannot stand this test. Besides the monstrous arrogance in such a pretence, these overthrow the foundation of that sure and infallible evidence upon which Christianity itself does stand, and reduce all to a blind enthusiasm.— *Works*, vol. i. p. 70.

Ibid.—Dissertation concerning Ecclesiastical History.

In Ecclesiastical History, and there only, I may say, is the decision of all controverted points in Divinity, either as to doctrine or discipline. For every one of them must be determined by matter of fact. It is not refining, and criticisms, and our notions of things, but what that faith was, which at first was delivered to the saints. This is matter of fact, and must be determined by evidence. And where any text of the New Testament is disputed, the best evidence is from those Fathers of the Church, who lived in the Apostolical age, and learned the faith from the mouths of the Apostles themselves, such as St. Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, &c. These must know the best sense and meaning of the words delivered by the Apostles. And next to them, they to whom they did deliver the same, and so on through the several ages of the Church to this day. And those doctrines and that government of the Church, which has this evidence, must be the truth. And they who refuse to be determined by this rule, are justly to be suspected, nay, they give evidence against themselves, that they are departed from the truth.— p. 411.

WATERLAND, PRESBYTER.—*Use and Value of Ecclesiastical Antiquity.*

It is not at all likely, that any whole Church of those early times should vary from Apostolical Doctrine in things of moment: but it is, morally speaking, absurd to imagine that all the Churches should combine in the same error, and conspire together to corrupt the doctrine of CHRIST. This is the argument which Irenæus and Tertullian insist much upon, and triumph in over the heretics of their times: and it is obliquely glanced upon by Hegesippus and Clemens Alexandrinus of the same second century, and by Origen also of the third. The argument was undoubtedly true and just as it then stood, while there were no breaks in the succession of doctrine, but a perfect unanimity of the Churches all along, in the prime articles: though, afterwards, the force of this argument came to be obscured, and almost lost, by taking in things foreign to it, and blending it with what happened in later times. The force of it could last no longer than such unanimity lasted. I say, while the Churches were all unanimous in the main things, (as they were in Irenæus's time and Tertullian's, and for more than a century after,) that very unanimity was a presumptive argument that their faith was right, derived down to them from the Apostles themselves. For it was highly unreasonable to suppose, that those several Churches, very distant from each other in place, and of different languages, and under no common visible head, should all unite in the same errors, and deviate uniformly from their rule at once. But that they should all agree in the same common faith, might easily be accounted for as arising from the same common cause, which could be no other but the common delivery of the same uniform faith and doctrine to all the Churches by the Apostles themselves. Such unanimity could never come by chance, but must be derived from one common source; and therefore the harmony of their doctrine was in itself a pregnant argument of the truth of it. As to the fact, that the churches were thus unanimous in all the prime things, in those days, Irenæus, who was a very knowing person, and who had come far east to settle in the west, bears ample testimony to it. Tertullian, in the two passages last cited from him, testifies the same thing, as to the unanimity of the Churches of those times, in the fundamentals of Christian doctrine. Hegesippus, contemporary with Irenæus, gives much the same account of the succession of true doctrine, down to his own time, in the several Churches. Clemens of Alexandria means the same thing, where he recommends the Church of the Universal Church as *one*, and as more ancient than heresies. And Origen, of the third century, testifies the same of

the Church in his time, and argues in the same manner from it. Irenæus and Tertullian were both of them so strongly persuaded of the certainty; first of the fact, and next of the inference from it, that they scrupled not to urge it as a very full and convincing proof of the Apostolical faith singly considered, and abstracting from Scripture proof; an argument which there is no need to be jealous of, if it be but rightly understood, and limited to such circumstances as it was grounded upon. For the meaning was not, that Apostolical Churches could never err, nor that tradition would be always a safe rule to go by: but such tradition as that was, which might easily be traced up to the Apostles, by the help of writings then extant, as easily (as we may now trace up, the doctrine of our Church to the reign of Charles, or of James the First,) such a tradition might be depended upon. Besides that the unanimity of the Churches all the world over (which could not be rationally accounted for on any other supposition but that they had been so taught from the beginning) confirmed the same thing. The argument in this light, and in those circumstances, was a very good one. But when those circumstances came to be altered, and there had been several breaks in the succession of doctrine, and that too even in the Apostolical Churches, then there could be no arguing in the same precise way as before: only thus far they might argue in after times) upon a supposition that their faith could be proved to be the same as in the former ages), that since their doctrine was still that very doctrine which the churches held while they were unanimous, and had admitted no breaks, therefore it is such as was from the beginning in the Church of CHRIST. In this manner we can reason even at this day, and can thereby make Irenæus's or Tertullian's argument our own: provided we have first proved that the faith we contend for is the very same that obtained in the Churches of that age. . . .

It has been obtained, that our sixth Article condemns the method of interpreting Scripture by antiquity, or at least supercedes it; because it says, "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of Faith, or necessary to salvation." The Article says nothing but what is perfectly right, and perfectly consistent with all we have been pleading for. We allow no doctrine as necessary, which stands only on Fathers, or on tradition, oral or written; we admit none for such, but what is contained in Scripture, and proved by Scripture, rightly interpreted. And we know of no way more safe in necessities to preserve the right interpretation, than to take the ancients along with us. We think it a good method to secure our rule of faith against impostures of all kinds; whether of enthusiasm or false

criticism, or conceited reason, or oral tradition, or the assuming dictates of an infallible chair. If we thus preserve the true sense of Scripture, and upon that sense build our faith, we then build upon Scripture only ; for the sense of Scripture is Scripture. Suppose a man were to prove his legal title to an estate ; he appeals to the laws ; the true sense and meaning of the laws must be proved by the best rules of interpretation ; but, after all, it is the law that gives the title, and that only. In like manner, after using all proper means to come at the sense of Scripture, (which is Scripture,) it is that, and that only, which we ground our faith upon, and prove our faith by. We allege not Fathers as grounds, or principles, or foundations of our faith, but as witnesses, and as interpreters, and faithful conveyers.

That the Church of England has a very particular regard to antiquity, may sufficiently appear from a canon set forth in the same year when our Articles were first perfected and authorized by Act of Parliament, namely, in the year 1571. By that canon it is provided, "that preachers shall not presume to deliver any thing from the pulpit, as of moment, to be religiously observed and believed by the people, but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and collected out of the same doctrine by the Catholic Fathers and the Bishops of the ancient Church." A wise regulation, formed with exquisite judgment, and worded with the exactest caution. The canon does not order, that they shall teach whatever had been taught by Fathers ; no, that would have been setting up a new rule of faith ; neither does it say that they shall teach whatsoever the Fathers had collected from Scripture : no, that would have been making them infallible interpreters, or infallible reasoners : the doctrine must be found first in Scripture : only to be the more secure that we have found it there, the Fathers are to be called in, to be, as it were, constant checks upon the presumption or wantonness of private interpretation ; but then again as to private interpretation, there is liberty enough allowed to it. Preachers are not forbidden to interpret this or that text, or hundreds of texts, differently from what the Fathers have done ; provided still they keep within the analogy of faith, and presume not to raise any new doctrine : neither are they altogether restrained from teaching any thing new, provided it be offered as opinion only, or an inferior truth, and not pressed as necessary upon the people. For it was thought that there could be no necessary article of faith or doctrine now drawn from Scripture, but what the ancients had drawn out before, from the same Scripture : to say otherwise, would imply that the ancients had failed universally in necessities, which is morally absurd.

From this account it may appear that the Church of England

is exactly in the same sentiments which I have been pleading for. And indeed, if there be any Church now in the world, which truly reverences Antiquity, and pays a proper regard to it, it is this Church. The Romans talk of Antiquity, while we observe and follow it.—*Works*, vol. v. p. 265, 316.

BINGHAM, PRESBYTER.—*Antiquities of the Christian Church.*

If it be now inquired what articles of Faith, and what points of practice were reckoned thus fundamental, or essential to the very being of a Christian, and the union of many Christians into one body or Church, the Ancients are very plain in resolving this. For as to fundamental Articles of Faith, the Church had them always collected or summed up out of Scripture in her Creeds, the profession of which are ever esteemed both necessary on the one hand and sufficient on the other, in order to the admission of members into the Church by baptism; and consequently both necessary and sufficient to keep men in the unity of the Church, so far as concerns the unity of Faith generally required of all Christians, 'to make them one body and one Church of Believers. Upon this account, as I have had occasion to show in a former book, the Creed was commonly called by the ancients the *κανὼν*, and *Regula Fidei*, because it was the known standard or Rule of Faith, by which Orthodoxy and Heresy were judged and examined. If a man adhere to this rule he was deemed an Orthodox Christian, and in the union of the Catholic Faith; but if he deviated from it in any point, he was esteemed as one that cut himself off, and separated from the communion of the Church, by entertaining heretical opinions and deserting the common Faith. Thus the Fathers in the Council of Antioch charge Paulus Samosatensis with departing from the Rule of Canon, meaning the Creed, the Rule of Faith, because he denied the divinity of CHRIST. Irenæus calls it the unalterable Canon or Rule of Faith, and says, This Faith was the same in all the world; men professed it with one heart and one soul: for though there were different dialects in the world, yet the power of Faith was one and the same. The Churches in Germany had no other Faith or tradition than those in Spain, or in France, or in the East, or Egypt, or Libya. Nor did the most eloquent ruler of the Church say any more than this, for no one was above his master, nor the weakest diminish any thing of this tradition. For the Faith being one and the same, he that said most of it could not enlarge it, nor he that said least, take any thing from it. So Tertullian says, There is one rule of Faith only, which admits of no change or alteration, 'That which teaches us to believe in one GOD ALMIGHTY, the Maker of the world, and in

JESUS CHRIST HIS SON, &c.' This rule, he says, was instituted by CHRIST Himself, and there were no disputes in the Church about it, but such as Heretics brought in, or such as made Heretics; to know nothing beyond this, was to know all things. This Faith was the Rule of believing from the beginning of the Gospel, and the antiquity of it was sufficiently demonstrated by the novelty of heresies, which were but of yesterday's standing in comparison of it. Cyprian says, It was the law which the whole Catholic Church held, and that the Novatians themselves baptized into the same Creed, though they differed about the sense of the Article relating to the Church. Therefore Novatian in his book of the Trinity makes no scruple to give the Creed the same name, *Regula Veritatis*, the Rule of Truth. And St. Jerome after the same manner, disputing against the errors of the Montanists, says, The first thing they differed about was the Rule of Faith. For the Church believed the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, to be each distinct in his own Person, though united in substance. But the Montanists, following the doctrine of Sabellius, contracted the Trinity into one Person. From all which it is evident, that the fundamental Articles of Faith were those which the Primitive Church summed up in her Creeds, in the profession of which she admitted men as members into the unity of Body by baptism; and if they deserted or corrupted this faith, they were no longer reputed Christians, but Heretics, who break the unity of the Church by breaking the unity of the Faith, though they had otherwise made no further separation from her Communion. For as Clemens Alexandrinus says, out of Hermes Pastor, Faith is the virtue that binds and unites the Church together. Whence Hegesippus, the ancient historian, giving an account of the old Heretics, says, They divided the unity of the Church by pernicious speeches against God and His CHRIST; that is, by denying some of the prime, fundamental Articles of Faith. He that makes a breach upon any one of these, cannot maintain the unity of the Church, nor his own character as a Christian. We ought therefore, says Cyprian, in all things to hold the unity of the Catholic Church, and not to yield in any thing to the enemies of Faith and Truth. For he cannot be thought a Christian who continues not in the truth of CHRIST's Gospel and Faith. If men be Heretics, says Tertullian, they cannot be Christians. The like is said by Lactantius, and Jerome, and Athanasius, and Hilary, and many others of the ancients, whose sense upon this matter I have fully represented in another place. As therefore, there was an unity of Faith necessary to be maintained in certain fundamental Articles in order to make a man a Christian, so these Articles were always to be found in the Church's Creeds; the profession of which was esteemed keeping the unity of the Faith; and deviating in any

point from them, was esteemed a breach of that one Faith and a virtual departing from the unity of the Church.—

We are next to examine what communion different Churches held with one another, that we may discover the harmonious unity of the Catholic Church, and here first of all we are to observe, that as there was one common Faith, consisting of certain fundamental Articles, essential to the very being of a particular Church and its unity, and the being of a Christian; so the same faith was necessary to unite the different parts of the Catholic Church, and make them one body of Christians. So that if any Church deserted or destroyed this Faith, in whole or in part, they were looked upon as rebels and traitors against CHRIST, and enemies to the common Faith, and treated as a conventicle of Heretics, and not of Christians. Upon this account every Bishop not only made a declaration of his faith at his ordination, before the Provincial Synod that ordained him, but also sent his circular or encyclical letters as they were called, to foreign Churches, to signify that he was in communion with them. And this was so necessary a thing in a Bishop newly ordained, that Liberatus tells us, the omission of it was interpreted a sort of refusal to hold communion with the rest of the world, and a virtual charge of heresy upon himself or them.

To maintain this unity of Faith entire, every Church was ready to give each other their mutual assistance to oppose all fundamental errors, and beat down heresy at its first appearance among them. The whole world in this respect was but one common Diocese, the Episcopate was an universal thing, and every Bishop had his share in it in such a manner as to have an equal concern in the whole; as I have more fully showed in another place, where I observed, that in things not appertaining to the Faith, Bishops were not to meddle with other men's Dioceses, but only to mind the business of their own: but when the Faith or welfare of the Church lay at stake, and religion was manifestly invaded, then, by this rule, of their being but one Episcopacy, every other Bishopric was as much their Diocese as their own; and no human Laws or Canons could tie up their hand from performing such acts of the Episcopal office in any part of the world, as they thought necessary for the preservation of Faith and Religion. This was the ground of their meeting in Synods, Provincial, National, and sending their joint opinions and advice from one Church to another. The greatest part of Church History is made up of such acts as these, so that it were next to impertinent to refer to any particulars. I only observe one thing farther upon this head, that the intermeddling with other men's concerns, which would have been accounted a real breach of unity in many other cases, was in this case thought so necessary, that there was no certain way to preserve the unity of the

Catholic Church and Faith without it. And as an instance of this, I have noted in the fore-cited book, that though it was against the ordinary rule of the Church for any Bishop to ordain in another man's Diocese, yet in case a Bishop turned Heretic, and persecuted the Orthodox, and would ordain none but heretical men to establish Heresy in his Diocese, in that case any Orthodox Bishop was not only authorized, but obliged, as opportunity served, and the needs of the Church required, to ordain Catholic teachers in such a Diocese, to oppose the malignant designs of the enemy, and stop the growth of Heresy, which might otherwise take deep root, and spread and overrun the Church. Thus Athanasius and the famous Eusebius of Samosata went about the world in the prevalency of the Arian heresy, ordaining in every Church where they came, such clergy as were necessary to support the Orthodox cause in such a time of distress and desolation; and this was so far from being reckoned a breach of the Church's unity, though against the letter of a Canon in ordinary cases, that it was necessary to be done, in such a state of affairs, to maintain the unity of the Catholic Faith, which every Bishop was obliged to defend, not only in his own Diocese, but in all parts of the world, by virtue of that rule which obliges Bishops in weighty affairs to take care of the Catholic Church, and requires all Churches in time of danger to give mutual aid and assistance to one another.—Vol. ii. pp. 2, 14.

JEBB, BISHOP.

But you will feel with me, that it is something in favour of Vincentius's rule, that it has been received, extolled, and acted upon, by such men as Ridley, Jewel, Grotius, Overall, Hammond, Beveridge, Bull, Hickes, Bramhall, Grabe, Cave, and our own Archbishop King; that it has been admitted expressly even by Chillingworth; and that it has been unreservedly acknowledged as a just and true guide by Bishop Taylor, in one of his latest works, his Visitation Sermon at Connor; a tribute, this last, the most remarkable, because, in his 'Liberty of Prophesying,' and in his 'Ductor Dubitantium,' he had spoken less respectfully of the principle; and his remarkable change of language can be accounted for only by his having undergone a correspondent change of sentiment. He had seen, felt, and weighed every difficulty; the result of all was, a deliberate persuasion, that Vincentius was right, and that he himself had been wrong. But, to say no more of mere authorities, however strong, I own I cannot at present feel any difficulty in applying Vincentius's rule. If a doctrine is propounded to me, as virtually essential, that is, to speak technically, as matter of Faith, before I can receive it as

such, I must go to the Catholic succession, and ascertain whether that doctrine has been held *semper, ubique, ab omnibus*; convinced, if it has not been so held, my assent is not due to it as a matter of Faith. If, again, a doctrine which I hold is impugned as Heretical, next the Scripture, and as interpretative of Scripture, I must go to the Catholic succession; and if I find this doctrine universally asserted, I cannot believe that it is any other than the sincere truth of the Gospel. The universality here mentioned, is not, of course, a mathematical, but a moral universality: the universality, to use Vincentius's own words, of those "*Qui in fide et communione Catholicâ, sancte, sapienter, et constanter viventes, vel mori in Christo fideliter, vel occidi pro Christo feliciter meruerint.*" And here, I may observe, that Vincentius himself has anticipated your great objection; a very fair one, no doubt, and which requires, and deserves an answer;—namely, 'that true Christianity, far from being diffused *ubique*, or received *ab omnibus*, was sometimes confined to a very narrow channel: when the great majority of the Bishops were Arians, what becomes of the rule?' Let Vincentius answer, *Quid si novella aliqua contagio, non jam portiunculam tantum, sed totam pariter Ecclesiam commaculare conetur! Tunc item providebit ut Antiquitati inhæreat.* Nor be it thought, that by this means, the *quod ubique*, and *quod ab omnibus*, are idly absorbed in the *quod semper*: they are, as above hinted, to be taken, not mathematically, but morally; and, so taken, they are an effectual guard to the *quod semper*. From the beginning, or at least, from very remote antiquity, worthy individuals have frequently held, some one or more, unsound opinions; and looking to individuals merely, the *quod semper* might be alleged, as it has been alleged, in favour of every opinion: it is to be rectified, however, by looking to universality and consent: not universality without exception—for such is not to be found: but the concurrent, and consistent sentiments, of the most, and greatest, doctors, in the whole body of the Church; not at any given period, but throughout the whole succession. Nor will such a research be so laborious as might be imagined; for, in the first place, the Catholic verities, those to be believed for necessity of salvation, are but few; and in the next place, the concurrent sense of Catholic Christians, on those few, but important points, has been amply elicited by controversy; insomuch that, from the works of Bishop Bull, and a very few more, any candid and intelligent student might obtain competent and intelligent satisfaction, respecting the sense of the universal Church, on any and every of the Catholic verities. As to all other verities, and as to the interpretation of particular texts of Scripture, they are left at large, provided always that no Catholic truth be impugned, and that the analogy of the Faith be maintained inviolable.—*Life*, vol. ii. pp. 249—252.

VAN MILDERT, BISHOP.—*Bampton Lectures.*

Much discussion has from time to time arisen respecting the deference due to the writings of the Primitive Fathers of the Church, and the use and value of ecclesiastical antiquity : points of considerable moment, and deserving of attentive examination.

It seems to be indisputable, that the Primitive Fathers are not to be regarded as Divinely inspired, since otherwise their writings would necessarily have formed a part of the Sacred Canon. The question, therefore, is, whether, admitting them to have no more than human authority, they have any special claim to our reverential regard, which places them on higher ground than that of their ecclesiastical successors. And this question is to be determined by a fair consideration of any peculiar advantages they might possess, and of their ability and disposition to turn them to good account.

Against any such deference being had to these our spiritual forefathers, it has been sometimes contended, that their writings now extant are few in number ; that several of them, if not spurious, are adulterated, through the pious frauds, the sinister designs, or the ignorance of after-ages ; that their style and reasoning are obscure ; that in their zeal to defeat opponents, they occasionally suppress or disguise the truth ; that they are on certain points inconsistent with each other, and with themselves ; and that it is often difficult to ascertain whether the opinions they advance are meant to be declaratory of the judgment of the Church, or delivered only as their own private interpretations. For these and similar reasons, it has been alleged that their testimony, as genuine witnesses of the Faith, may deservedly be impeached ; and that neither Protestants nor Papists have hesitated occasionally to depart from their authority.

But of these charges it has repeatedly been shown, that many are greatly exaggerated ; some wholly unfounded ; while others affect not their writings, more than the writings of almost all controversial authors of ancient date, adverting (as they must necessarily do) to times and persons, and local circumstances, now but imperfectly known, and which cast a shade of obscurity over some of their narratives and their reasonings. These afford no good argument for laying their productions under a general interdict. Against an implicit submission to their authority, they are, doubtless, important considerations : but against the use and application of them as documents of more than ordinary value, they merit but little attention.

In answer, therefore, to such objections, it may suffice to observe, that supposing the Primitive Fathers to have been men of only common discernment and integrity, their testimony

respecting the doctrines then actually received by the Church, and maintained against the heresies then prevailing, must have peculiar weight. Those among them who had been personally conversant with the Apostles, and who derived their knowledge of the Christian Faith from what they continually heard of their preaching and discourse, as well as from their writings, seem to have claim to a regard only short of that which was due to their inspired preceptors. To place such men as Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, no higher in the scale of authority, with respect to the value of their testimony on these points, than Bishops and Pastors in later times, betrays an error of judgment which on any other subject of investigation analogous to this, would be deemed preposterous. On the part of their immediate successors, somewhat of the same extraordinary claim to acceptance still presents itself, though with a certain diminution of its force. Descending still lower in the scale of history, this authority rapidly diminishes, and our judgment in their favour will be chiefly, if not solely, influenced by the internal evidence their writings afford of some superior qualifications in the authors themselves. Yet, until the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, and the full establishment of the Papal usurpation, the Fathers of the Church appear to have been deeply sensible of the obligation laid upon them to "contend for the Faith once delivered to the saints," and to guard the sacred deposit committed to their charge, against every vain imagination which the Heretic or Schismatic might labour to introduce.

Disclaiming, therefore, any superstitious reverence towards these venerable men, it may reasonably be urged, that their peculiarly advantageous circumstances demand especial consideration; and that unless their characters, both moral and intellectual, could be so successfully impeached as to prove them wholly unworthy of credit, their testimony is of the very first importance in ascertaining the Primitive Faith. In matters requisite to the formation of the Church; in framing Confessions of Faith, more or less explicit according to the errors it was necessary to discountenance; and in adopting means for the perpetuation of these benefits to the latest ages; they appear as having been at first deputed by the Apostles for purposes the most important, and as acting under impressions of a most awful responsibility. To them were also confided those Sacred Oracles on which our faith now most essentially depends. Through their ministry we have received these invaluable treasures; to their zeal and fidelity, under Providence, we owe the transmission of the pure word of God to these present times: and the charge thus consigned to our care, we are bound to deliver unimpaired to succeeding generations.

If, in addition to these special grounds of confidence in the

early Fathers, we admit what has been contended for by learned and judicious Divines, that the extraordinary gifts of the SPIRIT, (especially that of "discerning of spirits,") were not entirely withdrawn from the Church till long after the time of the Apostles, this would give still stronger confirmation to their claims. For though we should not be warranted in a supposition that even these extraordinary gifts conferred authority for promulgating new articles of Faith, or infringing on any exclusive prerogative of the Sacred writers, yet it would go far towards establishing interpretations of Christian Doctrine thus received and sanctioned, on a firmer basis than any on which their less gifted successors can ground their pretensions.

But, not to insist on any disputable points, the use and value of ecclesiastical antiquity in general, and of its earliest productions in particular, is sufficiently evident, upon the ordinary principles of criticism and evidence. As works so nearly contemporary with those of the Sacred Canons, they illustrate the diction and phraseology of the inspired Penmen; they give an insight into the history of the age in which the writings of the New Testament were composed; they explain allusions to rites and customs, which otherwise might be involved in much obscurity; and, what is of still more importance, they assist in fixing the sense of controverted texts of Scripture, by the substantial evidence they afford of their generally received interpretation in the primitive ages of the Church. These advantages are derived to us from the public acts of the Church recorded in the most ancient ecclesiastical histories; from the prescribed formularies of Faith then in general use: and from the censures authoritatively passed upon such as departed from these standards of reputed orthodoxy. Hence we are assured of the care and solicitude manifested from the beginning by spiritual rulers, to preserve the truth from corruption: and when the importance of the doctrines themselves, as well as the opportunities they enjoyed of tracing them to the fountain head, are duly considered, it can hardly be conceived, that they who had the guidance and government of the Primitive Church should either be universally uninformed as to any fundamental truth, or universally embrace any fundamental error.

It is, therefore, with no common reverence that these authorities are to be regarded; nor can we detract from their just pretensions without hazard to some of the main foundations of our Faith. "No man," says Bishop Bull, "can oppose Catholic consent, but he will at last be found to oppose both the Divine Oracles and sound reason." Nevertheless, we do not claim for them any infallibility, any commission to make further revelations of the Divine will, or any absolute authority as Scripture interpreters. The appeal still lies from them, as from all other

religious instructors, to that Word itself, which was no less their Rule of Faith than it is ours : and the highest degree of deference that can be due to them, may be paid without any infringement of that inviolable maxim, "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God."—*Sermon v. p. 94.*

OXFORD,

The Feast of the Purification.

POSTSCRIPT.

On the particular subject of this Catena, may be profitably consulted :

Laud's Conference with Fisher.

Thorndike de ratione ac jure finiendi controversias Ecclesiæ.

Patrick on Tradition.

Brett on Tradition.

Waterland on the Use and Value of Ecclesiastical Antiquity.

Allix—Judgment of the Jewish Church.

To which may be added the following references :—

Whitgift, Defence, pp. 95. 881.

Wall, Pref. to Infant Baptism, vol. I. p. 6.

Reeves, Pref. to Apologies, vol. I. pp. 6. 16. 26.

Johnson, Unbloody Sacrifice, vol. I. p. 212.

Marshall, Pref. to Cyprian, pp. 3. 4. 6. 12.

Bisse, Sermon before Sons of Clergy (1717), pp. 11, 12.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

No. 79.

(*Ad Clerum.*)

ON PURGATORY.

(*Against Romanism.—No. 3.*)

THE extract from Archbishop Ussher's Answer to a Jesuit, contained in Tract 72, on the subject of the ancient Commemorations for the Dead in Christ, may fitly be succeeded by an inquiry as to what degree and sort of proof remains for the Roman tenet of Purgatory, after deducting from the evidence those usages or statements of the early Church, which are commonly supposed, but, as Ussher shows, improperly, to countenance it. Ussher's explanations have had the effect, it is presumed, of cutting away the *primâ facie* evidence, on which the doctrine is usually rested; and it now remains to see what is left when it is withdrawn. With this view it is proposed in the following pages to draw out in detail the evidence alleged by the Romanists in behalf of their belief, with such remarks as may be necessary, in order to form a fair estimate of it. A plain statement of the doctrine itself, and of its rise, shall be also attempted, as not unseasonable at a time when the strength of Romanism rests in no small degree in its opponents mistaking the points in debate, and making or refuting propositions which but indirectly or partially bear upon the errors which they desire to combat.

Before commencing, it is necessary to warn the reader against estimating the magnitude or quality of any of those errors by its apparent dimensions in the theory. What seems to be a small deviation from correctness in the abstract system, becomes considerable and serious when it assumes a substantive form. This is especially the case with all doctrinal discussions, in which the undeveloped germs of many diversities of practice and moral character lie thick together and in small compass, and as if promiscuously and without essential differences. The highest truths differ from the most miserable delusions by what appears to be a few words or letters. The discriminating mark of orthodoxy, the Homœousion, has before now been ridiculed, however irra-

tionally, as being identical, all but the letter *i*, with the heretical symbol of the Homoiousion. What is acknowledged in the Arian controversy, must be endured without surprise in the Roman, in whatever degree it occurs. We may be taunted as differing from the Romanists only in phrases and modes of expression; and we may be taunted, or despised, according to the fate of our Divines for three centuries past, as taking a middle, timid, unsatisfactory ground, neither quite agreeing nor quite disagreeing with our opponents. We may be charged with dwelling on trifles and niceties, in a way inconsistent with plain, manly good sense; but in truth it is not we who are the speculatists, and unpractical controversialists, but they who forget that *hæ nugæ seriâ ducunt in mala*.

But again there is another reason, peculiar to the Roman controversy, which occasions a want of correspondence between the appearance presented by the Roman theology in theory, and its appearance in practice. The separate doctrines of Romanism are very different, in position, importance, and mutual relation, in the abstract, and when developed, applied, and practised. Anatomists tell us that the skeletons of the most various animals are formed on the same type; yet the animals are dissimilar and distinct, in consequence of the respective differences of their developed proportions. No one would confuse between a lion and a bear; yet many of us at first sight would be unable to discriminate between their respective skeletons. Romanism in the theory may differ little from our own creed; nay, in the abstract type, it might even be identical, and yet in the actual framework, and still further in the living and breathing form, it might differ essentially. For instance, the doctrine of Indulgences is, in the theory, entirely connected with the doctrine of Penance; that is, it has relation solely to *this world*, so much so that Roman apologists sometimes speak of it without even an allusion to its bearings elsewhere: but we know that in practice it is mainly, if not altogether, concerned with the next world,—with the alleviation of sufferings in Purgatory.

And further still, as regards the doctrine of Purgatorial suffering, there have been for many ages in the Roman Church gross corruptions of its own doctrine, untenable as that doctrine is even by itself. The decree of the Council of Trent, which will presently be introduced, acknowledges the fact. Now we believe that those corruptions still continue; that Rome has never really set herself in earnest to eradicate them. The pictures of Purgatory so commonly seen in countries in communion with Rome, the existence of Purgatorian societies, the means of subsistence accruing to the clergy from belief in it, afford a strange contrast to the simple wording and apparent innocence of the decree by which it is made an article of faith. It is the contrast between

poison in its lifeless seed, and the same developed, thriving, and rankly luxuriant in the actual plant.

And lastly, since we are in no danger of becoming Romanists, and may bear to be dispassionate and (I may say) philosophical in our treatment of their errors, some passages in the following account of Purgatory are more calmly written than would satisfy those who were engaged with a victorious enemy at their doors. Yet, whoever be our opponent, Papist or Latitudinarian, it does not seem to be wrong to be as candid and conceding as justice and charity allow us. Nor is it unprofitable to weigh accurately how much the Romanists have committed themselves in their formal determinations of doctrine, and how far, by God's merciful providence, they had been restrained and overruled; and again, how far they must retract, in order to make amends to Catholic truth and unity.

- § 1. STATEMENT OF THE ROMAN DOCTRINE CONCERNING PURGATORY.
 - § 2. PROOF OF THE ROMAN DOCTRINE CONCERNING PURGATORY.
 - § 3. HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY, AND
OPINIONS IN THE EARLY CHURCH CONCERNING IT.
 - § 4. THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE.
-

- § 1. STATEMENT OF THE ROMAN DOCTRINE CONCERNING PURGATORY.

THE Roman doctrine is thus expressed in the Creed of Pope Pius IV.

Constanter teneo Purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis juvari.

"I hold without wavering that there is a Purgatory, and that souls there detained are aided by the suffrages of the faithful."

The words of this article are taken from the decree of the Council of Trent on the subject, (*Sess. 25.*) which runs as follows :

"Whereas the Church Catholic, fully instructed by the Holy Ghost, hath from the sacred Scriptures and ancient tradition of the Fathers, in sacred Councils, and last of all in this present Œcumenical Synod, taught that there is a Purgatory, and that souls there detained are aided by the suffrages of the living, and above all by the acceptable sacrifice of the Altar, this holy Synod enjoins on Bishops

to meak diligent efforts that the sound doctrine concerning Purgatory, handed down from the holy Fathers and sacred Councils, be believed, maintained, taught, and everywhere proclaimed by the disciples of Christ. At the same time, as regards the uneducated multitude, let the more difficult and subtle questions, such as tend not to edification nor commonly increase piety, be excluded from popular discourses. Moreover, let them disallow the publication and discussion of whatever is uncertain or suspicious; and prohibit whatever is of a curious or superstitious nature, or savours of filthy lucre, as the scandals and stumbling blocks of believers. And let them provide, that the suffrages of believers living, that is, the sacrifices of masses, prayers, alms, and other works of piety, which believers living are wont to perform for other believers dead, be performed according to the rules of the Church, piously and religiously; and whatever are due for them from the endowments of testators, or in other way, be fulfilled, not in a perfunctory way, but diligently and accurately by the Priests and Ministers of the Church, and others who are bound to do this service."

Such is the Roman doctrine; and taken in the *mere letter* there is little in it against which we shall be able to sustain formal objections. Purgatory is not spoken of at all as a place of pain; it need only mean, what its name implies, a place of purification. There is indeed much presumption in asserting definitively that there is such a place; and assuredly there is not only presumption, but very great daring and uncharitableness in including belief in it, as Pope Pius' Creed goes on to do, among the conditions of salvation; but if we could consider it as confined to the mere opinion that that good which is begun on earth is perfected in the next world, the tenet would be tolerable. The word "*detentas*" indeed expresses a somewhat stronger idea; yet after all hardly more than that the souls in Purgatory would be happier out of it than in it, and that they cannot of their own will leave it: which is not much to grant. Further, that the prayers of the living benefit the dead in Christ, is, to say the least, not inconsistent, as Ussher shows us, with the primitive belief. So much as to the *letter* of the decree; but it is safe to go by the letter: on the contrary, we are bound to take the universal and uniform doctrine taught and received in the Roman Communion, as the real and true interpreter of words which are in themselves comparatively innocent. What that doctrine is, may be gathered from the words of the Catechism of Trent, in which the spirit of Romanism, not being bound by the rules which shackle it in the Council, speaks out. The account of Purgatory which that formulary supplies, shall here be taken as our text, and Cardinal Bellarmine's Defence shall be used as a comment upon it.

The Catechism then speaks as follows:

"*Est Purgatorius ignis, quo piorum animæ ad definitum tempus*

cruciatæ expiantur, ut eis in æternam patriam ingressus patere possit, in quam nihil coinquinatum ingreditur.”—Part i. De Symb. 5.

“There is a Purgatorial fire, in which the souls of the pious are tormented for a certain time, and cleansed, in order that an entrance may lie open to them into their eternal home, into which nothing defiled enters.”

In like manner Bellarmine says,

“Purgatory is a certain place in which, as if in a prison, souls are purged after this life, which have not been fully purged in it, in order, (that is,) that thus purged they may be enabled to enter heaven, which nothing defiled shall enter.”

A painful light is at once cast by these comments on the Synodal Decree. “There is a Purgatory” in the Decree, is interpreted by Bellarmine “there is a sort of prison;” and by the Catechism, “there is a Purgatorial fire.” And whereas the Decree merely declares that souls are “detained there,” the Catechism says they are “tormented and cleansed.” Moreover, both the Catechism and Bellarmine imply that this is the ordinary mode of attaining heaven, inasmuch as no one scarcely can be considered, and no one can be surely known, to leave this world, “fully purged;” whereas the Decree speaks vaguely of “the souls there.” So much at first sight; now to consider the persons with which Purgatory is concerned, the sins, condition of souls, place, time, punishment, and remedies; Bellarmine likening it to a *carcer*, the Catechism saying that the “*animæ piorum ad definitum tempus cruciatæ expiantur purgatorio igne.*”

1. The persons who are reserved for Purgatory.

THE Roman Church holds that Christians or believers only are tenants of Purgatory, as for Christians only are offered their prayers, alms, and masses. The question follows, whether all Christians? not all Christians, but such as die in God’s favour, yet with certain sins unforgiven. Some Christians die simply in God’s favour with all their sins forgiven; others die out of His favour, as the impenitent, whether Christians or not; but others, and that the great majority, die, according to the Romanists, in God’s favour, yet more or less under the bond of their sins. And so far we may unhesitatingly allow to them, or rather we ourselves hold the same, if we hold that after Baptism there is no plenary pardon of sins in this life to the sinner, however penitent, such as in Baptism was once vouchsafed to him. If for sins committed after Baptism we have not yet received a simple and unconditional absolution, surely penitents from this time up to the day of judgment may be considered in that double state of which the Romanists speak, their *persons* accepted, but certain sins uncanceled. Such a state is plainly revealed to us in Scripture as a real one, in various passages, to which we appeal as well as the

Romanists. Let the case of David suffice. On his repentance Nathan said to him, "The Lord also *hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die; howbeit*, because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, the child also that is born unto thee shall surely die." 2 Sam. xii. 13, 14. Here is a perspicuous instance of a penitent restored to God's favour at once, yet his sins afterwards visited; and it needs very little experience in life to be aware that such punishments occur continually, though no one takes them to be an evidence that the sufferer himself is under God's displeasure, but rather accounts them punishments even when we have abundant proofs of his faith, love, holiness, and fruitfulness in good works. So far then we cannot be said materially to oppose the Romanists. They on the other hand agree with us in maintaining that CHRIST's death, *might*, if God so willed, be applied for the removal even of these specific punishments of sins, which they call *temporal* punishments, as fully as it really is for the acceptance of the *soul* of the person punished, or the removal of eternal punishment. Further, both parties agree, that in matter of fact it is not so applied; the experience of life shows it; else every judgment might be taken as evidence of the person suffering it being under God's wrath. The death of the disobedient prophet from Judah would, in that case, prove that he perished eternally, which surely would be utterly presumptuous and uncharitable. As far as this then we have no violent difference of *principle* with the Romanists; but at this point we separate from them; *they* say these temporal punishments on sin are inflicted on the faults incurring them, in a certain fixed proportion; that every sin of a certain kind has a definite penalty or price; in consequence, that if it is not fully discharged in this life, it must be hereafter; and that Purgatory is the place of discharging it.

2. The sins for which persons are confined in Purgatory.

The next question is, *what* are the sins which are thus punished? not all sins of Christians, for some incur an eternal punishment. There are sins, it is maintained, which in themselves merit eternal damnation, are directly opposed to love or charity, quench grace, and throw the doer of them out of God's favour. These in consequence are called mortal; such as murder, adultery, or blasphemy. Such sins do not lead to Purgatory; hell is their portion if unrepented of. But all but these, all but *unrepented mortal* sins are in the case of Christians punished in Purgatory. Of these it follows there are two kinds, sins though *repented of*, and sins though not *mortal*; concerning which a few words shall be said.

1. Mortal sins, though repented of, and though the offender cease to be under God's displeasure, yet have visibly their own

punishment in many cases, as in the instance of David. But the Romanists consider that these sins have their penalty assigned to them as if by weight and measure ; moreover, that we can ourselves take part in discharging it, and by our own act anticipate and supersede God's judgment, according to the text : " If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged." This voluntary act on our part is called Penance, and is said to expiate the sin, that is, to wash away its temporal effects. Should we die before the full temporal punishment, or satisfaction, has been paid for all our mortal sins, we must pay the rest hereafter, *i. e.* in Purgatory.

2. Sins which are not mortal, are called *venial*, and are such as do not quench grace, or run counter to love. Bellarmine thus contrasts them :

" Mortal sins are they which absolutely turn us from God, and merit eternal punishment ; Venial those which somewhat impede our course to Him, but do not turn it and are with little pains blotted out. The former are crimes, the latter sins. . . . Mortal sin is like a deadly wound, which suddenly kills : Venial is a slight stroke, which does not endanger life, and is easily healed. The former fights with love, which is the soul's life ; the latter is rather beside than against love."—*De Amiss. Grat.* i. 2.

Venial sin differs from Mortal in two ways, in *kind* and *degree*. An idle word, excessive laughter, and the like, are sins in kind distinct from perjury or adultery. Again, anger is a venial sin when slight and undesigned, but when indulged interferes with love and is mortal ; a theft of a large sum may be mortal, of a small venial.

Venial sins, being such, are considered by Romanists not to deserve so much as eternal punishment,—to be pardonable not merely by an express and immediate act of God's mercy, or again through the virtue of our state of regeneration, but to be intrinsically venial, to offend God, but not so as to alienate Him. They rest this doctrine upon such passages as the following : " Sin, when it is *finished*, bringeth forth *death*," James i. 15. ; therefore, before it is finished or perfected, it has no such fearful power. Still they say it requires *some* punishment ; which it receives in the next world, should it not receive it in this, that is, in Purgatory.

Such then are the sins of God's true servants, penitent believers, for which, according to the Romanists, they suffer in Purgatory ; mortal sins repented of, and those sins of infirmity which befall them so continually and so secretly, that they cannot repent of them specifically if they would, and which do not deserve eternal punishment, though they do not. They consider the Purgatorial punishment of *venial* sins to be meant by the Apostle, when he speaks of those who, building on the true foundation " wood, hay,

and stubble," are "saved so as by fire;" and the punishment for mortal sins, in our SAVIOUR'S declaration that certain prisoners shall not go out till they have "paid the very last mite." Luke xii. 59. It may be added, that Martyrdom is supposed to be a full expiation of whatever guilt of sin still rests on the Christian undergoing it; and therefore to stand instead of Purgatory. Martyrs then are at once admitted to the Beatific vision, which is the privilege in which Purgatory terminates.

From this account of the inmates of Purgatory, and the causes why they are there detained, we gather what has already been hinted, that the one main or rather sole reason of the appointment, is a *satisfaction to God's justice*. The persons concerned are believers destined for bliss eternal; but before they pass on from earth to heaven, the course of their existence is, as it were, suspended, and they are turned aside to discharge a debt; how they effect it, or in what *length* of time, or with what *effect* on themselves, being questions as beside the mark, as if they were used with reference to the payment of a charge in worldly matters. It is an appointment altogether without bearing upon their moral character or eternal prospects; and after it is over, is wiped out as though it had never been.

3. *The moral condition of souls in Purgatory.*

Bellarmino well illustrates the supposed mental state of believers while in Purgatory by comparing them to travellers who come up to a fortified town after nightfall, and have to wait at the gates till the morning. Such persons have come to the end of their journey; they are not on the way, they have attained: they are sure of admittance, which is a matter of time only.

Accordingly the Romanists hold that souls in Purgatory become neither better or worse, neither sin or add to their good works; they are one and all perfect in love, and ready for heaven, were it not for this debt, which hangs about them as so much rust or dross, and cannot be purged away except for certain appointed external remedies. They support this view of the stationary condition of the soul in Purgatory by such texts as the following: "The night cometh when no man can work." "Where the tree falls, there it shall be." "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things *done in his body*." John ix. 4. Eccles. xi. 3. 2 Cor. v. 10.

Next, with the exception of some few theologians, they consider that souls in Purgatory are comforted with the assurance that their eternal happiness is secured to them. Their state in consequence is thus described by Bellarmine (ii. 4.):

"You will object that they may be in doubt whether they are in hell or in purgatory. Not so; for in hell God is blasphemed, in

Purgatory He is praised : in hell there is neither habit of faith, nor hope, nor love of God ; in Purgatory, all of these. A soul then which shall understand that it hopes in God, praises and loves God, will clearly know it is not in hell. But perhaps it will fear it is to be sent to hell, though not there yet ; neither can this be, for the same faith remains in it which it had here. Here it believed according to the plain word of Scripture, that after death none can become of good bad, or of bad good, and none but the bad are to be sent into hell. When then it perceives that it loves God, and is therefore good, it will not fear damnation."

4. The place and time of Purgatory.

On this subject the Church has not formally determined any thing : but the common opinion of the Schoolmen is, that it is one of four prisons or receptacles, which are situated in the heart of the earth, Hell for the damned, the *Limbus Puerorum* for children dying without baptism, the *Limbus Patrum* for the just who died before the passion of CHRIST, and who since that time have all been transferred from it to heaven, and Purgatory for believers under punishment. In other words, whereas all punishment is either for a time or eternal, either positive (*pæna sensûs*), or negative (*pæna damni*), that of good men before CHRIST's coming was the *pæna damni*, or absence of God's light and joy for a time, that of unbaptized infants is the *pæna damni* for ever, that of Purgatory the *pæna sensûs* for a time, that of Hell the *pæna sensûs* for ever. To these some Romanists have added a fifth, that is, of faithful souls, who without being yet admitted into heaven are yet secured against all pain ; but these according to Bellarmine, as at least enduring the *pæna damni*, are to be considered in Purgatory, though in the most tolerable place in it, as being but in the condition of the old Fathers before CHRIST came.

The time of Purgatory depends of course upon the state of the debt which is to be liquidated in each case, and varies consequently with the individual. Martyrs, as has been above stated, are supposed to satisfy it in the very act of Martyrdom ; others will not be released till the day of judgment. Again, the period of suffering depends upon the exertions of survivors, by prayers, alms, and masses, which have power not only to relieve but to shorten the pain.

5. The nature of the Punishment.

Here the Roman Church has defined nothing ; its catechism, as we have seen, and its theologians in accordance, consider it to be material fire, but in the Council of Florence, the Greeks would not do more than subscribe to the existence of Purgatory ; they denied that the punishment was fire ; the question accordingly

remains open, that is, it is not determined either way *de fide*. The difficulty, how elementary fire, or any thing of a similar nature, can affect the disembodied soul, is paralleled by St. Austin by the mystery of the union of soul and body.

The pains of Purgatory are considered to be horrible and far exceeding any in this life; "*Pœnas Purgatorii esse atrocissimas; et cum illis nullas pœnas hujus vitæ comparandas, docent constanter Patres,*" says Bellarmine (ii. 14.), and proceeds to refer to Austin, Pope, Gregory, Bede, Anselm, and Bernard. Yet on this point theologians differ. Some consider the chief misery to consist in the *pœna damni*, or absence of God's presence, which to holy souls, understanding and desiring it, would be as intolerable as extreme thirst or hunger to the body; and in this way seem to put all purgatorial pain on a level, or rather assign the greater pain to the more spiritually-minded. Others consider the *pœna damni* to be alleviated by the certainty of heaven and of the continually lessening term of their punishment. With them then the *pœna sensûs*, or the fire, is the chief source of torment, which admits of degrees according to the will of God.

6. The efficacy of the suffrages of the Church.

By suffrages are meant, co-operations of the living with the dead; prayers, masses, and works, such as alms, pilgrimages, fastings, &c. These aids which individuals can supply, alms, prayers, &c., only avail when offered by good persons; for he who is not accepted himself, cannot do acceptable service for another. Moreover, these aids may be directed either to the benefit of all souls in Purgatory indiscriminately, or specially to the benefit of a certain soul in particular.

There is one other means of escaping the penalties due to sin in Purgatory, which may briefly be mentioned, viz. by the grant of indulgences; these are dispensed on the following theory. Granting that a certain fixed temporal penalty attached to every act of sin, in such case, it would be conceivable that, as the multitude of Christians did not discharge their total debt in this life, so some extraordinary holy men might more than discharge it. Such are the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Ascetics, and the like, who have committed few sins, and have undergone extreme labours and sufferings, voluntary or involuntary. This being supposed, the question rises, what becomes of the overplus; and then there seems a fitness that what is not needed for themselves, should avail for their brethren who are still debtors. It is accordingly stored, together with CHRIST's merits, in a kind of treasure-house, to be dispensed according to the occasion, and that at the discretion of the Church. The application of this treasure is called an Indulgence, which stands instead of a certain time of penance in this life, or for the period, whatever it be, to which

that time is commuted in Purgatory. In this way, the supererogatory works of the Saints are supposed to go in payment of the debts of ordinary Christians.

§ 2. PROOF OF THE ROMAN DOCTRINE CONCERNING PURGATORY.

1. *Proofs from supernatural appearances.*

THE argumentative ground, on which the belief in Purgatory was actually introduced, would seem to lie in the popular stories of apparitions witnessing to it. Not that it rose in consequence of them historically, or that morally it was founded in them; only that when persons came to ask themselves why they received it, this was the ultimate ground of evidence on which the mind fell back; viz. the evidence of miracles, not of Scripture, or of the Fathers.

Bellarmino enumerates it as one of the confirmatory arguments. With this view he refers in particular to some relations of Gregory of Tours, A.D. 573; of Pope Gregory, A.D. 600; of Bede, A.D. 700; of Peter Damiani, A.D. 1057; of St. Bernard, A.D. 1100; and of St. Anselm, A.D. 1100. The dates are worth noticing, if it be true, as is here assumed, that such supernatural accounts as then were put forth, are really the argument on which the doctrine was and is received; for it would thence appear, first that the doctrine was not taught as divine before the end of the sixth century, next that when it was propagated, it was so on an (alleged) *new revelation*. The following miraculous narratives are found in a Protestant Selection from Roman writers, published in 1688, and entitled "Purgatory proved by Miracles."

"St. Gregory the great writes that the soul of Paschasius appeared to St. Germanus, and testified to him, that he was freed from the pains of Purgatory for his prayers.

"When the same St. Gregory was abbot of his Monastery, a monk of his called Justus, now dead, appeared to another monk, called Copiosus, and advertized him, that he had been freed from the torments of Purgatory, by thirty Masses, which Pretiosus, Prefect of the Monastery by the order of St. Gregory, had said for his soul, as is recounted in his life.

"St. Gregory of Tours writes of a holy damsel, called Vitaliana, that she appeared to St. Martin, and told him she had been in Purgatory for a venial sin which she had committed, and that she had been delivered by the prayers of the Saint.

"Peter Damiani writes, that St. Severin appeared to a clergyman, and told him that he had been in Purgatory, for not having said the Divine Service at due hours, and that afterwards God had delivered him, and carried him to the company of the blessed.

"St. Bernard writes, that St. Malachy freed his sister from the

pains of Purgatory by his prayers; and that the same sister had appeared unto him, begging of him that relief and favour.

"And St. Bernard himself by his intercession freed another, who had suffered a whole year the pains of Purgatory; as William, Abbot, writes in his life."—*Flowers of the Lives of the Saints*, p. 830.

These instances among others are adduced by Bellarmine; and he adds, "*plura similia legi possunt apud, &c. . . . sed quæ attulimus, sunt magis authentica.*"—i. 11.

2. *Proofs from the Old and New Testaments.*

Bellarmino adduces the following texts from the Old and New Testaments; in doing which he must not be supposed to mean, that each of them contains in itself the evidence of relevancy and availableness, or could be understood without some authoritative interpretation; only, if it is asked, "*is Purgatory the doctrine of Holy Scripture, and where?*" he would answer, that in matter of fact it *is* taught in the following passages, according to the explanations of them found in various writers of consideration.

1. 2 Macc. xii. 42—45. "Besides that noble Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, forso much as they saw before their eyes the things that come to pass for the sins of those that were slain. And when he had made a gathering throughout the company to the sum of two thousand drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem, *to offer a sin offering*, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the Resurrection; for if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead. And also, in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for those that died godly, *it was an holy and good thought*. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin."

2. Tob. iv. 17. "*Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just*, but give nothing to the wicked; that is, at the burial of the just, give alms; which were given to gain for them the prayers of the poor.

3. 1 Sam. xxxi. 13. "And they took their bones," [of Saul and his sons,] "and *buried* them under a tree at Jabesh, and *fasted seven days*." Vid. also 2 Sam. i. 12. iii. 35. This fasting was an offering for their souls.

4. Ps. xxxviii. 1. "O LORD, rebuke me not in Thy *wrath*; neither chasten me in Thy *hot displeasure*." By *wrath* is meant Hell; by *hot displeasure*, Purgatory.

5. Ps. lxvi. 12. "We went through *fire* and through *water*, but Thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place" (*refrigerium*). Water is Baptism; fire is Purgatory.

6. Is. iv. 4. "When the Lord shall have washed away the

filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have *purged* the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof, by the spirit of judgment and by the spirit of *burning*."

7. Is. ix. 18. "Wickedness burneth as the fire; it shall devour the briars and thorns."

8. Mic. vii. 8, 9. "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise; when *I sit in darkness*, the LORD shall be a light unto me. I will bear the *indignation* of the LORD, because I have sinned against Him, *until He plead my cause*, and execute judgment for me: *He will bring me forth to the light*, and I shall behold His righteousness."

9. Zech. ix. 11. "As for Thee also, by the blood of Thy covenant, I have *sent forth Thy prisoners out of the pit*, wherein is no water." This text is otherwise taken to refer to the *Limbus Patrum*.

10. Mal. iii. 3. "He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver; and He shall *purify* the sons of Levi, and *purge* them as gold and silver," &c.

From the New Testament he adduces the following texts:

1. Matt. xii. 32. "Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, *neither in the world to come*;" that means, "neither in Purgatory," for in hell the very supposition of forgiveness is excluded.

2. 1 Cor. iii. 15. "He himself shall be saved; *yet so as by fire*."

3. 1 Cor. xv. 29. "Else what shall they do, which are *baptized*," i. e. who undergo the baptism of tears and humiliation, who pray, fast, give alms, &c. "for the dead, if the dead rise not at all?"

4. Matt. v. 25, 26.—Luke xii. 58, 59. "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into *prison*. Verily, I say unto thee, *thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing*." By the *way*, is meant this present life; by the *adversary*, the Law; by the *Judge*, our Saviour; by the *officer*, or executioner, the Angels; by the *prison*, Purgatory.

5. Matt. v. 22. "Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the *judgment*; and whosoever shall say to his brother, *Raca*, shall be in danger of the *Council*; but whosoever shall say, *Thou fool*, shall be in danger of *hell fire*." Here are three kinds of punishments spoken of. Hell belongs to the next world; therefore also do the other two. Hence there are in the next world, besides eternal punishment, punishments short of eternal.

6. Luke xvi. 9. "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." To *fail*, is to die; the *friends* are the Saints in glory, and they *receive* us, *i. e.* from Purgatory, in consequence of their prayers.

7. Luke xxiii. 42. "Lord, *remember* me, *when* Thou comest into Thy kingdom." That is, there is a remembrance and a remission of sin, not only in this life, but after it, in Christ's future kingdom.

8. Acts ii. 24. "Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the *pains* of death (*infern*); because it was not possible that He should be holden of it." Christ Himself was released from no *pains* on being raised, nor were the ancient Fathers in the *Limbus*; nor were lost souls released at all. Therefore the pains which God loosed, were those of souls in Purgatory.

9. Phil. ii. 10. "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, *and things under the earth*." Vid. also Rev. v. 3. "And no *man* in heaven, nor in earth, *neither under the earth*, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon."

Now as to many of these texts, we who have not been educated in the belief of Purgatory, may well wonder how they come to be enlisted in support of Purgatory at all. This may be explained in some such way as the following,—which may be of use in helping us to understand the state of mind under which the Romanists view them. It is obvious, as indeed has been already remarked, that they do not of themselves *prove* the doctrine, nor are they chosen by Bellarmine himself, but given on the authority of writers of various times. Could indeed competent evidence be brought from other quarters, that the doctrine really was true and Apostolical, we should not unreasonably have believed that some of them did allude to it; especially if writers of name, who might speak from tradition, so considered. We could not have taken upon ourselves to say at first sight that it certainly was not contained in them, only we should have waited for evidence that it was. Some of the texts in question are obscure, and seem to desiderate a meaning; and so far it is a sort of gain when they have any meaning assigned them, as though they were unappropriated territory which the first comer might seize. Again, the coincidence of several of them in one and the same mode of expression, implies that they have a common drift, whatever that drift is,—that there is something about them which seems to have reference to secrets untold to man. Amid these dim and broken lights, the text in the Apocrypha first quoted, comes as if to combine and steady them. All this is said *by way of analysing* how it is that such a class of texts, though of so little cogency critically, has that influence with individuals, which

it certainly sometimes has. The reason seems to be that the doctrine of Purgatory professes to interpret text which God's word has left in obscurity. Yet, whatever be the joint force of such arguments from Scripture, in favour of the doctrine, it vanishes surely, at once and altogether, before one single clear text, such as the following: "Blessed are the dead *which die in the Lord*, from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, *that they may rest from their labours*." Or again, if any one is destined to endure Purgatory for the temporal punishment of sins, one should think it would be persons circumstanced as the thief on the cross,—a dying penitent; yet to him it is expressly said, "Verily I say unto thee, *to-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*."

3. *Proofs from Antiquity.*

After Scripture, Bellarmine brings the testimony of early Churches in Council, as follows:

1. The African Church: "Let the Altar Sacrament be celebrated fasting; if, however, there be any Commendation of the Dead made in the afternoon, let prayers only be used."—Conc. Carth. IV. c. 79.

2. The Spanish enjoins that suicides should not be prayed for, &c.—Conc. Bracar. I. c. 39.

3. The Gallic: "It has seemed fit, that in all celebrations of the Eucharist, the Lord shall be interceded with in a suitable place in Church, for the spirits of the dead."—Conc. Cabilon.

4. The German defines, (Conc. Wormat. c. 10.) that prayers and offerings should be made even for those who are executed.

5. The Italic declares (Conc. VI. under Symmachus), that it is sacrilege to defraud the souls of the dead of prayer, &c.

6. The Greek in like manner.

Moreover, the Liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, &c. all contain prayers for the dead.

Now these professed instances are here enumerated in order to show how plainly and entirely they fall short of the point to be proved. Not one of them implies the doctrine of Purgatory; or goes beyond the doctrine which Archbishop Ussher (vide Tract 72.) has shown to have existed in the early Church, that the Saints departed were not at once in their full happiness, and that prayers benefitted them. One of these instances indeed is somewhat remarkable, the allowing prayers for malefactors executed; but all were the subject of prayer who were not excluded from hope, and malefactors are, even by us, admitted to Holy Communion, and are allowed the Burial Service. To pray for them was merely the expression of hope.

Next, Bellarmine appeals to the Fathers, of whom I shall only

cite those within the first five hundred years; viz. Tertullian, Cyprian, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Paulinus, Augustine, Theodoret, and one or two others. Now in order to keep the point in controversy clearly in view, let it be recollected that we are not disputing the existence in the Ritual of the Church, of the custom of praying for the dead in Christ; but *why* prayer was offered was a question in dispute, a point unsettled by any Catholic tradition, but variously treated by various Doctors at various times. There is nothing contrary to the genius of religion, natural and revealed, that duties should be prescribed, yet the reasons for them not told us, as Bishop Butler has abundantly showed; and the circumstance that the ancients do agree in the usage, but differ as to the reasons, shows that the reasons were built upon the usage, not the usage on the reasons. And while this variety of opinions in the early Church, as to the meaning of the usage, forfeits for any one of these any claim to be considered apostolical, of course it deprives the doctrine of Purgatory of authority inclusively, even supposing for argument's sake it was received by some early writers as true. Purgatory is but a violent hypothesis to give meaning to a usage, for which other hypotheses short of it and very different from it, and equally conjectural with it, may be assigned, nay, and were assigned before it, and far more extensively. Let it be remembered then, when the following list of passages, professedly in behalf of Purgatory, is read, that, what we have to look for, is, not evidence of a certain usage, which we grant did exist, but of an opinion, of a particular opinion explaining it; not of Prayer for the dead simply, nor of the opinion that Prayer for the dead profits, but that such Prayer is intended and tends to rescue them from a state of suffering. Further what we look for is not the testimony of one or two writers to the truth of this opinion, even if one or two could be brought, but an agreement of all in its favour. If, however, it be said that the usage of Prayer in itself tends to the doctrine of Purgatory, I answer, that so far from it, in its primitive form it included prayers for the Virgin Mary and Apostles, which, while retained, were an indirect but forcible standing witness against the doctrine.

Tertullian, in his *de Coronâ*, § 3. speaks of "*oblaciones pro defunctis*," offerings for the dead.

Again, "Let her" [the widow] "pray for the soul of" [her deceased husband] "and ask for him a place of refreshment in the interval before the judgment, and a fellowship in the first resurrection, and let her offer on the anniversary of his falling to sleep."—*De Monogam.* § 10. *Vid. also de Pudicit.*

Cyprian. "The Bishops our predecessors . . . decreed that no one dying should nominate clerics as guardians or executors, and if any one had done this, no offering should be made for him, or

sacrifice celebrated for his sleeping well."—*Epist. i. 9. et infra.*

Eusebius (vid. Constant. iv.) says that Constantine had wished to be buried in a frequented Church, in order to have the benefit of many prayers. On his death they offered the Holy Eucharist over his remains.*

Cyril of Jerusalem. "We pray for all our community who are dead, believing that this is the greatest benefit to those souls for whom the offering is made."—*Mystagog. 5.*

Gregory Nazianzen. "Let us commend to God our own souls, and the souls of those who, as men more advanced on the same road, have arrived before us at their resting place."—*Orat. in Cæsar. fin.*

Ambrose. "Therefore she is, I think, not so much to be lamented as to be followed with your prayers; she is not to be mourned over with your tears, but rather her soul is to be commended to God by your oblations."—*Ep. ii. 8. ad Faustinum.* Vid. also *de ob. Theod., &c. &c.*

Jerome. "Other husbands scatter on their wives' graves violets, roses, lilies, and purple flowers; but our Pammachius waters her holy ashes and reverend relics with the balsams of almsgiving; with such embellishments and perfumes he honours the sleeping remains, knowing what is written, 'As water quenches fire, so doth alms sin.'"—*Ad Pammach.*

Chrysostom. "The dead is aided not by tears, but by prayers, by supplications, by alms. . . . Let us not weary in giving aid to the dead, offering prayers for them."—*Hom. 41. in 1. ad Cor.*

Again. "Not without purpose has it been ordained by the Apostles, that in the awful Mysteries a commemoration should be made of the dead; for they know that thence much gain accrues to them, much advantage."—*Hom. 69. ad pop.* Vid. also *Hom. 32. in Matt. In Joan. Hom. 84. In Philipp. 3. In Act. Apost. 21.*

Paulinus, writing to Delphinus, Bishop of Bordeaux: "Do thy diligence that he may be granted to thee, and that from the least of thy sacred fingers the dews of refreshment may sprinkle his soul."

Augustine. "We read in the book of Maccabees that sacrifice was offered for the dead; but though it were not even found in the Old Scriptures, the authority of the universal Church is not slight, which is explicit as to this custom, viz. that in the Priests' prayers which are offered to the LORD GOD at His altar, the commendation of the dead is included."—*De Cur. pro mortuis, c. ii. et alibi.*

* Vid. also passage in Records of the Church, No. xii. "The Adversary contrived that his [Polycarp's] poor body might not be obtained by us, though many much desired to secure it, and to communicate over his holy remains."

Theodoret (Hist. v. 26.) mentions that Theodosius the younger fell down at the tomb of St. John Chrysostom, and prayed for the souls of his parents, then dead, Arcadius and Eudoxia.

Isidore. "Unless the Church Catholic believed that sins are remitted to the dead in Christ, she would not do alms, or offer sacrifice to God for their spirits."—*De off. div.* i. 18.

Gregory the Great. "Much profiteth souls even after death the sacred oblation of the lifegiving Sacrifice, so that the souls of the dead themselves sometimes seem to ask for it."—*Dial.* iv. 55.

Again: "They who are not weighed down by grievous sins, are profited after death by burial in the Church, because that their relatives, whenever they come to the same sacred places, remember their own kin whose tombs they behold, and pray to the Lord for them."

It is evident that the above passages go no way to prove the point in debate, being nothing more in fact than Ussher allows to be found in the early Fathers. They contain the musings of serious minds feeling a mystery, and attempting to solve it, at least by conjecture. They state that prayers benefit the dead in Christ, but *how* is either not mentioned, or vaguely, or hesitatingly, or discordantly. Accordingly, Bellarmine begins anew, and draws out a series of authorities for the doctrine of *Purgatory* expressly; and this certainly demands our attention more than the former. It contains such as the following:—

For instance, Origen says that "he who is saved, is saved by fire, that if he has any alloy of lead, the fire may melt and separate it, that all may become pure gold."—*Hom.* 6. in *Exod.*

Tertullian speaks of our being "committed into the prison beneath, which will detain us till every small offence is expiated, during the delay of the resurrection."—*De Anim.* 17.

Cyprian contrasts the being purged by torment in fire, and by martyrdom.—*Epist.* iv. 2.

Gregory Nazianzen speaks of the last Baptism being "one of fire, not only more bitter, but longer than the first Baptism."—*In Sancta lum. circ. fin.*

Ambrose speaks of our being "saved through faith, as if through fire," which will be a trial under which grievous sinners will fall, while others will pass safe through it.—*In Ps.* xxxvi.

Basil speaks of the "Purgatorial fire," in cap. ix. *Isa.*

Gregory Nyssen, of "our recovering our lost happiness by prayer and religiousness in this life, or after death by the *purgatorial fire*."—*Orat. pro Mort.* Elsewhere too he speaks of the Purgatorial fire.

Eusebius Emissenus uses such determined words as to require quoting. "This punishment under the earth will await those who, having lost instead of preserving their Baptism, will perish forever; whereas those who have done deeds calling for temporal

punishments, shall pass over the fiery river and that fearful water the drops of which are fire."

Hilary declares that we have to undergo "that ever-living fire, which is a punishment of the soul in cleansing of sin."—In *Ps.* cxviii. Lactantius speaks to the same effect.—*Div. Inst.* vii. 21.

Jerome contrasts the eternal torments of the devil, and of atheists and infidels, with "the judgment tempered with mercy, of sinners and ungodly men, yet Christian, whose works are to be tried purified in the fire."—In *fin. comment. in Is.* In another place in a like contrast he speaks of Christians, if overtaken in a fault, being saved after punishment.—*Lib. i. in Pelag.*

Augustine has various passages in point, such as *Civ. Dei*, xxi. 24, where, speaking of believers who die with lighter sins, he says, "It is certain that these being purified before the day of judgment by means of temporal punishment, which their souls suffer, are not to be given over to eternal fire." Pope Gregory the first expresses the same doctrine, as do some others.

These instances are at first sight to the point, and demand serious consideration. Yet there is nothing in them really to alarm the inquirer whither he is being carried. I say this, that no one may be surprised at the deliberateness and over-patience with which I may seem to loiter over the explanation of them. First, then, let it be observed, were they ever so strong in favour of something more than we believe, it does not therefore follow that they take that very view which the Romanists take, nay, it does not necessarily follow that they take any one view at all, or agree with each other. Now, it so happens neither the one or the other of these suppositions is true, as regards those passages, though they ought both to hold, if the Roman doctrine is to be satisfactorily maintained. These Fathers, whatever they teach, do not teach Purgatory—they do not teach any one view at all on the subject. Romanists consider Purgatory to be an article of faith, necessary to be believed in order to salvation; or in Bellarmine's words, "Purgatory is an article of faith, so that he who disbelieves its existence, will never have experience of it, but will be tormented in hell with everlasting fire." Now, it can only be an article of faith, supposing it is held by Antiquity, and that unanimously. For such things only are we allowed to maintain, as come to us from the Apostles; and that only (ordinarily speaking) has evidence of so originating, which is witnessed by a number of independent witnesses in the early Church. We must have the unanimous "consent of Doctors," as an assurance that the Apostles have spoken; and much less can we tolerate their actual disagreement, in a case where unanimity was promised us. Now, as regards Purgatory, not only are early writers silent as to the modern view of Rome, but they do not agree with each other; which proves they knew little more about the matter than our-

selves, whatever they might conjecture ; that they possessed no Apostolic Tradition, only at most entertained floating opinions on the subject. Nay, it is obvious, if we wished to believe them, we could not ; for *what* is it we are to believe ? If, as I shall show, various writers speak various things, which of their statements is to be taken ? If this or that, it is but the language of an individual : if all of them at once, a doctrine results, discordant in its details, and in general outline, if it have any, vague and imperfect at the best.

Now, as to the passages quoted by Bellarmine, it will be observed that in the number are extracts from the works of Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Hilary, St. Jerome, and Lactantius. He introduces the list with these words, "*Sunt apertissima loca in Patribus, ubiasserunt Purgatorium, quorum pauca quædam afferam,*" i. 10. "There are most perspicuous passages in the Fathers, in which they assert Purgatory, of which I will adduce some few." Will it be believed that in his second book these Fathers, nay, for the most part in the very extracts, which he has before adduced in proof of the doctrine, are enumerated as at variance with it, and mistaken in their notion of it ? He quotes a passage of Origen, (not the same) the very same two passages from St. Ambrose, the very same passage from St. Hilary, the very same from Lactantius, and a passage (not the same) from St. Jerome. Then he says, "*Hæc sententia, accepta ut sonat, manifestum errorem continet ; for*" (he proceeds) "it is defined in the Council of Florence, &c." ii. 1. Next he observes, "*Addæ, quod Patres adducti, Origene excepto videntur sano modo intelligi posse.*" At length after he has given the two most favourable explanations assignable to their words, he adds of one of the two, "*Sane hanc sententiam [quæ docet omnes transituros per ignem, licet non omnes lædendi sint ab igne] nec auderem pro vera asserere, nec ut errorem improbare.*" "The only alleviation of this strange inconsistency," says a work which has recently appeared, "is that he quotes not the very same sentences both for and against his Church, but adjoining ones." The work referred to, thus comments on Bellarmine's conduct, as throwing light upon the state of feeling under which Romanists engage in controversy. "A Romanist," the writer says, "cannot really argue in defence of the Roman doctrines. He has too firm a confidence in their truth, if he is sincere in his profession, to enable him critically to adjust the due weight to be given to this or that evidence. He assumes his Church's conclusion as true ; and the facts or witnesses he adduces, are rather brought to receive an interpretation than to furnish a proof. His highest aim is to show the mere consistency of his theory, its possible adjustment, with the records of antiquity. I am not here inquiring how much of high but misdirected moral feeling is implied in this state of mind ;

certainly as we advance in perception of the truth, we all of us become less fitted to be controversialists. If this, however, be the true explanation of Bellarmine's strange error, the more it tends to exculpate him, the more deeply it criminales his system. He ceases to be chargeable with unfairness, only in proportion as the notion of the infallibility of Rome is admitted to be the sovereign and engrossing tenet of his communion, the foundation stone, or (as it may be called) the fulcrum of its theology. I consider then, that when he first adduces the aforementioned Fathers in proof of Purgatory, he was really but interpreting them; he was teaching what they ought to mean, what *in charity* they must be supposed to mean, what they *might* mean as far as the very words went, *probably* meant *considering* the Church so meant, and might be taken to mean, even if their authors did not so mean from the notion that they spoke vaguely, and, as children, really meant something besides what they formerly said, and that after all, they were but the spokesmen of the then existing Church, which, though in silence, held, as being the Church, the same doctrine which Rome has since defined and published. This is to treat Bellarmine with the same charity with which he has on this supposition treated the Fathers, and it is to be hoped, with a nearer approach to the matter of fact. So much as to his first use of them: but afterwards, in noticing what he considers erroneous opinions on this subject, he treats them, not as organs of the Church infallible, but as individuals, and interprets their language by its literal sense or by the context, and in consequence condemns it . . . How hopeless then is it to contend with Romanists, as if they practically agreed to the foundation of faith, however much they pretend to it! Ours is antiquity: theirs the existing Church. Its infallibility is their first principle; belief in it is a deep prejudice, quite beyond the reach of any thing external. It is quite clear that the combined testimonies of all the Fathers, supposing such a case, would not have a feather's weight against a decision of the Pope in Council, nor would matter at all, except for the Fathers' sakes who had by anticipation opposed it. They consider that the Fathers ought to mean what Rome has since decreed, and that Rome knows their meaning better than they themselves did. That venturesome Church has usurped their place, and thinks it merciful, only not to banish outright the rivals she has dethroned. By an act, as it were, of grace she has determined, that when they contradict her, though not available as witnesses against her, yet, as living in times of ignorance, they are only heterodox, and not heretical; and she keeps them around her, to ask their advice when it happens to agree with her own.

"Let us then understand the position of the Romanists towards us: they do not really argue from the Fathers, though they seem

to do so. They may affect to do so on our behalf, happy if by an innocent stratagem they are able to convert us; but all the while in their own feelings, they are taking a far higher position. They are teaching, not disputing or proving. They are interpreting what is obscure in antiquity, purifying what is alloyed, correcting what is amiss, perfecting what is incomplete, harmonizing what is various. They claim and use all its documents as ministers and organs of that one infallible Church, which once forsooth kept silence, but since has spoken, which by a divine gift must ever be consistent with itself, and which bears with her her own evidence of divinity."

Leaving Bellarmine then, let us proceed to inquire what the opinion of the Fathers in the foregoing passages really is.

§ 3. HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY, AND OPINIONS IN THE EARLY CHURCH CONCERNING IT.

The argumentative ground of the doctrine of Purgatory as far as the Infallibility of the Church has not superseded any, has ever been, I conceive, the report of miracles and visions attesting it; but the historical origin is to be sought elsewhere, viz. in the anxious conjectures of the human mind about its future destinies, and the apparent coincidences of these with certain obscure texts of Scripture.

These may be supposed to have operated as follows; as described in the work already cited. "How ALMIGHTY GOD will deal with the mass of Christians, who are neither very good nor very bad, is a problem with which we are not concerned, and which it is our wisdom, and may be our duty, to put from our thoughts. But, when it has once forced itself upon the mind, we are led in self-defence, with a view of keeping ourselves from dwelling unhealthily on particular cases, which come under our experience and perplex us, to imagine modes, not by which God *does*, (for that would be presumptuous to conjecture,) but by which He may solve the difficulty. Most men, to our apprehensions, are too unformed in religious habits either for heaven or for hell, yet there is no middle state when CHRIST comes in judgment. In consequence it is obvious to have recourse to the interval before His coming, as a time during which this incompleteness might be remedied; a season, not of changing the spiritual bent and character of the soul departed, whatever that be, for probation ends with mortal life, but of developing it into a more determinate form, whether of good or of evil. Again, when the mind once allows itself to speculate, it will discern in such a provision a means, whereby those, who not without true

faith at the bottom yet have committed great crimes, or those who have been carried off in youth while still undecided, or who die after a barren, though not an immoral or scandalous life, may receive such chastisement as may prepare them for heaven, and render it consistent with God's justice to admit them thither. Again, the inequality of the sufferings of Christians in this life, compared one with another, would lead the unguarded mind to the same speculations, the intense suffering, *e. g.* which some men undergo on their death-bed, seeming as if but an anticipation in their case of what comes after death upon others, who without greater claims on God's forbearance, have lived without chastisement and die easily. I say, the mind will inevitably dwell upon such thoughts, unless it has been taught to subdue them by education or by the experience of their dangerousness.

"Various suppositions have, accordingly, been made, as pure suppositions, as mere specimens of the capabilities, (if one may so speak,) of the Divine Dispensation, as efforts of the mind reaching forward and venturing beyond its depth into the abyss of the divine counsels. If one supposition could be produced to solve the problem, ten thousand others were conceivable, unless indeed the resources of God's Providence are exactly commensurate with man's discernment of them. Religious men, amid these searchings of heart, have naturally gone to Scripture for relief, to see if the inspired word anywhere gave them any clue for their inquiries. And from what was there found, and from the speculations of reason upon it, various notions have been hazarded at different times; for instance, that there is a certain momentary ordeal to be undergone by all men after this life, more or less severe according to their spiritual state; or that certain gross sins in good men will be thus visited, or their lighter failings and habitual imperfections; or that the very sight of divine perfection in the invisible world will be in itself a pain, while it constitutes the purification of the imperfect but believing soul; or that, happiness admitting of various degrees of intensity, penitents late in life may sink for ever into a state, blissful as far as it goes, but more or less approaching to unconsciousness; infants dying after baptism may be as gems paving the courts of heaven, or as the living wheels in the Prophet's vision; while matured Saints may excel in capacity of bliss, as well as in dignity, the highest Archangels. Such speculations are dangerous when indulged; the event proves it; from some of these in fact seems to have resulted the doctrine of Purgatory.

"Now, the texts to which the minds of the early Christians seem to have been principally drawn, and from which they ventured to argue in behalf of these vague notions, were these two: 'The fire shall try every man's work,' &c.; and 'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' These texts, with

which many more were found to accord, directed their thoughts one way, as making mention of '*fire*,' whatever was meant by the word, as the instrument of trial and purification; and that, at some time between the present time and the judgment, or at the judgment. And accordingly without perhaps having any definite or consistent meaning in what they said, or being able to say whether they spoke literally or figuratively, and with an indefinite reference to this life, as well as to the intermediate state, they sometimes named fire as the instrument of recovering those who had sinned after their baptism. That this is the origin of the notion of a Purgatorial fire, I gather from these circumstances, first, that they do frequently insist on the texts in question; next, that they do not agree in the particular sense they put upon them. That they quote them, shows they rest upon them; that they vary in explaining them, that they had no Catholic sense to guide them. Nothing can be clearer, if these facts be so, than that the doctrine of the Purgatorial fire in all its senses, as far as it was more than a surmise, and was rested on argument, was the result of private judgment exerted in defect of Tradition, upon the text of Scripture.

"As this doctrine, thus suggested by certain striking texts, grew in popularity and definiteness, and verged towards its present Roman form, it seemed a key to many others. Great portions of the books of Psalms, Job, and the Lamentations, which express the feelings of religious men under suffering, would powerfully recommend it by the forcible and most affecting and awful meaning which they received from it. When this was once suggested, all other meanings would seem tame and inadequate.

"To these must be added various passages from the Prophets, as that in the beginning of the 3d chapter of Malachi, which speaks of fire as the instrument of judgment and purification when CHRIST comes to visit His Church.

"Moreover there were other texts of obscure and indeterminate bearing, which seemed on this hypothesis to receive a profitable meaning; such as our LORD's words in the Sermon on the Mount, 'Verily, I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing;' and St. John's expression in the Apocalypse, that 'no man in heaven, nor in earth, *neither under the earth*, was able to open the book.'

"Further, the very circumstance that no second instrument of a plenary and entire cleansing from sin was given after Baptism, such as Baptism, led Christians to expect that that unknown means, when accorded, would be of a more painful nature than that which they had received so freely and instantaneously in infancy, and confirmed, not only the text already cited, 'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire,' but also St. Paul's announcement of the 'judgment and fiery indignation'

which awaits those who sin after having been once 'enlightened,' and by CHRIST's warning to the impotent man to sin no more lest a worse thing come unto him.

"Lastly, the universal and apparently apostolical custom of praying for the dead in CHRIST, called for some explanation, the reason for it not having come down to posterity with it. Various reasons may be supposed quite clear of this distressing doctrine, but it supplied an adequate and a most constraining motive for its observance to those who were not content to practise it in ignorance."

Should any one for a moment be startled by any thing that is here said, as if investing the doctrine with some approach to plausibility, I would have him give GOD thanks for the safeguard of Catholic Tradition, which keeps us from immoderate speculation upon Scripture or a vain indulgence of the imagination, by authoritatively declaring the contents and the limits of the Creed necessary to salvation and profitable to ourselves.

There seem, on the whole, to be two chief opinions on the subject embraced in the early Church. One of these is Origen's, which I shall first exhibit in the language of St. Ambrose, being the very passage referred to by Bellarmine. The notion is this, that the fire at the day of judgment will burn or scorch every one in proportion to his remaining imperfections. St. Ambrose then thus comments on Psalm xxxvii. (38) 14.

"'Thou hast proved us by fire,' says David; therefore we shall all be proved by fire, and Ezekiel (Malachi) says, 'Behold the LORD ALMIGHTY cometh, and who may abide the day of his coming? &c. for He is like a refiner's fire and like fuller's soap; and He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver; and He shall purify the Sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, &c.' Therefore the Sons of Levi will be purged by fire; *by fire Ezekiel, by fire Daniel*. But these, though proved by fire, yet shall say, 'We *passed* through fire and water,' (Ps. lxi. 12.) Others shall remain in the fire; and the fire shall be as dew to them, (Song of Three Children, 27,) as to the Hebrew Children who were exposed to the fire of the burning furnace. But the Ministers of impiety shall be consumed in the avenging flame. Woe is me should my work be burned, and I suffer this worsting of my labour! Although the Lord will save His servants, we shall be saved by faith, but so saved as by fire. Although we shall not be consumed, yet we shall be burned. But how some remain in the fire, others escape through it, learn from another Scripture. The Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea, the Israelites passed over: Moses escaped to land, Pharaoh sank, for his heavy sins drowned him. In like manner the irreligious will sink in the lake of burning fire."

It is plain that St. Ambrose, so far from imagining a Roman Purgatory, definite in period, place, and subjects, speaks of an ordeal by fire which *all* Christians must undergo at the last day,

and grounds it on the solemn text already referred to, 1 Cor. iii. 12—15. which whether rightly so interpreted or not, a point we cannot determine, since it is an *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* in Scripture, yet at least may be so understood without violence to the wording. "If any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work shall be made manifest; for the Day shall declare it, because it (the Day) shall be revealed in fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." Now it would seem plain that in this passage the *searching process* of final Judgment, essaying our works of righteousness, is described by the word *fire*. Not that we may presume to *limit* the word *fire* to that meaning, or on the other hand to say it is a merely *figurative* expression denoting judgment; which seems a stretching somewhat beyond our measure. Doubtless there is a mystery in the word *fire*, as there is a mystery in the words *day of judgment*. Yet it any how has reference to the *instrument* or *process* of judgment. And in this way the Fathers seem to have understood the passage; referring it to the last Judgment, as Scripture does, but at the same time religiously retaining the use of the word *fire*, as not affecting to interpret and dispense with what seems some mysterious economy, lest they should be wiser than what is written.

Next let us turn to the same Father's 20th Sermon on Ps. cxix. which is also referred to by Bellarmine.

"As long as the Israelites were in Egypt, they were in the *iron* furnace, that is, in the furnace of temptation, in the furnace of affliction, when they were afflicted by cruel tyranny. Whence also it is written, 'I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, from the iron furnace.' The furnace was iron, because, while the people was yet in Egypt, no one's works were illuminated by holiness, no one's gold had been there assayed, no one's lead of iniquity burned away. It was a cruel furnace, a furnace of perpetual death, which none could escape, which consumed every one, in which pain and sorrow dwell only. But the furnace, in which Ananias, Azarias, and Misael sang their hymn to the Lord was a golden furnace, not an iron; by means of which wisdom hath shown forth in the faith of true obedience all over the world. It was indeed in Babylon, where spiritual gold was not, unless perchance in captivity, for 'the Lord led captivity captive.' This is the gold in God's saints who were captives among the Babylonians in body, but in spirit were freemen with God, delivered from the chains of human captivity, and bearing the yoke of spiritual grace. And perchance the same furnace would be iron to the unstable, and gold to those who persevere.

"All must be proved through *fire*, as many as desire to return to Paradise; for it is not said for nothing, that, when Adam and Eve

were expelled from Paradise, God placed at the outlet a fiery sword which turned every way. *All must pass through the flames, whether he be John the Evangelist*, whom the Lord so loved as to say to Peter of him, 'If I wish him to tarry, what is that to thee? Follow thou me.' Some have doubted of his death; of his passage through the fire we cannot doubt, for he is in Paradise, not separated from Christ. Or *whether he be Peter*; he who received the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, who walked upon the sea, must still say, 'We passed through fire and water, and Thou broughtest us out into a place of refreshment.' But the fiery sword will soon be turned by St. John, for iniquity is not found in him, whom righteousness itself loved. Whatever human defect was in him, Divine Love melted it away; for her wings are as the wings of fire. (Cant. viii. 6.)

"He who possesses this fire of love, will have no cause to fear there the fiery sword. To Peter, who so often exposed his life for Christ, He will say, 'Go and sit down to meat.' But he shall say, 'Thou hast tried us with fire, as silver is tried: for, when many waters do not drown love, how can fire consume then?' But he shall be tried as silver, I as lead; *I shall burn till the lead melts away*. If no silver be found in me, ah me! I shall be plunged down into the lowest pit, or consume entire as the stubble. Should ought of gold or silver be found in me, not for my works, but through the mercy and grace of Christ, by the ministry of the priesthood, I shall peradventure say, 'They that hope in Thee, shall not be ashamed.'

"The fiery sword then shall consume iniquity, which is placed on the leaden scale. One only could not feel that fire, Christ the Righteousness of God, who did no sin; for the fire found nought in Him which it might consume."

It is now sufficiently clear what St. Ambrose's belief was. The only point of approximation between it and the doctrine of Purgatory is this; that he conceived that for all but the highest saints, in whom love dissolved all remaining dross whatever, some transient suffering, more or less in duration, was in store in the day of judgment. And hence the force of the ordinary prayers of the early Church, as based on Scripture, (and described at length by Archbishop Ussher, in Tract No. 72,) that departed believers might have "a merciful trial at the last day."

St. Hilary is another witness, whom Bellarmine, in his former book quotes, in his latter surrenders. He, too, will be found to hold this same view of the purgatorial nature of the fire of the last judgment.

"The prophet [the Psalmist] observes, that it is difficult and most perilous to human nature, to desire God's judgments: For, since no one is clean in His sight, how can His judgment be desirable? Considering we shall have to give account for every idle word, shall we long for the day of judgment, in which we must undergo that everlasting fire, and those heavy penalties for cleansing the soul from its sins? Then will a sword pierce through the soul of Mary, that the

thoughts of many hearts may be revealed. If that Virgin which could compass God is to come into the severity of the judgment, who shall dare desire to be judged of God? Job, when he had finished his warfare with all calamities of man and had triumphed, who, when tempted, said, 'The Lord gave,' and confessed himself but [dust and] ashes when he heard God's voice from the cloud, and determined that he ought not to speak another word. And who shall venture to desire God's judgments, whose voice from heaven neither so great a Prophet endured, nor the Apostles again, when they were with the Lord in the Mount?"—Tract, in Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) lit. 3. § 12. vid. also § 5.

Again,

"He [John the Baptist] marks the season of our salvation and judgment in the Lord, saying, 'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire;' for to those who are baptized in the Holy Ghost, it remains to be perfected in the fire of judgment."—Comm. in Matt. ii. § 4.

Let us now proceed to Origen, who is historically the first who has put forward the theory under review. Even Origen, be it remembered, is at first alleged by Bellarmine, though afterwards absolutely relinquished. His words, as quoted by that author himself, are as follows:

"I consider that even after the resurrection from the dead, we need a sacrament to wash us thoroughly and cleanse us; for no one will rise without dross upon him, nor can the soul be found which at once is free from all defects."—Hom. 14 in Luc.

Again,

"We must all come to that fire, be we Paul or Peter," in Ps. xxxvii.

Lactantius expresses the same, or almost the same, doctrine in the following passage, as referred to by Bellarmine.

"Moreover, when He shall have judged the just, He will also try them in the fire. Then they whose sins prevail in weight or number, will be tortured in the fire and partially burned; but they, who are mature in righteousness and ripeness of virtue, shall not feel that flame; for they have somewhat of God within them, to repel and throw off the force of the flame. Such is the force of innocence, that from it that fire recoils without mischief, as having received this property from God to burn the irreligious, to recede from the righteous."—Div. Inst. vii. 21.

Two more writers may be mentioned, as holding the same view, both of whom are quoted by Bellarmine in his favour. St. Jerome, as referred to by him, speaks as follows:

"The fire," he says, commenting on Amos vii. 4, "being called for judgment, devours first the deep; that is, all kinds of sins, wood, hay, stubble, and afterwards consumes also a part, that is, reaches to his saints, who are accounted the Lord's portion."

St. Paulinus of Nola is the other, who thus writes to Severus :

“ If we attain by these works to be citizens with the saints, our works shall not be burned ; and that sagacious fire will, on our passing its ordeal, surround us with no severe heat of punishment ; but as if we were commended to its care it will play around us with a kind caress, so that we may say, ‘ We have passed through fire and water,’ &c.”—Ep. 28. (9.)

To these passages, others similar might be added from St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen.

So much on this speculation or foreboding concerning the fire of the last judgment. Before proceeding to consider the second notion of a Purgatory, which existed in the early Church, I stop to make a remark. What has been said will illustrate what is meant by Catholic Tradition, and how it may be received without binding us to accept every thing which the Fathers say. It must be *Catholic* to be of authority ; that is, all the writers who mention the subject must agree together in their view of it, or the exceptions, if there be any, must be such as *probare regulam*. And again, they must profess it is Traditionary teaching. For instance, supposing all the Fathers agreed together in their interpretation of a certain text, I consider that agreement would invest that interpretation with such a degree of authority, as to make it at first sight most rash (to say the very least) to differ from them ; yet it is conceivable that on some points, as the interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy, they might be mistaken. It is abstractedly conceivable, that a modern commentator *might* on certain occasions plausibly justify his dissent from them :—this is conceivable, I say, *unless* they were explaining a doctrine of the creed, which is otherwise known to come from the Apostles,—or professed, (which would be equivalent) that such an interpretation had ever been received in their respective Churches as coming from the Apostles. Catholic Tradition is something more than Catholic teaching. Great as is the authority of the latter, (and we cannot well put it too high,) Tradition is something beyond it. This remark is in point here, for it might be objected that so many fathers agree together in the notion of a last-day Purgatory, that, were it not for the accident of others speaking differently, we should certainly have received it as Catholic Tradition. I answer, no ; whatever the worth of so many witnesses would have been,—and it certainly for safety’s sake ought to have been taken for very much,—still, Origen, Hilary, Ambrose, and the rest, do not approximate in their remarks to the authoritative language in which they would speak of the Trinity or the benefits of Baptism. They do not profess to be delivering an article of the Faith once delivered to the saints.—Now, to consider the second theory in the early Church on the subject of Purgatory.

While the Greek Churches, and thence the Italian, held the doctrine of a judgment Purgatory, a doctrine far more like the Roman is found from an early age in the African Church; at the same time, it was so far from being considered as a necessary article of faith, that even St. Austin, who brings it out most fully, expresses his doubt about its truth. It was in fact only an opinion or conjecture.

Tertullian speaks thus, when discussing the question, whether souls suffer in the intermediate state, or wait till the resurrection of the body :

“In short, considering we understand that prison, which the gospel discloses, to be the places under the earth (*inferos*), and explain the very last farthing to mean, that every slightest fault is then to be washed away in the interval before the resurrection, no one will doubt that the soul pays something in those nether places without intrenching on the fulness of the resurrection also through the flesh.”—*De Anim. fin.*

Next comes St. Cyprian. Cyprian is arguing in favour of re-admitting the lapsed, when penitent, and his argument seems to be, that it does not follow we absolve them simply, by restoring them to the Church; we do but admit them to present privileges, the judgment being reserved in God's hands. He thus writes to Antonianus:

“Neither suppose, dearest brother, that the virtue of the brethren will be impaired, or martyrdoms fail, though penitence be indulged to the lapsed, and hope of reconciliation set before the penitent. Strength unmoveable abides with those who have true faith; and to those who fear and love God with their whole heart, integrity endures in firmness and in courage. Even to adulterers a period of penitence is granted by us, and reconciliation allowed; yet not on that account does virginity decline in the Church, or the glorious resolve of continence languish through the sins of others. The Church is still embellished by the crown of so many virgins, and chastity and purity are as glorious as before; nor, though the adulterer is indulged with penitence and pardon, is the vigour of continence relaxed. It is one thing to stand for pardon, another to arrive safe at glory; one to be sent to prison, there to remain till the last farthing be paid; another to receive at once the reward of faith and virtue; one thing to be tormented for sin in long pain and so to be cleansed, and to be purged a long while in the fire; another to have washed away all sin in martyrdom; one thing in short, to wait for the Lord's sentence in the day of judgment, another at once to be crowned by Him.”—*Ep. 55. ad Antonian.*

Rigaltius, Faber, and some others, understand this passage to refer to the penitential discipline of the Church which was imposed on the penitent; and, as far as the context goes, certainly no sense could be more apposite. Yet, if I may venture on an opinion apart from such high authorities, the words in themselves

seem to go beyond any mere ecclesiastical, though virtually divine censure, especially "missum in carcerem," and "purgari diu igne."

Further, the passage in Tertullian, weak in itself, for it was perhaps written after he was a Montanist, fixes a sense, though it rests for authority on Cyprian's language. Tertullian explains Cyprian, Cyprian sanctions Tertullian. It should be recollected, moreover, that Cyprian used to call Tertullian his Master; and the inference deducible from all this is greatly strengthened, when we come to consider the views of St. Austin, another African. At the same time it is worth noticing, the *occasion* and *manner* of St. Cyprian's statement, whatever it means. He will be found to speak conjecturally, and as if in disputation. He is *accounting* for a difficulty; as if he said,—“You suppose that, should the lapsed be received, this makes it all one as if they had never fallen. Far from it; they do not receive an *absolute* pardon; they are reserved to the judgment of the great day. Had they endured and suffered martyrdom, they would have had their pardon sealed at once; as it is, it is uncertain, and *who knows but* in God's judgments such a recompense is in store for them as will allow the Church to be merciful to them without God's ceasing to be just?”

St. Austin is lastly to be mentioned; who speaks neither in one uniform way, nor with one and the same degree of certainty. Sometimes he seems to hold the Greek opinion of the final purgatorial conflagration. In the following passage, after alluding to Abraham's sacrifice, (Gen. xv.) in which the beasts were divided, but not the birds, and “when the sun went down,” “a smoking furnace and a burning lamp passed between those pieces,” and interpreting the birds of the spiritual members of the Church, and the beasts of carnal men, some of whom are within, some outside the Church, he says,

“The smoking furnace will come; for Abraham sat there till the evening, and then comes the great terror of the day of judgment. For the evening is the end of the world, and the furnace is the coming day of judgment. It went between those things which were already divided, separating them to the right and left. Thus there are certain carnal men who are yet in the Church's bosom, living according to their own way, who are in danger of seduction from heretics. While they remain carnal, they are divisible; He did not divide the birds, but the carnal are divided. ‘I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal.’ Whoso shall remain such, and in a way of life suitable to the carnal, and yet has not receded from the bosom of the Church, not been seduced by heretics, so as to be divided off the other way, the furnace will come, nor will he be able to stand on the right without undergoing it. If then he would escape that furnace, let him be changed now into the turtle-

dove and pigeon. Let him receive it, who can. But if not, but he shall have built on the foundation, wood, hay, stubble; that is, if he has heaped over the foundation of his faith worldly likings,—yet if Christ be there, so as to have the first place in his heart, above all other objects, such are endured, are suffered. The furnace shall come, and shall burn the wood, hay, and stubble; and ‘he shall be saved, yet so as by fire.’ This will the furnace do; separating off some to the left,—others it will in a manner strain off unto the right: but it did not divide the birds.”—In Ps. civ. Serm. iii. and de Civ. Dei, xvi. 24. vid. also, in Ps. vi. de Civ. Dei, xx. 25; xxi. 16, and in Gen. contr. Man. ii. 20 fin.

This is one notion St. Austin had of Purgatory; another was, that it would be of a certain duration, in proportion to the sins of each individual. Without asserting that this view is plainly inconsistent with the former, it fairly may be called a distinct one. The following passage will be found to contain it:

“Some suppose that those who do not renounce the name of Christ, and are baptized in his font in the Church, nor are cut off therefrom by any schism or heresy, whatever be their crimes, though neither washed away by penitence nor ransomed by alms, but persevered in obstinately to the last day of life, will yet be saved by fire, punished indeed according to the greatest of their excesses and wickedness, but not with eternal fire. . . . But since those clear and positive apostolical testimonies to the contrary (James ii. 14. 17. 1 Cor. vi. 9, &c.) cannot be false, the former obscure text concerning those who build on this foundation, which is Christ, not gold, silver, precious stones, but wood, hay, stubble. . . . must be so explained as not to contradict passages which are clear. Wood, then, hay, stubble, may naturally mean such desires of lawful things of this world as cannot be foregone without some pain of mind. But when that pain burns, if Christ abides in the heart as a foundation, so that nothing is preferred to him, and the man who feels the fire of that pain, had rather lose the things which he so loves than Christ, he is saved through fire. . . . The trial of tribulation is a certain fire, of which Scripture speaks plainly in another place. ‘Earthen vessels are proved by the furnace, and righteous men by the trial of tribulation.’ That fire fulfils the Apostle’s words in this life; for instance, should it befall two Christians, one caring for the things of God, how he may please God; that is, building upon the foundation of Christ, gold, silver, precious stones; the other caring for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, that is, building on the same foundation, wood, hay, stubble: the work of the former is not burned away, for he has not loved things the loss of which would distress him, but the other’s work is burned away, since those things are not lost without suffering which are possessed with enjoyment. But since, when an alternative comes, he had rather lose them than Christ, nor from apprehension of losing such things renounces Christ, though he may feel a pain during the loss, yet he is ‘saved so as by fire;’ for though the loss of what he loved is a burn.

ing pain, yet it does not subvert or consume one who is secured by the firmness and indestructibility of his foundation. *Such a suffering too, it is not impossible may happen after this life*; and it is a fair question, whether it can be settled or not; viz. that some Christians, according to their love of the perishing goods of this world, attain salvation *more slowly or speedily* through a certain purgatorial fire; not such, however, of whom it is said, 'that they shall inherit the kingdom of God,' unless they repent suitably, and gain remission of their crimes."—Enchirid. 68. 69. vid. also ad Dulcitium, § 6—13. de Fide et Operib. § 16.

In his *de Civitate Dei*, after speaking (as above noticed) of the fire at the judgment, he goes on to change its position in the course of the Divine Economy, and places it between death and the resurrection; yet still he observes his hesitating and conjectural tone.

"After the death of the body, until the arrival of that last day of condemnation and reward after the resurrection [of the body], should it be said that in this interval the spirits of the dead suffer a fire, such as they do not feel who had not habits and likings in the life of this body, which requires their wood, hay, and stubble to be burned up, but they feel who have not carried with them the like worldly tabernacles, whether these only, or how and then, or not then because here, though they experience the fire of transitory tribulation rescuing venial offences from damnation by consuming them, I do not oppose, for perchance it is true."

He then proceeds to speak, as before, of the other senses of the word *fire*, as used in the text, which affords matter for his inquiry.

And now the reader has before him the whole extent of Augustine's much-talked-of admissions in behalf of Purgatory; and he may see how hesitating and incomplete they are. It is remarkable that the passages on which Bellarmine chiefly relies, are rejected by the Benedictines as not Augustine's; so that Romanists, if they would use this celebrated Father in the controversy, must betake themselves to such as the two extracts last quoted, in which Augustine speaks but doubtfully, and which (it is remarkable) Bellarmine introduces, not in his own favour, but on an opponent's challenge, to explain, as if from their conjectural tone rather making against him. It really would appear, as if in the African Church, there had been no advance in definiteness of doctrine in this matter since the days of Cyprian; but that what was a speculation then, remained as little insisted on or settled when St. Austin wrote.

If it were necessary to add any other evidence, how little the Fathers knew on this mysterious subject, I might mention, that in one place St. Austin implies that the impenitent are in

Purgatory ; and that St. Jerome seems to say, all baptized persons, however they suffer in Purgatory, are eventually saved.*

I have now finished my account of what the early Fathers said about Purgatory ; but very imperfect justice is done to the subject, till the reader is put into possession of those decisive testimonies of the Fathers the other way, (that is, in favour of the peace and rest of the intermediate state to true believers,) which will reduce the opinions already described to a mere conjecture, pious indeed and solemnly made, yet received one moment, and abandoned the next. Without determining whether the strict wording of the following passages be such as necessarily to exclude the doctrine of Purgatory, which is a poor way of seeking after what the fact really was, simply consider whether persons who *practically held* that doctrine, who kept it simply before them as the whole truth and acted upon it, could possibly have written them.

Cyprian, on occasion of the famous plague of A. D. 252,

“ Let him fear death, who has never been born anew of water and the Spirit, and is sold over to the flames of hell ; him, who has not been given an interest in the cross and passion of Christ ; who is to pass from temporal to the second death ; whose departure from the world will be followed by the torments of eternal flame of punishment ; who by a longer delay gains but a longer respite from pangs and groans. Many of our people are dying in this pestilence, that is, are delivered from the world ; and what is truly a plague to Jews, heathen and enemies of Christ, is to God’s servants an end bringing salvation. That you witness righteous and wicked dying together without any distinction of man from man, is no reason for your supposing that destruction is common to good and evil ; *the righteous are called to a place of refreshment, the wicked are hurried to punishment*, shelter is promptly afforded to the believing, punishment to infidels. We are undiscerning and ungrateful, well-beloved brethren, in return for God’s benefits, nor do we recognise the mercy vouchsafed to us. Lo the virgins depart in peace safe, and with their glory secured, without the dread of the threats, the seductions, and the impurities of approaching Anti-Christ ; youths escape the perils of their anxious age, and happily receive the prize of continence and chastity ; the delicate matron no more fears the tortures, the fury of persecution, the violent hands and the cruelties of the executioner, receiving the gain of a speedy death. By fear of the pestilence the lukewarm are kindled, the languid are braced, the slothful are roused, deserters are driven back, the heathen are constrained to believe ; *the multitude of those who are already believers is called to peace* ; recruits are collected in abundance and with increased strength, prepared to fight without fear of death, when the action comes on, as having joined in a season when death was busy.”—De Mortal. 9.

* Taylor, Dissuasive, vol. ii. p. 75. Bellarm. ii. 1.

"Our brethren should not cause us sorrow, whom the Lord's call has delivered from the world, knowing as we do that they are not lost to us but sent before us, they do not recede, but precede: we should behave as towards men going a journey or a voyage, regret but not deplore them, nor go into mourning *for those who have already put on white raiment*," &c.—Ibid. 14.

"It is not an exit, but a passage, a travelling to things eternal, when time has been journeyed through. *Who would not hasten to what is better?*"—Ibid. 15.

That in this last passage St. Cyprian is speaking of heavenly felicity after the resurrection, is certain from the context; but it is as plain that he looks upon the intermediate state as the beginning of it, or the out-post, which he could not do, unless he thought that at least, on the whole, and to the generality, it was a state of rest and peace.

St. Ambrose:

"Death is in every way a good; because it puts away those principles in us which war against each other, and because it is *a sort of harbour for those who after tossing on the wide sea of this life, seek for an anchorage of secure peace*; and because it puts an end to the chance of deterioration, but, as it finds a man in that condition it consigns him to the future judgment, and comforts him with the rest itself, and withdraws him from such present goods as raise envy, and quiets him with the expectation of the future."—De Bono Mortis, 4.

"Unwise persons fear death as the greatest of ills; but the wise desire it, *as if a rest after toil, and the end of ills*."—Ibid. 8.

"Relying on these considerations, let us betake ourselves courageously to our Redeemer Jesus; courageously to the council of Patriarchs, to our father Abraham, when our day shall arrive; courageously to that holy assembly and congregation of the just. We shall go to our fathers, to our preceptors in the faith, so that, though our works fail us, our faith may succour us, our birthright plead for us. We shall go where holy Abraham opens his arms to receive the poor, as he received Lazarus; where they rest who in this life have endured heavy and sharp inflictions. . . . We shall go to those, who sit down in the kingdom of God with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because when asked to supper they did not excuse themselves. We shall go thither, where there is a paradise of delight, where Adam, who fell among thieves, has forgotten to lament his wounds, where too the thief himself rejoices in the fellowship of the kingdom of heaven; *where are no clouds*, where no thunder, no lightning, no storm of wind, no darkness, no evening, no summer, no winter, will vary the seasons. There will be no cold, hail, rain, nor the presence of this sun, moon, or stars; but the brightness of Light will alone shine forth."—Ibid. 12.

St. Hilary:

"The vengeance of hell overtakes us at once; and immediately

we depart from the body, if we have so lived, we 'perish from the right way.' The rich and poor man in the gospel show us this: the one placed by angels in the abode of the blessed and in Abraham's bosom, the other at once received into the place of punishment. So quickly did punishment come upon the dead, that even his brothers were still alive. There is no deferring or delaying there. For, as the day of judgment is the eternal award either of bliss or punishment, so the time of death orders the interval for every man by its own laws, committing every one to Abraham or to punishment till the judgment."—In Psalm ii. § 48.

Nazianzen thus speaks on the death of his father:—

"There is but one life, to look forward towards life; and one death, even sin, which is the destruction of the soul. Whatever else men exult in, is but a vision in sleep in mockery of realities, and a phantom seducing the soul. If these be our feelings, O my Mother, we shall neither exult in life, nor be much distressed at death. What heavy misfortune has befallen us, if we have passed hence to the true life, released from meat and drink, from dizziness, from surfeiting, from base money-getting, and placed amid stable not transitory possessions, as lesser lights, circling in festive dance round the Great Luminary?"—Orat. 19 fin.

Macarius, in answer to the question what shall become of those who have two principles, of sin and grace, within them, answers that they will go to that place on which their heart is stayed: for

"The Lord, beholding thy mind, that thou fightest and lovest Him with thy whole soul, separateth death from thy soul in one hour, (for it is not for him to do so,) and receiveth thee unto His bosom and to light. For He snatcheth thee in an hour's turn from the mouth of darkness, and forthwith translates thee into His kingdom. For to God all things are easy to do in an hour's turn, so that thou hast the love of Him."—Hom. 26.

The hour's space spoken of seems to imply that the hour of death would supply the necessary purification of the soul from sin*; but, whatever it means, the passage is quite irreconcilable with the Roman tenet, for the *state* of the dead is made one of bliss, and that "forthwith" upon death. The following passage is to the same effect; after saying that the guilty soul is upon death carried away by the devil, he proceeds,

"When they" (the righteous) "depart from the body, the choir of angels receive their souls to their own place, to the pure world, and so bring them to the Lord."—Hom. 22.

St. Jerome:

"Let the dead be bewailed, but it must be he whom hell receives, whom the pit swallows up, for whose punishment the everlasting fire

* Vide Athan. de vit. Ant. § 65.—Basil in Psalm. vii. § 2.

is in motion. We, whose departure a crowd of angels accompanies, whom Christ goes out to meet, let us rather feel distress, if we have longer to dwell in this tabernacle of death, for as long as we delay here, we are pilgrims from the Lord."—Ep. 25.

So much on the theology of the first five hundred years. But it may be shown that not even Pope Gregory at the end of that period, held the doctrine of Purgatory in the modern Roman form of it. He seems to have gone little further than maintain the Greek notion of the fire of judgment, as above explained, but, from the circumstance of his considering the end of the world close at hand, he so expressed himself as to give it a different character. Nothing has been more common in every age than to think the day of judgment approaching: and perhaps it was intended that the Church should ever so suppose. Perhaps so to suppose is even a mark of a Christian mind; which at least will ever be on its watch-tower to see whether it be coming or no, from desire of its Saviour's return. But any how, as at other times, so in St. Gregory's case, this expectation prevailed; and, as thinking that the end was all but arrived, he seems to have fancied that "fire upon earth" was almost "kindled," that last judicial and purgatorial trial, which the Greeks and some of the Latins had made attendant upon it. If then he speaks of Purgatory in language since adopted by Romanism, it was not as intending thereby to sanction the idea to which it is appropriated in that theology, viz. that of a regular and ordinary *system* of fiery cleansing in the intermediate state; but, because he imagined the world was on the eve and under the incipient symptoms of an extraordinary crisis, when the sun was to be darkened, and the earth dissolved, and the graves opened, and all souls to be judged which were in earth and under the earth. He says,

"As, when night is ending and day beginning, before the sun rises there is a sort of twilight, while the remains of the departing darkness are changing perfectly into the radiance of the day which succeeds, so the end of this world is already mingling with the commencement of the next, and the very gloom of what remains has begun to be illuminated with the incoming of things spiritual."—Dial. iv. 41.

To the same effect he says:

"Why is it, I ask, that in these last times so many things *begin to be clear* about souls which before were hidden; so that by open revelations and disclosures the age to come seems forcing itself on us and to be dawning?"—Ibid. 40.

Conformably with this view, he considered the pains of Purgatory to be diverse and various in their modes and circumstances, in this earth as well as under the earth, and consisting in other torments as well as those of fire, being but the pangs and

shudderings of intellectual natures, when their judge was approaching, and disclosing themselves in a supernatural agony parallel to that trembling of the earth or the failing of the sun, which will precede the dissolution of the physical world. Occasion has already been taken to speak of the belief in visions and miracles, as occurring in attestation of the doctrine, and of the predispositions of the popular mind to receive it. The state of the evidence, of the popular feeling, and of the doctrine itself, is strikingly set before the reader in the following passage of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, though perhaps with somewhat less of considerateness in the wording of it, than such a subject might bear.

“The people of the Roman communion have been principally led into belief of Purgatory by their fear, and by their credulity; they have been softened and enticed into this belief, by perpetual tales and legends, by which they loved to be abused. To this purpose, their priests and friars have made great use of the apparition of St. Jerome, after death, to Eusebius, commanding him to lay his sack upon the corpse of three dead men, that they, arising from death, might confess Purgatory, which formerly they had denied. The story is written in an epistle imputed to St. Cyril; but the ill luck of it was, that St. Jerome outlived St. Cyril, and wrote his life, and so confuted that story; but all is one for that, they believe it nevertheless; but these are enough to help it out; and if they be not firmly true, yet, if they be firmly believed, all is well enough. In the *Speculum Exemplorum* it is said, that a certain priest, in an ecstasy, saw the soul of Constantinus Turritanus in the eaves of his house, tormented with frosts and cold rains, and afterwards climbing up to heaven upon a shining pillar. And a certain monk saw some souls roasted upon spits, like pigs, and some devils basting them with scalding lard; but a while after, they were carried to a cool place, and so proved Purgatory. But Bishop Theobald standing upon a piece of ice, to cool his feet, was nearer Purgatory than he was aware, and was convinced of it, when he heard a poor soul telling him, that under that ice he was tormented; and that he should be delivered if for thirty days continual he would say for him thirty masses. And some such thing was seen by Conrade and Udelric in a pool of water: for the place of Purgatory was not yet resolved on, till St. Patrick had the key of it delivered to him; which, when one Nicholas borrowed of him, he saw as strange and true things there, as ever Virgil dreamed of in his Purgatory, or Cicero in his dream of Scipio, or Plato in his Gorgias, or Phædo, who indeed are the surest authors to prove Purgatory. But, because to preach false stories was forbidden by the Council of Trent, there are yet remaining more certain arguments, even revelations made by angels, and the testimony of St. Odilio himself, who heard the devil complain . . . that the souls of dead men were daily

snatched out of his hands, by the alms and prayers of the living; and the sister of St. Damianus being too much pleased with hearing of a piper, told her brother, that she was to be tormented for fifteen days in Purgatory.

“We do not think that the wise men in the Church of Rome believe these narratives; for if they did, they were not wise; but this we know, that by such stories the people were brought into a belief of it, and having served their turn of them, the master builders used them as false arches and centries, taking them away when the parts of the building were made firm and stable by authority. But even the better sort of them do believe them; or else they do worse, for they urge and cite the Dialogues of St. Gregory, &c.”—*Dissuasive from Popery*, part i. ch. i. § 4.

Yet not even after Pope Gregory's times was the doctrine unhesitatingly received. Ussher (Answer ch. vi.) quotes the words of the Council of Aix la Chapelle in Charlemagne's time, near 250 years after Gregory, to the effect that there are “three ways in which sins are punished; two in this life, and the third in the life to come; that of the former one is the punishment with which the sinner, God inspiring, by penitence, takes vengeance on himself, the other the punishment which ALMIGHTY GOD inflicts; and that the third is that of everlasting fire. He also quotes the author of the tracts *de Vanitate Sæculi*, and *de Rectitudine Catholicæ Conversationis*, wrongly ascribed to St. Austin; the former of which says, “Know that when the soul is separated from the body, presently it is either placed in paradise for its good works, or plunged into the bottom of hell for its sins;” and the latter, “The departing soul, which is invisible to eyes of flesh, is received by the angels, and placed either in Abraham's bosom, if it be faithful, or, if a sinner, in the keeping of the prison beneath, till the appointed day arrive for it to receive its own body again, and give account of its works before the judgment seat of CHRIST, the true Judge.” Even in the days of Otto Frisingensis, A. D. 1146, the doctrine of Purgatory was considered but a private opinion, not an article of faith universally received; for he writes, “*Some affirm* there is in the unseen state a place of Purgatory, in which those who are to be saved are either troubled with darkness only, or are refined by the fire of expiation.”

However, without entering further into the history of the gradual reception of the doctrine, which, if the circumstances of its rise be clear, is unnecessary, even could it be given, I conclude this head of the subject with one or two avowals on the part of Romanists confirmatory of what has been said.

As to the text of Scripture, we have the candid admission of the celebrated M. Trevern, present Bishop of Strasburgh, that it

is silent as regards this doctrine, at least so Mr. Faber understands him.

"Instead of vainly labouring to establish the doctrine on some one or two misinterpreted texts of the New Testament, he fairly and honestly confesses, that we have received no revelation concerning it from JESUS CHRIST. Hence he judiciously wastes not his time in adducing passages of Holy Writ, which are altogether irrelevant. 'Had it been necessary for us,' says he, 'to be instructed in such questions, JESUS would doubtless have revealed the knowledge of them. He has not done so. We can, therefore, only form conjectures on the subject more or less probable*.'"

It seems then the doctrine is not taught in *Scripture*. The silence of *Antiquity* concerning it is avowed by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Alphonsus à de Castro, and Polydore Virgil.

Of these the celebrated Cardinal Fisher speaks as follows :

"It weighs perhaps with many, that we lay such stress upon indulgences, which are apparently of but recent usage in the Church, not being found among Christians till a very late date. I answer, that it is not clear from whom the tradition of them originated. They are said not to be without precedent among the Romans from the most ancient times; as may be understood from the numerous stations in that city. Moreover Gregory the First is said to have granted some in his own time. We all indeed are aware, that by means of the acumen of later times many things both from the Gospels and the other Scriptures are now more clearly developed and more exactly understood than they once were; whether it was that the ice was not yet broken by the ancients, and their times were unequal to the task of accurately sounding the open sea of Scripture, or that it will ever be possible in so extensive a field, let the reapers be ever so skilful, to glean somewhat after them. For there are even now a great number of obscure passages in the Gospel, which I doubt not posterity will understand much better. Why should we despair of it when the Gospel is given for this very purpose, to be understood thoroughly and exactly? Seeing then that the love of CHRIST towards His Church continues not less strong now than before, nor His power less, and that the Holy Ghost is her perpetual guardian and restorer, whose gifts flow into her as unceasingly and abundantly as from the beginning, who can question that the minds of posterity will be enlightened unto the clear knowledge of those things which remain still unknown in the Gospel?"

After a sentence or two he adds :

"Whoever reads the commentaries of the ancient Greeks, will find no mention, as far as I see, or the slightest possible concerning Purgatory. Nay, even the Latins did not all at once, but only gradually

* Faber's *Difficulties of Romanism*, i. 12. This reference to M. Trevern is made on the authority of Mr. Faber.

enter into the truth of this matter. . . . For a while it was unknown, at a late date it was known, to the Church Universal. Then it was believed by some, by little and little, partly from Scripture, partly from revelations.”—Assert. Luther. Confutat. 18.

It will be observed how accurately Bishop Fisher's words bear out, as far as they go, our foregoing account. First, he candidly gives up the Greek Church, and almost gives up the Latin. He says it was gradually introduced, that at length it became universal. What can we desire more in disproof of the Roman doctrine? He implies too, that the doctrine, though not suggested by the plain text of Scripture, was recommended by it, when once suggested in whatever way; as if what it did, was just what has been above supposed, viz. bring out in a touching way a certain possible deep sense which the sacred text could not be said to teach but might contain; else why should it be understood only after a long delay? Further, he illustrates and confirms what has above been observed, that the Church of Rome, relying on its supposed gift of enunciating the truth, cares not to *prove* its doctrines ancient, and rather interprets the Fathers by its present teaching than thinks it necessary to depend upon them. And lastly, he is a witness that, as far as Rome has cared to argue in this matter, she has rested the doctrine on *revelations*;—a true and honest account of the matter of fact, but decidedly opposed to the more accurate, though inapplicable, theory established after his death at Trent, which is this, that the revelation was concluded once for all in the Apostles, that all that the Church does is to discriminate and define their doctrine, and that he is Anathema, though an angel from heaven, who adds to it. “That alone is matter of faith,” says Bellarmine, “which is revealed by God either mediately or immediately; but divine revelations are *partly written, partly unwritten*. The decrees of Councils, and Popes, and the consent of Doctors, . . . then *only* make a doctrine an article of faith when they *explain the Word of God or deduce* any thing from it*.”

Polydore Virgil appeals to Fisher's statement as above given, and adds, “Moreover by the Greeks, even to this day, the doctrine is not believed.” Alphonsus de Castro says, “Concerning Purgatory there is scarcely any mention, especially among the Greek writers; for which reason, even to this day, it is not believed by the Greekst.”

Lastly, the following is the avowal of the Benedictine Editor of St. Ambrose's Works in his preface to the *de Bono Mortis*, on certain passages concerning the state of the dead, some of which have been above extracted in the course of these remarks.

* Bellarm. de Purg. i. 15.

† These three passages are from Taylor's Dissuasive, part 2. ii. 2.

“If we interpret the words of our author strictly and literally, we must plainly confess that in his judgment souls are kept shut up in certain dwellings till the general resurrection, and there wait the award due to their deeds, which will not however be paid them before the last day; meanwhile that they are visited with some good or punishment, according as each of them has deserved. Lastly, the joy of the righteous is dispensed according to certain ranks.

“It is not surprising that Ambrose should have written in this way concerning the state of souls; but what might seem almost incredible, is, the uncertainty and inconsistency of the Holy Fathers on the subject from the very times of the Apostles down to the Pontificate of Gregory XI., and the Council of Florence, that is, for nearly the whole of fourteen centuries. For, not only do they differ one from the other, as commonly happens in such questions not yet defined by the Church, but they are not even consistent with themselves, sometimes appearing to grant that those souls enjoy the clear sight of the divine nature, of which at other times they deprive them.”

§ 4. THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE.

It remains to give a brief notice of the Council of Florence, by which the doctrine of Purgatory was first made an article of faith. With it I shall bring this paper to an end.

The Council of Constance, which had been summoned principally with a view to the reformation of the clergy, terminated in April 1418, without having taken any effectual measures for their object. Five years afterwards, the remonstrance which the existing state of things occasioned, obliged the then Pope Martin V. to summon another, which, in consequence of his sudden death, eventually opened at Basle, 23d of July, 1431, in the pontificate of Eugenius, under the presidency of Cardinal Julian Cæsarini. Basle, as being across the Alps, was removed from the influence of the Roman see; and the Fathers assembled at once applied themselves to determine a question, which had already been agitated at Constance, the superiority, viz. of a General Council to the Pope. They passed a decree that the jurisdiction of the representatives of the Church Catholic in Council Assembled was supreme and universal, and that they could not be dissolved, prorogued, or transferred without their own consent. They proceeded to summon, threaten, and censure Eugenius; and at length when he resisted their proceedings, they suspended him from all his powers unless he submitted to them within 60 days. In these acts they were supported by the Emperor and other chief powers of Europe, as well as by the clergy; and the Pope was forced to submit.

They next attempted to reconcile the Greeks to the Latin

Church. At this time Constantinople was much pressed by the Turkish arms; and the Emperor John Palæologus, the second of that name, after the example of his father, hoped by holding out the prospect of a union of the Churches to gain succours from the West. The Fathers of Basle invited him to attend their meeting with the Patriarch and other chief ecclesiastics of his division of Christendom; but, on his objecting to a journey across the Alps, an opening was afforded to Eugenius, who was not slow to avail himself of it, to propose to the Greeks to transfer the seat of the Council from the Rhine to Italy. In spite of the opposition of the Fathers at Basle, Eugenius was successful in his overtures. The Greek Emperor and ecclesiastics accepted the place of meeting which he proposed, which was Ferrara, and proceeded thither, that is, besides Palæologus himself, the Patriarch, and twenty chief bishops, among whom were the metropolitans of Heraclea, Cyzicus, Nice, Nicomedia, Ephesus, and Trebizond; representatives also attended from Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and the Primate of Russia. Such were the members of the Greek Church present at this Council, who, however, high in station as they were, evidently were too few to express the voice of the East. It is well known that on the ancient principle of Councils, decisions were made not by authority, but by the independent and concordant testimony of all the Bishops of Christendom, or what was virtually all, to the doctrines declared. On the side of the Latins there were but five archbishops, eighteen bishops, and ten abbots, the greater part of whom were subjects or countrymen of the Pope. This scanty representation however of the Latin Church received, as it happened, a considerable reinforcement from Basle; for a reaction taking place there in the Pope's favour, some chief members of the rival Council coming over to him, the whole number of subscribers which he at last obtained to the synodical decree, amounted to eight cardinals, two patriarchs, eight archbishops, fifty-two bishops, and forty-five abbots. After all, however, these are at first sight scarcely to be considered representatives of the whole of Christendom; yet such was the composition of the assembly, known in history as the Council of Florence, (whither a plague had driven it from Ferrara) which established the doctrine of Purgatory.

This is a sketch of its external history; but the point to be considered is the part taken by the Greeks in its proceedings. At the first glance here is this circumstance, almost in itself decisive against its authority, that the Greeks were actuated by motives of interest, and at least, by the influence and the presence of a Sovereign. Were they in number fifty times as many, they would not have appeared in Italy at all, had not the Ottomans been at the gates of Constantinople. Next they were unprotected in a strange country, depending even for their daily food on the

bounty of those who were bent upon the reconciliation of the Churches; and they were detained by delays which, whether necessary or not, were sufficient to alarm them, and to make them impatient to bring their dispute to a termination. After the first session of the Council at Ferrara, the public proceedings were adjourned about six months. The Greek ecclesiastics were allowed each three or four gold florins a month; at one time there was an arrear of four months in the payment, at another of three, and at the time of their agreeing to unite with the Latins, of five and a half. Besides, even had they the means, their withdrawal from the Council was absolutely forbidden: passports were required at the gates of Ferrara, the Venetian Government had engaged to intercept all fugitives, and civil punishment awaited them at Constantinople. Their condition is vividly described by Syropulus or Sguropulus, the ecclesiarch or preacher, who was present at the Council as one of the Patriarch's five attendants, and whose history of its proceedings is extant. Some extracts shall be introduced from his work; which, besides proving what I have said about the position of the Greeks, will introduce us in particular to the course taken in their discussions on the subject of Purgatory. There were four points of difference between the Churches: the use of leaven in the Eucharistic bread, the supremacy of the Pope, the nature of Purgatory, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost. Concerning the subject which alone here concerns us, Syropulus says,

"At our fourth meeting the bishop of Ephesus said, 'In our last meeting, venerable Fathers, you laid before us four heads for discussion, out of which we might take our choice. . . . Julian (the legate of Eugenius at Basle) said . . . it seems to us best, to treat first of the purgatorial fire, that our own minds may be cleared by the discussion. Let us then now dispute upon this subject. The Bishop of Ephesus answered, Be it so as you have decided; but tell us first whence has your Church her traditions about it, and when did she receive and profess it, and what is her exact doctrine on the subject. These inquiries will help us forward. This was agreed to, and we separated.

"Meanwhile our allowance of provisions was demanded, but not given us. Though we made frequent demands on account of our need, it was not given until we came into the proposed conditions. When we had come round, we received the second monthly allowance on the 12th of May.

"While we were so circumstanced, serious news kept coming that Amurath was preparing an attack upon Constantinople. The Venetians sent the despatches to our Emperor and the Patriarch; afterwards came letters from the city itself, intimating the same, and begging them to do their utmost to gain succours. On hearing this, we were sadly afflicted, were sick of life, prayed to God for help, took it to heart, and with groans and tears begged for some escape

from so great a calamity. . . . The Emperor had much talk with the Cardinals on this subject, and made representations through them to the Pope. We, indignant at their unbecoming conduct, betook ourselves to such private friends as we might have among them. When some of us had intreated in this way brother Ambrose, he said to them, 'Be not out of heart, *but do your utmost to bring about a union*, and then we shall make great preparations, and will send a formidable force to Constantinople.'

"Meanwhile some of our company said, that if a subscription for raising forces was proposed to our Archbishops, they would be ready according to their power. The Emperor catching at this, immediately went to the Patriarch, and called us all together, and made us a speech concerning contribution, saying that he himself had set the pattern by borrowing money to fit out a vessel of his own, that he felt confident the Pope would send some also, and that it was a duty in the case of those who had the means to be liberal in the service of their country. To this the principal Archbishops made answer, that were they in Constantinople, they would contribute even more than they could well afford; but, being at present in a foreign land, and not knowing what was coming upon them, they felt it necessary to keep what they had, even supposing some among them had any thing left; however, under the necessity, they would each give something. Accordingly four of them promised 50 aspers apiece.

"The Bishop of Nicea (the celebrated Bessarion) said, 'I have no ducats, but I have three urns, of which I will contribute two.' The Bishop also who came next said, 'I have no ducats, but I have two woollen cloaks, and I give one of them.' The Emperor on hearing as far as this, gave up the attempt as vain, for he had reckoned that the Archbishops together might have almost fitted out one vessel. . . .

"In the fifth meeting, Julian began to discuss the subject of Purgatory, and said that the Roman Church, even from the very first, had received and held this doctrine, from the time of the Holy Apostles, receiving it from St. Peter and St. Paul, and then from the Doctors of the Church who succeeded them."

'To complete the imbecility of the Greek party, they were at variance with each other, Bessarion of Nicea inclining to the Latins, Gregory the Penitentiary taking either side as it happened, and both opposing Mark of Ephesus, the resolute defender of the Greek doctrines. The Latins having put their argument on paper, the Greeks had to do the same, and the Emperor commanded Mark to draw it up, who declined the office, unless it was understood that what he should present would be accepted. The following childish scene ensued, which is here introduced merely to show that the Greek cause was not fairly represented in that Council, since it was in the hands, as will be seen, of two rival Bishops and an Emperor as umpire, and not as if to imply that

■ Council must be composed of none but superior men, in order to come to a right conclusion.

"It appeared proper that some among ourselves should stay with the Bishop of Ephesus, and that the paper should be drawn in our presence and hearing, and with our assistance, if it happened to be needed. Accordingly the Bishop of Nicea, the great Ecclesiarch" (the writer) "Gregory the Penitentiary, the Secretary of the Holy Consistory, met him. The Bishop of Nicea began to converse carelessly, and to digress into a variety of subjects. The Penitentiary followed, and rivalled him in the irrelevancy of his discourse. They took up each other, and emulated each other in wasting time on trifles and impertinences. I at intervals begged them to spare words and attend to the writing, but they persisted; when good part of the day was thus wasted, the Bishop of Ephesus said, 'At this rate I shall not be able to write a word: leave me with the Secretary of the Consistory and I will draw up something. Afterwards you shall look over it, and correct any thing that is amiss.' On this we left the room. Then the Bishop of Ephesus began to write; but the Bishop of Nicea did the same, at the suggestion of the Penitentiary, who praised what he drew up to the Emperor, and wished him to send it to the Latins, as more striking in style, and more eloquent. At his command both compositions were brought to him and read in the presence of select judges. Then the Emperor said to the Bishop of Ephesus, 'Your composition is good: it has many strong points. But it has some things too which will give advantage to the Latins, such as the story of St. Macarius asking the skull (of an idolater) and receiving an answer; for you can bring no unexceptionable testimony to this, and they will at once put it aside, and some other arguments also. Better let alone what can be easily met, and urge a little and strong, than a parade of arguments, some of which may be easily overset, for your opponent will fix on your weak points, and if he masters you on one or two, he will appear to the many, or rather he will be heralded forth, as having defeated you altogether. Therefore put out these passages.'" . . . Then turning to the Bishop of Nicea, he remarked, 'You too have your own faults, you begin by saying, 'O men of Latium;' this is unsuitable. It is more becoming to say, 'Venerable Fathers,' or something of the same respectful and acceptable nature: you have other mistakes too.' He ended by saying that the proem and previous statements of the Bishop of Nicea were the better, but the course of the argument, the proofs, and collateral remarks, stronger in the paper of the Bishop of Ephesus; and that it seemed advisable to take the commencement of the former, and any other serviceable passages, and the body of the latter.'" . . .

The reply thus compounded by two men of discordant sentiments was submitted to the Latins, and an answer drawn up to it in due form. A reply followed, and the discussion became animated.

"Meanwhile in private conversations the Latins begged the Bishop of Ephesus to propound plainly the doctrine which our Church holds

concerning souls departed hence. *But he did not state it, being hindered by the Emperor.* And in proportion as they perceived him resisting, and not wishing to set forth our Church doctrine on the matter, so much the more did they press him, and entreat him, and remonstrate with him, and asked what he meant by his reserve, saying that every regular member of any Church was bound, when asked what was the Church's view on any question, at once to give it without hesitation or ambiguity. But the Bishop had his mouth stopped by the royal command."

John, a Spanish Bishop, then entered into a discussion with the Bishop of Ephesus with great dialectic skill, and Bessarion deserted to the Latins; at length, however, the Emperor consented to Mark's speaking out, and he put the Latins into full possession of the Greek notions on the subject of Purgatory. The next sentences run as follows:—

"Our allowance was expended, and nothing more was given us in spite of our frequent demands: but, when we yielded to their demand, and told them our Church's opinion on the question in discussion, then they gave us three months' allowance on the 30th of June, 689 florins." 5 §. 18.

This was all that passed on the subject of Purgatory, before the final decree, which, as in other points, so in this, was overruled by the determination of the Latins and the need of the Emperor. But here let me instance another hardship inflicted on the Greeks, for which I have already prepared the reader.

"We sat down in sorrow, not only because of existing and expected perils, but for the loss of our liberty, for we were shut up as slaves. And when three months and more were passed, and all were indignant at our dependence upon strangers, the straits we were in, and our want of provision, three clerics, under the spur of necessity, found an escape. But the Patriarch learning it, and being indignant at it, wrote at once to the Doge of Venice, who found out the men and sent them to him."

After many months' discomfort from the causes that have been enumerated, the Greeks came to an understanding with the Latins: indeed, from the first, they had very little trust or attachment to their view. Their doctrine is said to have been, that the souls of imperfect Christians went to a place of darkness and sadness, where they were for some time in affliction and deprived of the light of God's countenance, in which state they were benefitted by Eucharistic offerings and by alms; to this the Latins wished to add, that souls without stain enter at once into heavenly glory, while those who have repented of sin, but have not had time to complete the necessary penance, are consigned for a longer or shorter time to purgatorial fire. This was the difference between the Churches, and they compromised the matter thus: the Latins did not press the doctrine of *fire*, and the Greeks

gave up—not a word, but a truth,—they allowed, contrary to the belief with which they had come to the Council, that those who are not in Purgatory are immediately beatified, and enjoy the sight of God.

It may be objected, and readily admitted, that the narrative of which the above are extracts, is drawn up by a writer unfriendly and unfair to the Latins. But it would seem to prove as much as this, viz. what was the popular view in Greece on the subject of these discussions and their termination, immediately upon it.

A high ecclesiastic, as Syropulus was, would hardly have ventured to have set himself against a recent and solemn act of his own Church, sanctioned by the Court, unless he had had a strong feeling with him. The very fact of his opposition proves that the conduct of the Greeks at Florence was but the act of a party at most in the Church; while the line of the history, their sufferings and compelled decision, is too clearly guaranteed to us as true by the known circumstances of the case. But we need not thus painfully deduce the real dissatisfaction of the Greek Church with the articles imposed upon its delegates at Florence. On their return home, they had to encounter so general an indignation and resentment at their conduct, that they were obliged at once to recant and confess their weakness, and throw themselves on the mercy of their brethern. Mark of Ephesus had not signed the decree, and became a rallying point for all who held by the popular religion; while the successor of the Patriarch was deserted even by his cross-bearers, and presided in an empty Cathedral. The feeling spread north and south; the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem assembled a numerous Council, and disowned the acts of their representatives in Italy; and Isidore, the Primate of Russia, on returning to his country, was synodically condemned and imprisoned in a monastery.

Again, it may be objected that the great article of difference between Greeks and Latins was the question of the procession, not that of Purgatory, and after all, that the real point of repulsion between them lay in national jealousies; whereas they agreed together, as the Council shows, or at least with the slightest difference, on the question in which we are concerned, while the subsequent resentment of the Greeks at home had little or no reference to it; and that their agreement under such circumstances was only the more remarkable. It may be replied, that the object of the foregoing account has been to show that the Greeks at Florence were not trustworthy, that they had neither the ease of circumstances, the learning, or the composure of mind to be witnesses of the traditionary and universal doctrine of their Churches. If this is proved by after circumstances, by the popular indignation as regards one doctrine, it takes all credit

from their testimony as regards another. Moreover as regards the doctrine of Purgatory, they did not agree with the Latins in an important point, yet that point they gave up to them; most unfaithfully, considering them as stewards of Gospel truth, and, had they discerned the bearings of the Latin doctrine,—which doubtless they did not,—most treacherously. They admitted, against the national belief, the beatification of souls under specific circumstances, before the judgment, and in so doing they admitted practically almost as much as if they had subscribed to the doctrine of purgatorial fire. For, as the mention of fire on the one hand is definite, and ascertains Purgatory to be strictly a place of punishment, which the general expressions of the Greeks did not strictly imply, so in like manner to separate off from it all the perfected saints, and transfer them to a better and heavenly state, does in effect sink it, by the contrast, to a place of privation and suffering. The presence of the souls of all saints, (to speak in general terms, that is, not to include the Martyrs whom the early Church has excepted) in Hades, Paradise, or Abraham's bosom, or by whatever other name we designate the Intermediate State, is our guarantee for the substantial blessedness of that State. We cannot spare the higher Saints from Paradise, in that they are our pledges for its heavenly character in the case of all believers. Thus as regards their own doctrine, the Greeks made most important admissions to the Latins, for making which they had no warrant, and therefore cannot be considered of authority in witnessing a Purgatory at all, any more than in the account they gave of it.

And with these remarks shall terminate a discussion, which has extended far beyond the limits which were originally proposed by the writer.

OXFORD,

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